
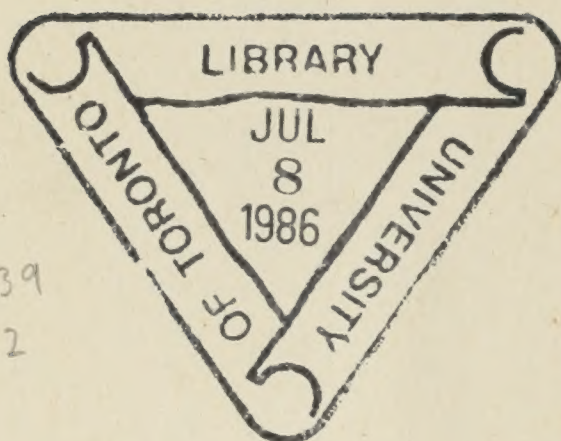


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THE WEEKLY

BY GEORGE HARVEY

Continuing the North American Review's WAR WEEKLY

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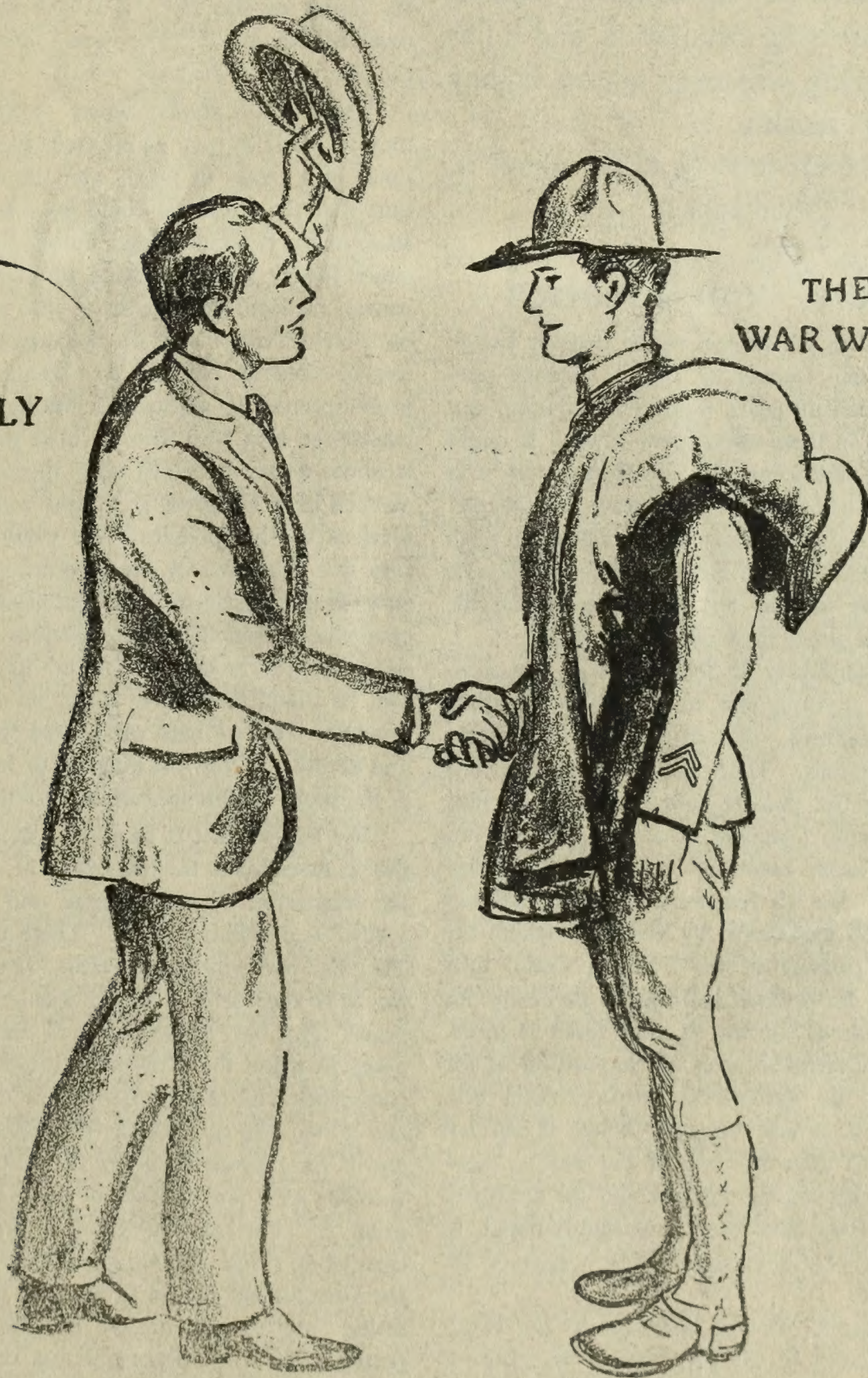
VOL. 2

WEEK ENDING JAN. 4, 1919

NO. 1

The
WEEKLY

THE
WAR WEEKLY



"GOOD-BYE!"

"GOOD LUCK!"

Good-bye! Good Luck!

The WAR WEEKLY goes. It lived just a year. It was "such a little one," as the saying is, that when it broke its shell its appearance was hardly noticed. And it wasn't fed much. It just grubbed along as best it could and made its own shy way unaided. It was like *Topsy*; it "just grewed." Unlike *Topsy*, though, it was, in the expressive words of Marse Henry Watterson, "a sure-enough free nigger" from the beginning to the ending of its quite busy life. It is now with the other angels.

THE WEEKLY arrives. It has a snug inheritance in steadily increasing circulation, and it has no thought of burying whatever talents it may possess in anybody's napkin.

That seems to be all there is to say about it.

"Good-bye!" "Good luck!"

No "Riders" on Treaties

THAT was a startling intimation which Senator Lodge made the other day concerning certain ulterior purposes in the impending peace treaty—if anything can be truly called startling in these topsy-turvy times. It ought to be not only startling, but incredible. Unfortunately it is not only credible but plausible, and by no means improbable. We refer, of course, to his statement about a scheme to push the treaty, no matter what it contains, through the Senate without amendment and without due consideration, on the principle that a treaty of peace must not be rejected.

The character and authority of Senator Lodge are sufficient, in the absence of anything else, to invest this statement with the most serious moment. But there are other circumstances of similar indication. There have been various flagrant examples during the present Administration of thus driving legislation through Congress under the plea of imperative necessity, in some notorious cases with palpable "riders" on the bills. We all remember the extraordinary plea, never satisfactorily explained, by virtue of which the President secured the passage of the Panama Canal tolls repealer. His demand for woman suffrage as necessary for the successful prosecution of the war is more fresh in mind. Still later and more indefensible was the imposition of the prohibition rider upon an agricultural appropriation bill, calling for prohibition as a war measure, though it was not to become effective until after the end of the war; a monstrosity which commanded not the reproof, but the approval, of the President. If laws have been thus manipulated, so may treaties be, seeing that they are merely a part of the supreme law of the land.

There is another reason, directly provided by the President himself. It is found in his prescription of terms of peace—the only possible terms, as he has declared. Among his Fourteen Commandments are several which may be of

great importance, but which have absolutely nothing to do with making peace. Such are his demands for non-secret diplomacy, for freedom of the seas, for a league of nations, and for abolition of economic barriers. Precisely what he means by these he has never yet made known. But whatever they mean, they have nothing to do with making peace and exacting just indemnities from Germany; and to impose them upon a peace treaty would be as egregious a "rider" as the imposition of prohibition upon an agricultural appropriation bill.

It would be, no doubt, an unwelcome thing to reject a treaty of peace. But we have no hesitation in saying that if a peace treaty came before the Senate with any such extraneous and alien matters appended, it would be not only the right, but the duty of that body to refuse ratification of it, or at least to expunge from it all these outside matters and ratify only the proper provisions for making peace and settling the issues of the war. To have our whole foreign policy reversed and our domestic system largely transmogrified under the plea of peace-making, would be intolerable.

There is still another reason for fearing that some attempt may be made to rush an omnibus measure through under the guise of a treaty of peace, and the reason is, that it is only thus that the President could hope to secure the adoption of some of his principles, and indeed the only way in which he could justify his negotiation of them. He would have, of course, no legal right to enter into a conference or congress with other Powers over the freedom of the seas, or the abolition of economic barriers, or a league of nations, unless Congress specifically authorized him so to do. It has not thus authorized him, and there is little ground for expecting that it would do so, especially since the failure of his plea for the election of a Congress in accord with—euphemism for subservient to—his policies. We would not intimate that that plea was prompted by the expectation that it might be necessary to ask Congressional permission to enter some such conference. But it is quite obvious that if he could get the peace congress to take up and act upon these extraneous matters, he would be relieved of the necessity of asking that permission. He has been authorized to enter a peace congress, and no other. Now the question is, how much the programme of the peace conference can be stretched to include.

We believe that it should be made to include everything that is essential to the conclusion of a just and lasting peace, the reparation of the injured, and the punishment of the guilty; and nothing more. There may be, as Lord Northcliffe has pertinently suggested, various other important matters to be considered after the war and after the conclusion of peace. But they should come at their proper time. If after peace is made the President thinks it desirable to go into conference with the Powers on any of these other topics, well and good. He can ask the permission of Congress to do so, and if the representatives of the Nation think it conformable with the wish and welfare of the Nation, they will doubtless grant it. The essential thing is that we shall have on our treaties no riders and no camouflage. We do not think that our Government should be dragged into a congress on substituting internationalism for national sovereignty under the pretence that it is a peace congress, or that Congress should be bamboozled into enacting a free trade law under the guise of a treaty of peace.

A Truly Royal Reception

"I dreamt that I dwelt in marble halls."—A. BUNN

BUCKINGHAM PALACE, December 30.

THE grand tour of our itinerant Government continues to be triumphal. At a hint from Colonel House, Paris quieted down toward the last of the preliminary visit, and the railway journey to Chaumont was unmarred by any incident that could be pronounced untoward. Turkey and cranberry sauce was ready and waiting at Montigny-le-Roi, or some other place of the same name, but hearing that the doughboys were being worried by rumors that they might not get a just peace, the President proceeded immediately to Humes and reassured them in a winning little speech, which would have been heartily applauded if the auditors had not been on dress parade. A good dinner followed.

On the following morning, after a rather tiresome night's ride, the party, including forty-two American correspondents, embarked at Calais on H. M. S. *Brighton* and proceeded thence over a calm, blue sea to Dover, under escort of twenty destroyers and the Duke of Connaught. The Mayor was on the dock with a band and voiced a hearty greeting, to which the President made a characteristically graceful response.

The scene at old Charing Cross when the royal train pulled in was indescribable; at any rate the whole forty-two trained descriptive writers seemed to find it so; but all agreed that it was some day in the history of this previous colony. Cousin George was on hand in a fine new uniform, and the gracious Queen, and Princess Mary, and so many Beefeaters from the Tower that they kept falling over one another's halberds. According to one of the papers, David George got lost in the shuffle, but was rescued in time to come forward, blushing, to be introduced with the other members of the cabinet. "While the ladies stood chatting, the President, not satisfied to go through the ordinary motions of a salute, waved his hat with a grand sweep of which any cavalier would have been proud,"—thus showing that he was from Virginia and no Pilgrim roundhead. At least, that is what Sir Albert Stanley, President of the Board of Trade, told the *Times* correspondent, who apparently had forgotten his title and couldn't get in.

The procession through the crowded streets was a complete success. George the Fifth "sat motionless beside his guest" and tactfully looked the other way when they passed the statue of George the Third, who also kept perfectly quiet. The President sat, of course, on his (George the Fifth's) right and often bowed. They proceeded "at a gentle trot," as the horses had just been shod and the gilded chariot had not been out of the barn for some time, and the Grand Master of Equeries was taking no chances; but all went happily and, when they passed Marlborough House, Queen Alexandra and Queen Maude and Princess Victoria and Prince Olaf, whoever he may be, stood ankle deep in the mud, waving their cambric handkerchiefs to beat the band. The President apparently knew who they were, from their pictures, because he made special acknowledgement of their enthusiastic courtesy and even the motionless King smiled. The ladies came behind in another wonderful equipage be-

decked with garlands of roses and gardenias from the royal greenhouse. Clearly, as Mr. Gilbert cabled to the *Evening Sun*, it was "the acme of pageantry."

When they all reached the Palace in safety, they went inside and had a cup of tea and then came out on the balcony, from which the President made a charming little impromptu speech, which unfortunately nobody could hear. "Mrs. Wilson was by his side with a little Union Jack in her hand, which she fluttered toward the crowd, and by the side of their guests stood the King and Queen, half a pace to the rear." But it was growing dark and presently they "passed into the Palace," and "the King showed the President to his Belgian suite." Later they had dinner and sat around and talked a while and then went to bed. At any rate, we suppose they did, although the forty-two correspondents lost interest in the proceedings when they had shaken hands with the King and Queen, and they cabled no accounts of the actual ending of an otherwise perfect day.

Having, in his speech at Dover, welcomed "with emotions of peculiar gratification the opportunity to match my mind with the minds" of British statesmen having to do with the peace settlement, Mr. Wilson was up bright and early Friday morning and, sure enough, soon after he had finished whatever they sent up for breakfast, Messrs. Lloyd George and Balfour appeared at the Palace gate and besought an audience, which was readily granted. "For three hours the statesmen sat informally before an open grate fire" and tested their respective wits in a preliminary way, but the real matching began later at a luncheon in Downing street, where the British intellectual forces were augmented by Mr. Asquith, Viscount Reading, the Marquis of Crewe, Earl Curzon, Viscount Bryce and Chancellor Bonar Law, making about an even thing of it. The Earl and Countess of Albemarle arrived with the coffee, fetching a copy of the Senate's portrait of George Washington, precursor of the famous steamship of the same name, which the President unveiled in the presence of the Associated Press. The party broke up at 5.30 p. m.

In the evening the King and Queen gave a grand dinner at the Palace. Among the guests were several royalties, a great collection of dukes, marquises, earls, viscounts, baronets, archbishops, masters of the household, the ceremonies and the horse, keeper of the privy purse and one maharaja. "Yeomen of the Guard in red Elizabethan costumes and with halberds were in attendance. President Wilson, with Queen Mary, led the procession into the dining hall, preceded by officials of the palace splendidly costumed, bearing wands and walking backward and making obeisance to the guests. Immediately behind the President and the Queen came King George and Mrs. Wilson. They were followed by members of the royal family. At the head of the table twelve persons were seated, with King George in the middle. President Wilson sat at the King's right and Mrs. Wilson on his left. To the right of President Wilson was Queen Mary and then the French Ambassador, Princess Christian, the Spanish

Ambassador and Princess Patricia, daughter of the Duke of Connaught."

The President and the King sat with their backs to the throne, probably to avoid a scrap, and Ambassadors Francis and Davis occupied a small table, "chatting vivaciously" across a vacant chair, reserved presumably for Mr. Creel, who was unavoidably detained. The \$15,000,000 solid gold service was used and, instead of waitresses, they had "attendants in full state dress, heavy with gold lace," ingeniously sewed to the coats to prevent the aigrettes from sagging into the soup. The dinner itself was fine, consisting chiefly, so far as we can make out, of brilliant poinsettias, Gobelin tapestries, cut-glass chandeliers, gold candelabra, holding 128 wicks apiece, and ice cream.

The King introduced the only speaker in a few well chosen words. "We welcome you," he began gracefully, "to the country whence came your ancestors"—Scotch-Irish, if we remember aright—"and where stand the homes of those from whom sprang Washington and Lincoln." He also welcomed him for himself, for his insight, calmness, dignity and diction and as "the official head of a mighty commonwealth whose people speak the tongue of Shakespeare and Milton," along with a few others which we wish they didn't. Altogether it was a capital speech, neither over nor underdone and just about the right length.

The President was good, too. Not only had he been touched personally by so warm a welcome to "me and Mrs. Wilson," but "as expressing that same feeling for my people," meaning, he carefully explained, us Americans. The time was not fitting, of course, for interpretative discourse and the President wisely restricted his observations to the great tide which he had found running in the hearts of men and things like that, winding up with "May I not, sir, with a feeling of profound sincerity and friendship and sympathy propose your health" and the Queen's health and the good dog Snyder's health, and may we [not] all live long and prosper?—a highly gratifying request promptly granted by His Majesty, all standing. There the speech-making ended and the guests departed to their respective homes or clubs, feeling once more firmly united in ideal and purpose.

One striking circumstance of the great banquet, oddly overlooked by the forty-two accompanying correspondents, was the appearance of Mrs. Wilson at the head table between King George and Princess Mary, not merely as the wife of the President, but in her own right, as the direct descendant of the only real American Princess who ever before was received at the Court of St. James's with royal honors. Her predecessor and ancestress, it happens, was Pocahontas, the famous daughter of that wily old King Wahunsunakok, better known as the Powhatan. Three hundred years ago she arrived in England with her husband, John Rolfe, and in due time, was presented as the Lady Rebekah, at St. James's palace, just across the park from Buckingham, by Lady Delaware.

It is not recorded that the daughter of the Powhatan slept in the palace, but she was accorded all other honors of royalty now bestowed upon her descendant. In fact, King James was inclined to censure Rolfe, although a widower, for marrying into a royal family without having first obtained the consent of his own sovereign, but he finally forgave his loyal subject upon the ground that this was his first

indiscretion. The Princess herself was the recipient of many banquets and, like Mrs. Wilson, achieved marked popularity immediately. Their costumes differed with their periods naturally, Mrs. Rolfe being accustomed to wear "a broad serrated collar or ruff and an embroidered and jewelled cap," while at the banquet the other evening Mrs. Wilson wore "black covered with spangles and very few jewels."

The renowned Simon Van Pass painted a portrait of the Princess Pocahontas and it was hung in the vestry of St. George's Church at Gravesend, where she was buried. Before she died, however, she bore a son called Thomas, who went to Virginia and started the Bollings, of whom unquestionably Mrs. Wilson is now the most famous, as likewise in her day Pocahontas became of the Wahunsunakoks.

It was most natural and fitting, therefore, that, as a token of her appreciation of the royal courtesies extended to her by the English Sovereign, Mrs. Wilson should present to the church at Gravesend a photograph of herself to be hung, according to the *World's* correspondent, beneath the portrait of Princess Pocahontas, signed "Edith Bolling Wilson" and framed in oak—thus most gracefully signaling a quite remarkable coincidence.

Saturday was Mr. Wilson's sixty-second birthday and the King presented to him "a magnificent set of books," comprising, it was shrewdly surmised although not officially reported, a certain *History of the American People* published by Harper and Brothers and prefaced by a *fac simile* of the Declaration of Independence. The ladies of the party received brooches and the gentlemen in attendance stickpins. Susie, the first colored maid to sleep in the Palace, was also remembered. The President himself pronounced it "the greatest birthday of my life," and we guess it was; anyhow it was the busiest since the first.

Following several minor receptions at the Embassy came the great meeting at the famous Guildhall, where the aldermen and commoners "lent color to the occasion," as Booker Washington used to say, by appearing in red and blue robes and "wigs of ancient shapes." Senator Owen of Oklahoma "sat with the sheriffs," although apparently he had no intention of creating a disturbance, and Mrs. Asquith, according to Mr. Grasty of the *Times*, "aroused a flutter of interest among Americans by appearing in a waistless frock,"—something quite new, we imagine.

But the great thing, of course, was the speech, and all agree that here the President struck his high top note. What he liked most was "the delightful air of sincerity" which he had detected in "that voice of counsel" which he was constantly hearing; and yet he could not "believe it was mere fancy" that his welcome was wholly personal; there was surely something more than that in such a "singular com-

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bination of emotions." So far as the proposed League of Nations was concerned—here they pricked up their ears—its principles had been "clearly and definitely enough stated" and he was "eager to get at the business and write the sentences down." What precise definition he had in mind was not revealed, but probably it was that which he had presented to the Sorbonne the week before in these unequivocal words:

"My conception of the league of nations is just this—that it shall operate as the organized moral force of men throughout the world and that whenever or wherever wrong and aggression are planned or contemplated, this searching light of conscience will be turned upon them, and men everywhere will ask: 'What are the purposes that you hold in your heart against the fortunes of the world?'"

Even more explicit, however, to our mind, and far more disturbing, we have to confess, was his tacit approval of "the suggestion that there must now be not a balance of power, not one powerful group of nations set up against another, but a single overwhelming, powerful group of nations who shall be the trustees of the peace of the world." Subsequently, however, he told them at Manchester that everybody would have to come in or he wouldn't play.

But the President himself evinced full confidence in his commission. "I know," he concluded, "that I have the support of the judgment of my colleagues in the Government of the United States in saying that it was my paramount duty to turn away even from the imperative tasks at home to lend such counsel and aid as I could to this great—may I not say final?—enterprise of humanity." If by "my colleagues in the Government" he meant only members of his Cabinet and his Peace manikins, he may be right; but if anything further from the fact as applied to the Senate or the country, for that matter, can be imagined, we for one do not know what it is. Surely Mr. Wilson must be aware that the English can read plain print.

At the luncheon at the Mansion House, following the Guildhall meeting, the President made quite a hit with his story about Charles Lamb's saying that he "couldn't h-hate a man he knew"; apparently they hadn't heard it before. He also gave pleasure by remarking that he had been greatly interested to learn what they had thought of him and, so far as he could make out, he "was expected to be a perfectly bloodless thinking machine" whereas, in truth, he had in him "all the insurgent elements of the race" and had difficulty at times in "keeping these instincts in restraint." Mrs. Wilson wore a violet velvet gown ornamented with embroidered silk motifs of the same tone and a velvet toque of the same color with wings of violet.

From the Mansion House they drove back to the Palace to change for dinner with the Lloyd Georges and went direct from Downing street to the midnight train for Carlisle, to visit the house in which Mr. Wilson's mother lived when she was a girl.

"Very satisfactory," was the universal declaration respecting the many political or peace conferences in London. So strong, in fact, was the sentiment for a League of Enforcement that when the President left, it began to look as if he could carry every country but his own. Anyhow, it was up to England to outdo France and she did it with a splash.

One bit of charming repartee escaped the forty-two accompanying tale-bearers. It was when Mr. Wilson said im-

pressively to the King, "I must avow to Your Majesty that I have no attachment to any but my own country," and His Majesty rejoined, "An honest man will never have any other." *Mais non!* We err. It was John Adams who made the remark and George the Third who responded away back in 1785. A similar blunder in reporting took place in Paris, where M. Clemenceau was said to have remarked jokingly, after Louis XIV, "Je suis l'etat," and the President retorted quick as a flash, "Mais, je suis les Etats Unis!" Investigation proved that it was a made-up story.

The plan now is to go for New Year's Day to Paris, which is likely to seem a bit flat we fear, and thence on the 2nd to Italy. They will enjoy Rome, we feel sure. It is a most interesting city.

Belligerents Only

THE visit of Count Romanones, the Spanish Prime Minister, to Paris, raised pretty acutely the question of the status of the neutral Powers in the peace congress, and has elicited some informal expressions of opinion that they will have none whatever, though they may at times be called into consultation when and if any issues arise directly affecting their interests. That opinion seems to us quite sound, though we should be inclined to doubt whether many such issues arise. Doubtless those Powers are legitimately interested in securing indemnity for damages done to their citizens and their commerce by the belligerents, but we are not at all sure that such claims from them are properly to be preferred at the peace conference. The making of peace is a business which concerns the belligerent Powers and no others. Thus China, as a neutral Power, was much affected by the Russo-Japanese war, but she did not therefore intrude herself into the Portsmouth conference. If in that war American commerce had suffered from unlawful ravages, we should have been entitled to demand and to secure redress, but we should not have sought it at Portsmouth.

This suggests the inappropriateness of attempting to crowd too many heterogenous issues into what purports to be the peace-making programme, and thus to invite into the peace conference too many nations, including—we say it without offence—some that have no legitimate business there. In their relationship to the war all the nations of the world are divided into three classes: the victorious belligerents, the vanquished belligerents, and the non-combatants. They are doubtless all interested in the making of peace, but by no means equally. They may all be interested in some of the international issues which arise after the peace-making, but not equally.

The question of peace-making is between the victorious and the vanquished belligerents, and between them alone. We cannot concede that those who had no part in waging the war are entitled to a voice in the ending of it and the settlement of its issues. In most cases the terms of peace have been settled by negotiation. In the present case the circumstances of the war were so extraordinary and its methods were so flagrant that we believe justice to demand that there shall be no such bargaining, but that the terms of peace shall be dictated by the victors and shall be submitted to by the vanquished, without privilege of discussion or demur.

How Germany Can Pay

SIR,—I can always agree with your cleverness, but not always with your logic.

In your Dec. 14th issue, page eleven, left-hand column, you state the following: "The argument that we must surrender our markets to Germany and subject our workmen to Hunnish competition, in order to enable Germany to pay her debts, is revolting to sense and to decency." In the right-hand column, speaking of England's reasonable demand for forty billion dollars of indemnity, you state: "Now let her [Germany] work for as many years, if that be necessary, to pay for the damage which she has caused to other nations."

Pay her debt with what, Mr. Harvey? You certainly don't mean gold? There isn't that much gold in the world by seventy per cent, and if it could be mined no one would want it, for it is unfortunately unsuitable for digestion, and cannot be made flexible enough for clothing, and platinum is now in style for personal ornamentation. The gold supply of Germany today is less than one billion dollars, and the gold supply of the whole world is probably less than ten billions.

The debts of one country to another must eventually be paid in goods. Nothing else is worth having. If the gold were available to start with, the payment of the gold would, through prices, soon bring about the exchange of commodities.

If England collects forty billions of dollars in goods, or in gold a little at a time and then goods, she will find herself in the position of a country with so many goods on credit that she doesn't have to work to produce any more, and her factories will close down. It will be a case of having too much stored-up wealth, which usually leads to idleness. It is the story of the aftermath of the Franco-Prussian War of 1870 over again. France then owed the money and had a great period of prosperity, working her factories full-time to pay off her debt, while Germany was idle, absorbing the billion dollars of goods that she had to accept.

The United States is in much the same fix now. We have from eight to ten billions of goods credit stored up in Europe now, and if we collect our wealth we will probably have a period of shut-down and idleness in the United States.

I think that most of our public speakers and writers either need a course of political economy or else they are trying to camouflage their real opinions with optimistic colors.

HUGH W. SANFORD.

Knoxville, Tenn.

THERE is, our correspondent tells us, a flaw in our logic when we argue that we should not surrender our markets to Germany and subject our workmen to degradation to the Hunnish standard in order to enable Germany to pay her debts, and, in the same breath, that Germany must be compelled to pay for all the damage which she has caused to other nations.

To his friendly criticism we amiably demur. It would be valid if the second condition which he cites were entirely dependent upon the first. But we cannot concede that such is the case.

We were arguing against an "abolition of economic barriers" which would be tantamount to abolition of tariffs, or even of discriminating tariffs, and we hold that such a performance is not necessary to the industrial and commercial rehabilitation of Germany in any degree sufficient to enable her to pay the just demands of the Powers which she has despoiled and outraged. For that would imply that she must now have very much more than she has ever had before. It is a commonplace of the world's economic history that for the last half-century Germany has enjoyed immense, almost unexampled, prosperity. The growth of her industries and the expansion of her commerce have been cited as wonders of the world.

Well, she did all that without any "abolition of economic barriers." She did all that, she amassed the wealth which enabled her to wage war against the civilized world, without our surrendering our markets to her and without our

workmen being subjected to her degraded standard. If she could do that, she can and must now resume her industries and pay her debts without any greater advantages than she had before.

We must remember that German industries have not been ravaged, plundered and obliterated, as have those of Belgium and northern France. Save for a few munition works and arsenals, her factories remain unscathed. Her mines have not been flooded, her machinery has not been stolen, her merchant ships have not been sunk by pirate U-boats. In all her material equipment she is practically as fit and ready for "business as usual" as she was before she began the war.

We demand that she shall now go to work again, as she worked before the war; only that instead of building warships and Zeppelins and casting huge cannon and equipping vast armies, she shall devote her earnings to paying for the harm which she has wantonly and wickedly done to other nations. If in spite of our protective tariff against her she could prepare for war, then in spite of a similar tariff against her she must pay for the war.

To that, of course, she will demur. That is to be expected. We do not suspect our correspondent of German propaganda, but nevertheless his argument is precisely that which German propagandists will use, and are using, in their endeavor to gain in peace that which they could not gain in war. They will protest, they are protesting, that they are willing, of course, to pay their debts, but that it is impossible for them to do so unless they are freely admitted to the markets of the world, more freely than ever before. That protest is disingenuous. Plainly stated, it is a false pretence. It not merely repudiates their own boasts of superior efficiency, but, as we have shown, it also belies the records of the history of the last half-century.

We repeat, then, that our markets and our workmen must be protected against German competition, by whatever discriminating tariffs, boycotts, or what not, may be necessary; and at the same time our Allies are to be bidden Godspeed in their righteous task of exacting from Germany to the last farthing the indemnity which is their rightful due. It may take her fifty years to do it. It took her about fifty years to prepare for her raid upon civilization. If one dances an hour, is it not worth an hour's work to pay the piper? But we should doubt if it took her so long. Let her know that she must pay, in cash or kind, so many billions, and let her know that her capital and chief cities will be treated as conquered territory and garrisoned by alien armies at her expense until those indemnities are paid, and we warrant you that her energy for earning money will be mightily stimulated.

United, these three are irresistible. All are animated with the spirit of liberty, the love of fair play and the craving for progress. Nobody can now see forward to the time when their power will be dismissed, nor yet to the day when that power will be exercised otherwise than generously and for the good of mankind. They constitute to-day the true League of Peace. Can any scrap of paper strengthen the bond or enhance its beneficence?—*Evening Sun*.

No; it could only weaken by creating unnecessary causes of contention.

The President and the Senate

IN a Paris dispatch to the *Times*, Mr. Richard V. Oulahan informs us that "some impression appears to have been made on the American peace delegation by criticism in the Senate directed against the failure of President Wilson to keep the Senate informed of the progress of the exchanges with Allied statesmen in Paris."

You have to go away from home to get the news, and it is news indeed on this side of the Atlantic to learn, in the first place that there has been any "progress of the Allied statesmen in Paris," and it is still more surprising news to be informed that there has been criticism in the Senate over the failure of the President to keep that not wholly negligible body informed as to what has been going on, when, so far as anybody here at home knows, nothing whatever has been going on save an interchange of courtesies and speechmaking, in which last field of endeavor the President seems to have acquitted himself with that grace of diction with which we are all so familiar.

The "impression" to which the correspondent refers seems to be based on the recent speeches of Senators Knox and Lodge. Senator Lodge in the course of his remarks said he thought it of the last importance that those engaged in the actual negotiation of the treaty should at least know the views of the Senate. Surely not an unreasonable view on the part of Senator Lodge or of any other Senator. Inasmuch as the treaty must come to the Senate for ratification, it would be very deplorable, and pregnant with many possibilities of delay, if not disaster, were a treaty formulated containing matter certain to meet with Senate opposition. Indeed, the result of such procedure might be defeat of the entire treaty.

The President refused to include any representatives of the Senate among his peace commissioners, although the precedent of the Spanish treaty and strong personal representations from advisers in whom he might well have had confidence strongly urged him to do so. Instead, he preferred to select a group of automatons who could be relied upon to register his own personal opinions and not much else. He, in effect, reduced our Paris peace commission to just one person, and that person was himself.

That this was an affront to the Senate is undeniable. It was, in fact, a contemptuous ignoring of that branch of the people's representatives. Of course, the Senate felt the slight, felt it keenly. Yet the country has every reason for congratulation on the dignity with which its Senators met the flagrant discourtesy. Beyond a few transitory and sporadic ebullitions of resentment here and there, the Senate ignored the ill-treatment as completely as the President ignored the Senate.

Not permitted to share in the negotiations themselves, they have merely taken the sane and patriotic course of putting themselves on record regarding certain subjects which have been publicly discussed and to which, so far as the nebulous nature of his generalizations could be interpreted, the President, solely on his own responsibility, had committed himself. It would have been manifestly improper and unfair for the Senate to encourage by silence the inclusion in the peace treaty of provisions to which it could not assent. In default of any other way to make their voices heard in the Paris conference, the Senators took the only course open. They put themselves on record. This is precisely what Senators

Knox and Lodge have done and it is all they have done. They have not criticized the President. They have not criticized any "delays" such as the correspondent mentions. By temperate and statesmanlike discussion they have indicated a group of subjects on which there are differences of opinion in the Senate so fixed and so wide that the inclusion of these subjects in a formulated peace treaty would gravely imperil that treaty's chances of ratification. In doing this Senators Lodge and Knox have done their duty by the conference, by the country, by the Senate and by the President himself. They have done more than that. Their respective analyses of the subjects legitimately claiming conference consideration, and of those matters occupying a wholly subordinate and collateral relation to the immediately pressing objectives of the conference deliberations, have been so exhaustive and so convincing that their purely informative value cannot be overestimated.

Putting it in general terms, Senators Lodge and Knox have urged that the field of peace discussions be restricted to matters bearing upon the attainment of peace. The League of Nations, the Freedom of the Seas, and all the intricate economical, humanitarian and international law problems suggested for debate and solution, they would relegate to the wisdom of future assemblages of statesmen of the different nations. The immediately pressing objective of the Paris conference appears to these Senators, and to a great many others, to be definition of the terms of peace, and at least the temporary settlement of the racial, political and geographical difficulties involved in that single question. How vast in itself is this last field Senator Lodge very clearly and very impressively outlined. It is, in fact, a problem so complex in its interlocking difficulties that it alone is sufficient to prolong discussion to the limit of the patience of a world long wearied of unsettled confusion and yearning for a return to something at least approximating normal conditions of civilized international life. The terms on which Germany may have peace and the nature of the security for Germany's adherence to these terms, the Paris Conference will dictate. When that task is done the work of the Conference is done. It is not a World Congress for the interminable discussion of international ethics. It is not a General Assembly of Philanthropists, with President Wilson as Moderator, for the translation of millennial dreams into realities. It is simply a court to judge and penalize an international bandit and so to chain and bind him that the world will be immune from outbreaks of his congenital tendencies to barbarism and gorilla savagery for generations to come.

All that is urged by Senators Lodge and Knox, and the vast number of Americans who agree with them, is that the Conference confine itself to this concrete and attainable purpose, and that it do not seek to embrace in its formulated conclusions matters on which there are even now divergencies of opinion in the Senate itself so wide as to imperil ratification of a treaty which undertook to include them. It is a fair warning from a body having no other way of making its views known, and from a body in whose hands, so far as this country is concerned, the fate of the treaty rests.

Certainly! Why not put up the German ships at auction and turn the proceeds over to Belgium? We could start the bidding.

The Problem of Russia

THE Russian problem presses for solution. In the midst of the tumult and the shouting over the President's visit to foreign shores and the preparations for the Peace Conference, it looms upon the horizon, perplexing and ominous. Its existence cannot be denied; its urgency cannot be ignored. Every day makes it more complicated and more difficult of solution, yet every day makes it the more imperative that it shall be solved. For the Peace Conference is approaching, and if the Russian problem is not solved before it meets, there will be perplexity and trouble unspeakable.

To put the matter plainly, the whole vast region formerly embraced in the Russian Empire, from the Pacific to the Baltic, is in a state verging upon anarchy. Nowhere is there any organization that can be properly regarded as a legitimate, representative, and efficient government. Nowhere is there a body which could worthily be represented in the Peace Conference as an equal and authoritative Power. At various places there are various organizations claiming governmental authority and exercising it to a limited degree over limited areas; but not one of them can be regarded as entitled to speak or to act for all Russia.

Nor are we quite sure whether there is now any "all Russia" in the sense of a political entity. Granted that Finland and Poland are set off as independent states, as they should be; what of the remainder? The Ukraine, under German manipulation, set up independence. So did Lithuania, and the Baltic Provinces. Do we recognize those acts as valid? We have repudiated the bastard treaty of Brest-Litovsk, but do we insist upon the undoing of all its results; or of all the conditions which it recognized? We are committed to maintenance of the right of self-determination. But do we consider that right to have been legitimately exercised by these various provinces which Germany inveigled into secession?

These are questions of urgent gravity, because at the Peace Conference Russia either will or will not be represented. If the former, who are to represent her, and how much of her will they represent, and who will sign their credentials? If the latter, how will the Conference adjust the relations between Russia and the rest of the world, in the absence of Russian representatives? It is quite obvious that the Powers cannot, for their own selfish sakes as well as for the sake of humanity, afford to ignore Russia and to let her remain in her present state of anarchy. That might suit Germany's book, giving her the opportunity of exploiting Russia which she has long been seeking; but it would be stultifying and disastrous to the civilized Powers.

It is so desirable as to be practically imperative that before the assembling of the Peace Conference there shall be an authoritative solution of the Russian problem; at least to the extent of determining Russia's status in or toward that body. There must be a definite agreement among the Powers as to what territory is to be regarded as still composing Russia, and as to what persons or body is to be recognized as its responsible Government. If any such agreement has been reached, the fact is still hidden in secret diplomacy. Yet the date for the assembling of the Conference is near at hand.

It will not do, either, to overlook the anomalous position of the Czecho-Slovaks and the grave injustice which is being

imposed upon them. It must be recognized that in so far as Russia has been saved from utter dissolution, and in so far as there is now an orderly nucleus around which forces of order may rally, credit is to be given to that alien army which practically created itself and achieved one of the most romantic and most splendid conquests in the history of the world. The service which the Czecho-Slovaks thus rendered to the Allies as well as to Russia is simply inestimable.

We speak of it as a service which they are still rendering: for the brutal fact is that while we have profited from their heroism, we have not supported them nor relieved them. We have left them, we are still leaving them, to bear the burden alone. They are needed at home, in their own newly recreated state. They are under no obligation to remain indefinitely in Russia, holding at least a remnant of that country from ruin. They ought to be at once replaced with troops of the Allies. But they are not. They are not even supplied by the Allies with the munitions and food that they need. They are abandoned to their own devices, and yet are expected to stand their ground and save Russia for us. They beg for help, and we answer them with the fine words which butter no parsnips; and nothing more. We do not know of an act in history more shabby and ungrateful.

It was the United States that delayed Allied intervention in Russia in response to the earnest request of the best elements of the Russian people. The United States has also recognized the belligerency and sovereignty of the Czecho-Slovaks. These facts should indicate with unmistakable directness and force the moral duty of the United States now to take prompt and efficient lead in settling the Russian problem, at least so far as the Czecho-Slovaks are concerned.

The British are apparently looking to President Wilson to curb Italy's pretensions.—*Evening Sun*.

Nonsense! The British keep their bargains.

Not even President Wilson has a clear mandate from the country. His proposals to the peace conference may win American approval. So far as he has defined them they have not won such approval. The apprehensions of many senators are the apprehensions of many Americans.—*Chicago Tribune*.

It is a relief to read that the former Kaiser's apartments at the Quirinal are being "renovated," preparatory to the reception of American guests. They say the King himself is beating the carpets, but you mustn't believe all you hear.

Elasticity Unlimited

WE have still another demonstration of the astounding elasticity of the United States Constitution. The Attorney General has now handed down an opinion that the ten days' limitation on Congress enactments, beyond which such enactments automatically take on the validity of laws without Executive approval, do not begin to run until engrossed copies of the enactments are actually placed in the President's hands.

Prior to this we were assured by the President's counselors that there is nothing in the Constitution to prevent his abandoning his post of duty and going beyond seas to travel where and as far as may suit his pleasure. That the President accepted this interpretation of the Constitution is demonstrated

by the fact that he acted upon it. He left his post of duty in Washington at a peculiarly critical moment, with Congress in session and actually engaged in the discussion of questions of vital import to the country, and set out on his travels in foreign lands 3,000 miles beyond seas. He was not even able to tell us, save in the vaguest and most indefinite way, how long he would be away. All that we know on that subject is from cablegrams which indicate that his absence may be prolonged far beyond the time which at first seemed probable. He may not be back until February is well advanced. Unless the President were well assured of his Constitutional authority for thus abandoning that post which all other Presidents have felt imperatively compelled to occupy continuously, it is inconceivable that he would take so unprecedented a step.

The ten-day time limit on enacted bills was admittedly a source of some uneasiness when the idea of the President's self-expatriation was first broached. There was even talk of a sort of "gentlemen's agreement" by which enacted measures might be indefinitely held up by postponement of those signatures of the Speaker of the House and the President of the Senate which are essential to the completion of a bill prior to its submission to the Executive. But this plan, on its face, was so dishonorable and so fraught with danger that it was speedily abandoned.

There then remained nothing save an "opinion" from some authoritative source which would warrant holding up legislation, no matter how urgent, until the President could be overhauled somewhere abroad and the enacted measure in its final form, so far as Congress is concerned, put into his hands. That "opinion" the Attorney General has just supplied.

So now we have the Administration's law for the President to roam all over the world if he chooses with a procession of couriers following him with enactments straight from the halls of Congress itself. If the President under the Constitution may visit France, Italy and Great Britain there is no reason why he may not extend his excursions to India, China and Japan. There is no reason why he might not join a Polar Exploring Expedition. To be sure his trail under such circumstances might be a difficult one for the couriers bearing Congress bills to follow, and it might involve rather formidable delays and some dangers to legislation of an urgent character. But it would be a Constitutional trail and the Attorney General has put no limit to the time that couriers may take in catching up with a globe-trotting Executive. All this is owing to the singular elasticity of our Constitution. It may be stretched in distance, it would appear, until it girdles the globe, and in time until it reaches across all the four years of a Presidential term. It has been described as the most remarkable document ever produced by man. It is. Whatever it lacks can always be interpreted into it, and if the interpretation is questioned it can always be clinched by an "opinion." And there you are.

The President has already broken two precedents in Paris by calling on Premier Clemenceau and by accepting an invitation to a diplomat's dinner. Will he also break another precedent of royalty, that of responding to such honors as that of "Citizen of Paris" conferred upon him by the Municipal Council of that city, by failing to bestow a handsome sum—\$10,000 or \$20,000 or so, for instance—upon the Council, for the poor of the city?—*The World*.

The idea! Of course not.

No Procrustean Democracy

IT cannot be too clearly kept in mind that *the voluntary principle* is essential to democracy. You cannot force the thing upon people, and you cannot prescribe the particular form of it that they shall adopt. It is a monstrous thing, we say, to impose a king or an emperor, under some pretence of "divine right," upon a nation that does not want him, and we should heartily sympathize with any people that revolted against such tyranny, as did our own forefathers. But we owe it to candor to say that it would be no less wrong to force democracy upon a people that did not want it, or to force upon them some particular form of democracy when they preferred another form.

We have before us three conspicuous examples of democratic government, each radically differing in form from the others:

The United States has a President elected by the people who, with his self-chosen Ministry, is the actual Executive and is not responsible to the Legislative department of Government.

France has a President elected by the Legislature, who is little more than a figure-head, and the real Executive is a Ministry directly responsible to the Legislature.

Great Britain has a President called a King, who inherits his office and holds it for life, and who, while nominally the Executive, in fact exercises his functions through a Ministry directly responsible to Parliament. There are also other important differences.

Each of the three systems has its advantages, and its disadvantages. Each of them is doubtless better suited to the nation which has it than either of the others would be, or than it would be to either of the other nations. We have no idea that any of the three nations has any wish to change its system for one of the others.

Now there are being organized and reorganized in Europe various independent states, formerly parts of large and despotic empires. Most if not all of them will presumably be republics. We have sympathized with them and aided them in their efforts to secure self-determination, and we shall regard with special gratification and approval their adoption of democratic institutions. But if in any case, of their own volition, free from external dictation, they elect otherwise, and establish monarchical governments, or republics radically different in organization from our own, it will be incumbent upon us ungrudgingly to acquiesce in their choice.

We must remember that nations differ in traditions, in inclinations, in modes of thought, in popular theories of government, and in adaptability to forms of government. Our own traditions and our own hereditary training and preparation for self-government were very different from those of most of these other peoples, and we must take that fact into consideration. It is quite right for us to prefer our system to any other, for us to recommend it to others, and for us to proffer all possible explanations of it to others, to induce and facilitate their adoption of it. But we must scrupulously avoid anything like seeming to make it a procrustean bed upon which, *nolens volens*, others must be compelled to lie.

The Week

WASHINGTON, January 2, 1919.

HERE were two triumphal entries in one day: The President at London and our war fleet at New York. Both were successfully effected, impressively and memorably. We should doubt if any other foreign dignitary—though Britishers do not altogether regard Americans as foreigners—ever received a welcome in London quite comparable with that given to the President; or indeed if any other ever quite deserved it. That is partly because there never before was an occasion comparable with this in importance to the world. Not for three hundred and thirty years had England been in so deadly peril as that from which in this last year she was delivered. Surely it was fitting that she should give the occasion due recognition. It was partly, too, because of the personality of her guest. It would be worse than churlish not to recognize that fact. A century ago London gave a splendid reception to Marshal Bluecher, who showed his appreciation in characteristic Prussian fashion: "Donnerwetter! What a city this would be to plunder!" The contrast between his attitude and that of the President is world-wide, and the British see it. A third reason for the greatness of the reception was, as we are sure the President himself would be foremost to insist, because of the nation which he represented. If simply as Woodrow Wilson he appealed strongly to the confidence and the imagination of the British people, there were other sentiments to which he appealed no less strongly as President of the United States of America. The British paid great honor to Woodrow Wilson *per se*, and they also paid great honor to the President of the United States.

At the same time, almost the same hour, our great armada made its triumphal re-entry into the great port which it, with the armadas of our Allies, had protected from Hunnish ravishers. It was a great event as a spectacle, as a display of the naval might of our country; but it was greatest as a reminder of the decisive character of sea power in war, and in this as much as in any other war that ever was waged. It was Salamis and Marathon more than Thermopylae that saved the soul of Greece from the bulk of Persia. It was Drake and Howard who saved England on the Narrow Seas three centuries and a third ago. It was that impenetrable arc of steel, extending from the Strait of Dover to the North Cape, that made possible Verdun and the Marne. We do not say that Germany would have won even if the British and American navies had been defeated; but we do say that the task of beating her would have been immeasurably more tedious.

We must therefore perceive a striking incongruity between these two memorable events of a single day. The President went to London largely, as we have it on authority most friendly to him, in the hope of winning Great Britain over to his doctrine of the freedom of the seas. Yet at the very same time our own fleet was reminding us of the strongest possible arguments, and to our mind absolutely convincing arguments, against that very doctrine in the only interpretation of which it seems susceptible. We cannot believe that this nation can ever be persuaded to deny itself the right to do, in another such emergency, precisely what the British and American fleets did in this war.

Christmas time was prolific in doubtless well-meant tales of approaches to fraternization between our soldiers and the Huns along the Rhine, as well as in reports of assiduous efforts of Germans everywhere to win American favor, even to the extent of praising and flattering President Wilson, whom a little while ago they were reviling and damning. Without any desire to kill joy, or to mar the season of goodwill and peace, we would point out that technically and legally we are still in a state of war with Germany, and that friendly intercourse between our soldiers and Germans is therefore a grave offense against the law. As for the German overtures for American favor, we have no more doubt that they are being made than we have that they are hypocritical and treacherous. For them to pretend that they were all so grossly deceived by the Kaiser and his Junkers is simply an impudent and foolish falsehood. For proof of that, see the expert testimony of Dr. Muelhon and other German authorities, who, from the depth of their incomparable knowledge of their countrymen, declare that the whole people were tarred with the same stick as Wilhelm Hohenzollern and his Tirpitz. "Though you turn over all the tales of long-robed Tragedy from the days of Pyrrha onward," wrote Juvenal, "you will find there no crime committed by an entire people. But," he continued, "hear what an example of ruthless barbarism has been displayed in these days of ours." Without the alteration of a word, we may adopt his words for our own time, and point to this example of an unexampled crime that was committed by an entire people.

The Czecho-Slovaks in Siberia are, as we insist elsewhere, still being neglected by the Allies. Those gallant men have performed one of the greatest services in all the war, with a romantic daring never surpassed in human history. More than any other agency, they have saved Russia from being wholly Germanized, and have made possible her rehabilitation. They have done this at their own cost—with no aid from us to speak of—more for our good than their own. And now, month after month, we are leaving them to "hold the fort," and do not even signal them "We are coming." There is danger of its becoming an international scandal, equal to that of the betrayal of Gordon at Khartoum. If we are willing for them to get out and leave the country to Bolshevik chaos, we ought to say so and to assume the responsibility for the catastrophe. But if we want them to stand their ground and maintain the great redemption which they have achieved, we should give them the support and the relief which they so sorely need.

The Legislature of Victoria has done well in enacting that, under penalty, all goods sold there hereafter shall be plainly and conspicuously marked with the name of the country of their origin. In that there is, of course, no invidious discrimination; but it will enable purchasers readily to reject goods of German origin if they so desire. We have a law here to the same effect, which is practically nullified by the inconspicuous character of the marking. We should favor not only compelling the marking to be far more conspicuous, but also compelling salesmen to inform would-be purchasers orally of the country of origin of all goods offered by them. In that, of course, there would be no invidious discrimination, and we should not be erecting one of those economic bar-

riers which the President benevolently deplures. The salesman would take the same pains to tell you that this article came from France or Belgium as that this one came from Germany. That is information to which you are fairly entitled. Then if you prefer the French or Belgian goods to the German, why, that is your right and there's no harm done. Let us have no camouflage in commerce.

The *Leviathan* made ten trips abroad, carrying 94,180 men to France. And the thick-headed Boches thought that they had disabled her machinery so that we couldn't use her!

Germany has returned \$1,200,000,000 that she stole from French, and \$95,000,000 from Belgian banks. Perhaps some day the former Crown Prince will return the silverware and jewelry which he stole to send to his women friends.

The Bolshevik Government of Russia shows a budget deficit of sixteen billion rubles in the last calendar year, and the balance sheets of the industrial establishments which it has taken over from private to Government control show deficits aggregating a million rubles, although before the change of management they showed surpluses and paid dividends. Great is Bolshevism!

There is much to command sympathetic approval in General Edwards's advice, that the bodies of our dead soldiers should not be brought home, but should be left to rest in the soil of the land which they died to redeem. Of course, as he says, the wishes of surviving relatives must have first consideration. But we should hope that these would prefer to think that they forever own some little spot of land in France, or where "in Flanders fields the poppies grow" because of the dead enshrined there. It would manifestly be impossible to bring all the bodies over, and since so many must of necessity remain, it would be a gracious tribute to their memory to leave their comrades there, too. We may be sure that France and Belgium will as reverently and as tenderly care for our dead as we could ourselves, while their remaining there will perpetuate with peculiar strength the bond of fraternity which now unites the lands.

It is pointed out that Charles Hapsburg has never yet actually abdicated the Austrian and Hungarian thrones, and it is suggested that he remains in an expectant and receptive mood, awaiting a chance to get back to them. We shouldn't wonder if he really was fool enough to cherish such ambitions. Nor should we be surprised if William Hohenzollern would like to get back to Berlin. Moreover, we have little doubt that a large proportion, perhaps a majority, of their former subjects would welcome those imperial scoundrels back, if they could. "Ephraim is joined to his idols." But it behooves the world not to permit this. It behooves the Allies to see to it that there is no Hohenzollern or Hapsburg restoration. Within certain limits the Huns have a right to choose their own rulers. But the rest of the world has something to say about the disposition of international criminals.

The notion seems to be cherished by some that for the United States to demand, or even to accept, indemnity from

Germany would convict this country of sordid motives in the war. We can scarcely imagine a more intolerably gross reflection upon us than thus to insinuate that we sold the lives of our soldiers in France for prospective gold. By analogy, if we took indemnity for the victims of the *Lusitania* massacre, that would imply that we induced them to sail on that ship in order to make money out of their death!

At Berlin the lid seems to be tilted, if it is not actually off. Mobs rage, soldiers shoot, sailors run amuck, and the Provisional Government totters. We should be sorry to see more complete chaos there, for that would make our own tasks more difficult. But it is impossible to avoid a somewhat caustic reflection upon this exhibition of much-vaunted German unity, German efficiency, German discipline. A valid measure of a people's real greatness is their conduct in time of disaster and distress. Thus measured, the Huns are poor creatures. Probably the best thing that could happen to them would be for an Allied army of occupation to take possession of Berlin. Then they might learn to behave, as their compatriots are doing at Coblenz and elsewhere along the Rhine.

Omens of trouble in Eastern Prussia increase and multiply. The Poles are determined to take possession of the part of their former realm which Prussia stole, as well as those taken by Russia and Austria, and the Prussians are determined that they shall not. According to the President's "only possible conditions of peace," the Poles are in the right. Whether they should insist upon their rights now, or should await the result of the peace congress, is a two-sided question.

Among the pictures of the great war which the world will long cherish with unctuous delight is that of the Kaiser of the Huns disporting himself in camouflaged trenches for the benefit of "movies", and then dodging into a deep "funk hole" the moment an electric annunciator reported the peeping of an Allied airplane above the remote horizon. Presumably the latter movement was effected to the accompaniment of the once-familiar strains from *Olivette*: "Now is the time for disappearing! Just take a header, and down you go!" And what a brandishing of the "shining sword" and what communions with the "Old German Gott" there must have been in that subterranean retreat!

The new Turkish Government, we are told, will prosecute and punish those responsible for the Armenian massacres. That would be well, if it could be done. But it would not be altogether satisfactory to have the agents punished and the principals go free. Enver, Talaat, and Djemal have fled, rich with plunder; Liman von Sanders has got back to Berlin; and William Hohenzollern was recently preaching a Christmas sermon. Without the capital punishment of those five arch-criminals, Armenia must remain unavenged.

It seems to be nip and tuck between reports that Nicholas Romanoff is still living and that William Hohenzollern is dead. We doubt if either story is true; and we should hate to say which we would prefer to have true if only one could be.

Strange Deductions from Silence

MR. CARLTON, President of the Western Union Telegraph Company, on his return from a recent conference with the Politicalmaster General, was quoted as saying that Mr. Burleson "never indicated to me [Mr. Carlton] that Government ownership of the cables formed any part of his plans for the wire systems of the country."

In other words, the Politicalmaster General said nothing on the subject. He neither admitted nor denied that the Government purposed retention of the cables. All that he said even indirectly touching on the subject, so far as may be inferred from Mr. Carlton's reported account of the conversation, was something about Government plans for extension of the cable service. Beyond that Mr. Burleson was silent.

Yet from this silence Mr. Carlton somehow draws the conclusion that the Government's plan is to retain the cables until the "emergency" arising out of the Peace Conference ends. By what processes of ratiocination Mr. Carlton reaches this conclusion is not revealed. On that point Mr. Carlton himself is silent. It is rather a pity. It would be an interesting study in the operation of an active mind to know just how he got there. But that is really unimportant. The mystery of how Mr. Carlton formulated a clean-cut definition of Government policy out of something the Politicalmaster General did not say is quite subordinate in tantalizing interest to curiosity as to the nature of that "emergency" on the termination of which hinges the release of the cables from Government control. Here Mr. Burleson and Mr. Carlton are both silent. It was apparently an interview made up largely of dramatic silences.

This is aggravating in the extreme. If there is one thing more than another about which the public is curious to the verge of becoming clamorous, that thing is this incomprehensible "emergency" which somehow never emerges from the obscurity which has so completely veiled it from the first. Just what is the "emergency" which the Peace Conference has produced? Wherein is it different and greater than any emergency created by actual warfare itself? If the enormous volume of cable communication incident to the transportation beyond seas of millions of men and millions of tons of war supplies; incident, in a word, to the vast and complicated business of conducting a war in Europe—if all this prodigious demand upon cable service was satisfactorily met for the entire duration of the war without Government seizure of even the cables to Europe, what was the nature of that astounding emergency, which, when war was over and only peace conversations remained, made imperative Government seizure not only of all the cables to Europe, but of all those to Asia, South and Central America and the Pacific Ocean?

That, indeed, is a subject on which Mr. Burleson's views would have commanded the country's keenest attention. But on that subject also he was silent—silent with a silence which shouted, if we may use the expression; with a silence which is fairly roaring, and not very patiently roaring, for an answer. As the matter now stands, in default of an answer from Exalted Quarters, the public is pretty rapidly formulating an answer of its own. It is clearing up the mystery of the "emergency" by the simple explanation that there isn't any emergency; by a belief rapidly hardening into a fixed conviction that the "emergency" is a fiction pure and simple; a

fiction so silly that its serious presentation for credence is a legitimate appeal to laughter or wrath according to the varying temperaments of mankind.

What the fiction is designed to cover is another matter. So far as the revelations of Mr. Carlton are concerned, we are no more enlightened on this subject than we were before he came back with his conclusions drawn from things on which the Politicalmaster General maintained a sphinx-like silence. All we know is that the Government has seized the cables and that the explanation for the seizure is on its face an absurdity.

What becomes of the vaunted "equal rights of small nations" when "a single overwhelming powerful group of nations" assume the trusteeship of the world?

"He wanted peace without victory and now he has victory without peace," is the way Uncle Joe Cannon puts it.

The *Herald* says what is in many minds:

The President says he is trying to act in England as George Washington would act if he were in his place.

George Washington was a far-seeing man, and he may have pictured one of his successors in the Presidency, the Queen of England on his arm, entering the banquet hall of the royal palace in London with court functionaries ahead walking backward and doing obeisance, but we doubt it.

Still more do we doubt that any manager of a Presidential election campaign ever pictured his candidate in such a scene.

No doubt, if it was necessary to go at all, it would have been more Americanlike and more businesslike to have left the women folks at home and gone quietly to the Embassy in Paris and stayed there when the conference was not in session. Technically, then, he would have been on American soil and would have had better legal warrant for the signing of bills from Congress, etc. But when one becomes the guest of a nation, he must accept hospitality in the form tendered, and blame cannot attach to a host for doing it up brown. There is no point in the reference to a Presidential election. Mr. Wilson will not be a candidate. He has outgrown the United States.

Did the manikins have no minds to match?

A Crying Outrage

SOLDIERS returning from the other side suffering from shell-shock are being sent to St. Elizabeth's, the Government Hospital for the Insane. Astounding as this treatment of men who have risked their lives in the defense of their flag may seem, it is admitted by officers attached to the Office of the Surgeon-General of the Army. It is asserted that only cases of a certain character, namely, "those with pronounced mental symptoms" and requiring the character of treatment given at the insane asylum, are sent to this institution; that those suffering from simple neurosis are sent to Plattsburg and other points. It is also urged that the facts should not receive undue publicity out of regard for the feelings of the relatives of those committed to the insane asylum. But with all possible regard for the feelings of those so related, the mere fact that men suffering from shell-shock should be confined in an institution where conditions must inevitably aggravate their malady, makes it imperative that the attention of the public be called to such heartless and unscientific treat-

ment of men who deserve the utmost consideration and attention from the Government for which they have sacrificed so much.

There is evidence that many of the men committed to the insane asylum are keenly alive to the danger involved, that they plead pitifully to be sent elsewhere, that they argue with force and lucidity that the character of their affliction is only temporary, and that incarceration in an asylum where they are thrown with the hopelessly insane must almost inevitably aggravate their troubles, and probably will change what are now temporary aberrations into permanent insanity. The force of these arguments cannot be escaped by anyone familiar with the distressing scenes and environment of a large public insane asylum like St. Elizabeth's.

It may be argued that the indications point to the hopeless character of the infirmity of those afflicted with shell-shock attended by "pronounced mental symptoms." It may be true that the probability of permanent insanity far outweighs that of recovery. But it is stated by men eminent in the medical profession that shell-shock is a comparatively new affliction of which much remains to be learned. And it has been declared by those skilled in the study and treatment of every form of neurasthenia growing out of the shocks of modern warfare that preëminent factors in the remedial treatment are cheerfulness of environment, soothing surroundings, and the acme of tender care. Yet it is to the horrors of a Government hospital for the insane that the Surgeon-General of the Army is committing those patients in direst need of just the opposite of the conditions to be found there. Such commitment, it is obvious even to the layman, is tantamount to abandoning all hope of their recovery; it means the condemnation of men who may be but temporarily deranged to the living death of the permanently insane.

How many bills from Congress, we wonder, bear the endorsement: "Approved. Woodrow Wilson. Buckingham Palace, December 28, 1918."

Mr. Marshall on Subsidies

IN his speech at Carlisle, Pa., Vice-President Marshall got down to the basic facts of one reconstruction problem which is destined soon to engage very serious attention. This is the question of the conditions under which our mercantile marine is going to enter into competition with other ocean carriers when once the international commercial struggle is renewed.

No matter how many ships we may build or how many we may buy, as matters now stand we are hopelessly handicapped, so far as competition with the mercantile marines of other nations is concerned. There are other restrictions desirable of elimination, but the La Follette-Feruseh law regulating seamen's wages and the conditions of seamen's employment is in itself sufficient to put us quite out of the competitive running. Under this law American shipowners are loaded with a burden of expense practically double that of shipowners in any other country in the world. That this law is fatal to the expansion, even to the existence, of an American mercantile marine is by no means a mere theory. It is a demonstrated fact. In only a few months of its operation, prior to the outbreak of the war, it had practically stripped the American flag from all the seven seas. Such

of our ship operators as were not driven out of business were sent scurrying to the shelter of foreign flags. It supplanted the American by the Japanese flag on some of the most important lines of the Pacific Ocean. Even on the great lakes it was driving our vessels to the protection of the flag of Great Britain. All this is matter of history so recent that only the turmoil and confusion of the war explains any public forgetfulness there may now be of an event which was producing something like consternation only a few years ago in all our commercial world.

Mr. Marshall is not one of those who have forgotten an event so recent and so ominous. He sees very clearly that if we are to compete in the carrying business on the high seas something has got to be done to remove these La Follette-Feruseh shackles. He thinks the law in itself is wholly humanitarian in its character. Probably it is. But, humanitarian or not, the fact remains that we cannot do business under it. That, Mr. Marshall concedes. He says that unless the law, by international agreement, can be made applicable to all nations, we have before us just three alternatives. Either we must repeal it, subsidize shipping, or have Government control of our merchant marine. He is inherently opposed to Government control. None the less he would infinitely prefer it to subsidizing private lines.

In other words, he is opposed to subsidizing private lines but is entirely willing to subsidize Government lines. If private concerns cannot run ships under the La Follette law without doing so at a loss, then surely they cannot be run under Government control without loss. And if there is a loss there is a deficit. If there is a deficit it must either be made up or the Government lines must go out of business. If the deficit is made up it must be made up at the expense of the taxpayers. If the private lines were subsidized, they also would be subsidized at the taxpayer's expense. It is a subsidy just the same whether the taxpayers pay it to the Government or to private owners. If Mr. Marshall objects to Government ownership and objects to subsidies also, it is a little difficult to see why he prefers Government ownership plus subsidies. For that is what it comes to.

If Government operation of utilities is cheaper than private operation the fact has yet to be demonstrated. Every experience has shown that directly the reverse is the case. Theoretically the Government is as careful of the taxpayer's money as private concerns are careful of their own. How far that theory squares with practice we all, alas, know only too well. We all know from bitter experience that whereas private enterprises are operated under an economy that is reduced to a science, Government business is only too often conducted under a waste that is equally scientific—scientific in false accounting, scientific in destruction of material, scientific in burdening the service with superfluous help pensioned on payrolls in payment of political debts or to secure political influence.

And yet Mr. Marshall would prefer to pay the larger subsidy incident to wasteful Government operation plus the deficit inevitable to running ships under the La Follette law to paying private owners a smaller subsidy to meet the deficit arising from the law only! He would rather subsidize Government waste than private economy. That is precisely what the choice of evils he suggests implies.

His other alternative is to repeal the law. But it would

seem that there might be still another way out of the difficulty. If, by careful, intelligent study, an approximately exact estimate of the extra cost the La Follette law puts upon our ships over those of other countries could be made—and it does not seem to be an insoluble problem in mathematics—and if that sum were made up by Government allowance to our shipowners, then we could do business and conduct our humanitarian enterprise at the same time. We are embarked pretty extensively in the foreign humanitarian business anyway. A little extension of it in domestic matters would not make much difference. Whether the humanitarian deficit be Governmental or private, the taxpayers foot the bill. They always do.

The only difference in this case would be that the private deficit would be ascertained and limited, whereas that of the Government would have no limit save the blue sky.

A League of Nations which does not guarantee equal opportunity and equal treatment for all races and nationalities is by no means perfect. If the American President is really desirous of making his plan successful, he should have courage to abolish all the laws and regulations of his country which discriminate against races other than white. Is President Wilson determined to do this? Japan has the right to ask him for a definite answer. —*Tokio Kokumin.*

Shall we substitute New Slavery for our Old Freedom? That is the real question.

Our Gravest Peril

THE retirement of William G. McAdoo from the enormously important post of Director-General of Railways leaves the nation confronted by one of the gravest perils of its existence.

This is not exaggeration. It is a simple statement of the consensus of opinion of the ablest men in Congress, irrespective of party. These are the facts on which they base their opinion: When President Wilson, in his last message to Congress, observed concerning the railway problem, "Let me say at once I have no answer ready," he was, as is now obvious, merely quibbling. He meant, not that he had no answer, but that he was not ready at that moment to state it. This is proved by his immediate endorsement of Mr. McAdoo's recommendation of a five-year extension of Government control. And in the light of his now obvious purpose, his threat to restore the railways to private ownership "even before the extension of the statutory period, unless there should appear some clear prospect in the meantime of a legislative solution," assumes a new and menacing significance.

For two years from March 4, despite the Republican majorities in Congress, Mr. Wilson will possess the veto power. He is committed to the extension for five years of Federal control, and, unless he should change his mind, no matter what legislative measure the Congress might pass, there would be no "clear prospect" of legislative solution.

Entirely germane to this situation are certain highly significant if less important facts. On the day Secretary McAdoo's recommendation was made public he caused the Office of Railway Administration in Washington to give to the newspaper correspondents the information that, of course, if Mr.

McAdoo's recommendation were carried out there would be no reduction of the wages of railway employees for five years. Quite recently, a friend traveling across the country with the Director-General on his private car remarked on the enthusiastic encomiums pronounced on Mr. McAdoo by railway employees who boarded the car from time to time. Mr. McAdoo replied, gleefully, "Yes, and they are all equally enthusiastic. And there are 2,300,000 of them—and every one a voter."

Another and a serious phase of the situation is that Republican control of the Senate after March 4 will be more theoretical than actual, for the reason that, in order to count a Republican majority, it is necessary to include certain Bolsheviks, of whom it is necessary to name only La Follette and Norris. This situation makes it quite possible that the Senate cannot pass a sound, conservative railway measure without the aid of Democratic votes. And recent experience warrants little hope for such assistance with any measure which Mr. Wilson does not approve.

Attention has been called in these columns to the \$700,000,000 increase of wages already granted railway employees, and to the prediction of Chairman Sines of the Wage Board that increased wages will be granted soon to an additional 650,000 employees. It is a safe prediction that the increase of wages granted to railway employees under Federal control will considerably exceed the aggregate net earnings of the railways in normal times, leaving them no funds with which to pay dividends on capital, or interest on their debts.

Another phase of the situation which is important in this connection is that millions of dollars have been advanced to the railways and expended for improvements which it was necessary to make during the period of highest prices for labor and material, thus adding an indebtedness out of all proportion to the appraisal value of the improvements in normal times. Last Fall, for instance, \$20,000,000 was advanced to the Boston & Maine for needed improvements. It is estimated by the management of that road, however, that the improvements procured with that loan will have an appraisal value not to exceed \$12,000,000 when normal values are restored. Execution, therefore, of President Wilson's threat to restore the roads to private ownership without special legislation, and before the expiration of the statutory period, would mean, inevitably, absolute bankruptcy.

This, then, is the situation which confronts the Republican leaders and the nation. Woodrow Wilson holds the future of the railways, and through them the financial welfare of the nation, in the hollow of his hand. Mr. Wilson and Mr. McAdoo stand committed to the policy of a five-year extension of absolute Government control. The retiring Director-General, saturated with personal, political ambition, is already counting the number of voters whose wages he has been able to increase at the expense of the people. And finally, Mr. Wilson is on record as threatening, at least by implication, that unless he and Mr. McAdoo can have their way, he will promptly restore the railways to private ownership, which means their bankruptcy. For it is obvious that unless Mr. Wilson is prepared to abandon his stand for the five-year extension, there can be no "clear prospect" of remedial legislation while he enjoys the veto power. Five-year extension of Government control, or destruction of railway values and financial disaster for the country, are the alternatives presented to Congress—alternatives, apparently, from which there is no escape.

The Washington Doctrine

AN INDEPENDENT REPUBLIC, NOT A UNIT IN A SUPERNATIONAL SYSTEM

(From the Sun)

Can any American who loves his country above all the rest of the world forget that there are other ideals than those of world service, of international socialism, of universal brotherhood and of primary allegiance to common humanity?

Greater even than the Monroe Doctrine is the Washington Doctrine, impressively formulated in his last message of counsel to the American people, reaffirmed in the clear and concise phraseology of Jefferson and in the ringing periods of Daniel Webster's incomparable eloquence: "Why quit our own to stand upon foreign ground? Why, by interweaving our destiny with that of any part of Europe, entangle our peace and prosperity in the toils of European ambition, rivalry, interest, honor or caprice? It is our true policy to steer clear of permanent alliances with any portion of the foreign world."

A hundred and twenty-two years later we can see not only that this is the true policy of the United States from every point of view of national common sense, but also that it is the very quintessence of the American spirit, the traditional principle which has made the great western republic what it is to-day.

During this century and a quarter of consistent adherence to the policy of staying at home and minding our own affairs, going afield in armor only on proper occasions pertinent to our own national interests or honor, our population has increased from less than one million to more than one hundred millions. Our national wealth has grown from probably less than a billion at the beginning of the last century to seven billions in that century's middle year and to nearly 190 billions at the beginning of this war, and probably, according to the estimate of impartial foreign authority, to 250 billions at the present time. Never in the history of civilized progress has there been a comparable example of prosperous growth self-produced and inflowing.

And commensurate with this miracle of material progress is the increment of moral power that has attended the steady pursuance of the Washingtonian policy. The United States, by its independent position in the family of nations, its aloofness on principle from the intrigues, the rivalries and the toils of European ambitions, while drawing to itself a stupendous part of the mobile wealth of the world, has also been the fortunate recipient of an unprecedented accession of the energetic manhood of the world. As has been said again and again, we are the melting pot of nations; and the product, thank heaven! is pure Americanism.

There is a vast difference between nebulous theory and adamant fact. The adamant fact is the unique place the Washington Doctrine has given us; the power, while attending to our own affairs, to reach forth on proper occasion, and use our might as occasion requires. Why should we throw this power away? We hear much of ideals; we have already our own ideal, the American ideal.

Human nature has not changed in Europe or in Asia or in Africa or in the American hemisphere. National character has not changed and is not going to be changed by any written and sealed system of world ethics. The whole history of the world shows that an artificial League of Nations is likely to crumble like an eggshell under a heavy heel at the first important divergence of economic or territorial interests as between the really dominant Powers associated. . . .

The Sun's conception of the America of the future is not as a mere unit in a supernational system, but a free, mighty and prosperous sovereignty, friendly to all except those who wrong or attack it—not an America over all, but an America kept independent of all by Americans who are for America first.

Eph Small's Views

AS REPORTED BY MR. SIMON CREEL OF ALBANY

(From the Sun)

"Eph," I said, "I've been thinking a good deal lately of the proposed League of Nations and I'm bound to admit I see many advantages in it."

"So do I," replied Eph, slowly stirring the contents of his glass; "but," he queried in his whimsical drawl, "do ye see any advantages in it for America? Perhaps," he hastened to add, "I ought to beg your pardon for askin' sech a selfish question."

"Not at all," I answered imperturbably. "I'm speaking as an American."

"The desire of the nations for an international league," I continued, "is a spontaneous recognition of the truth that man-

kind should not exist as a mere collection of heterogeneous tribes, but rather as one large family."

"Speakin' of the desire of the nations," replied Eph, producing his cut plug from his hip pocket, "I don't jest rec'lect of hearin' no sech desire from the people of Brazil, ner Argentine, ner Mexico, ner Central America, ner Spain, ner China, ner any other country that ain't been in this 'ere war. The nations that yearn most for a League of Nations to keep the peace is them that is jest now so improv'ished in man power an' wealth that they ain't in no condition to scrap among themselves, ner with nobody else. God knows I don't blame 'em. But the United States ain't in no sech sitooation, not by a hellova sight. She don't need no League of Nations no more than I need a third ear."

"Perhaps not," said I, "but you've just admitted that many other nations do. Why don't you look at the question in a broad light? Do we not owe a duty to the rest of the world? You've often expressed a warm admiration for Lloyd George. Now he, together with every other English statesman of note, favors a League of Nations in the interests of permanent peace."

Eph drained his glass to the last drop.

"To good old England," he said, shaking his head solemnly. "D'ye know," he asked with a touch of sadness and envy in his voice, "I've often wished I was an Englishman. There's a country that any man could be proud to live for and die for, an' if ye think I'm gittin' sentimental in me old age ye've got another thought comin'. England never loses her head. Her sons look after her interests fust, last an' all the time; she knows men; she's fit to rule bekus she don't never let her uplifters an' dreamers git mixed up in runnin' the gover'ment. She knows the value of her poets an' psychol'gists an' the guys that call themselves friends of humanity, an' jest now she's producin' more than her share of 'em, but she keeps 'em in private life, where they can sing an' guess an' uplift to their hearts' content without interferin' with things they wa'n't never intended to know nuthin' about. When it comes to runnin' the empire she uses practical men with brains, who ain't got no delusions about the millennium."

"I don't get the point of your argument," I insisted. "You admit her statesmen are men of brains, and yet they all want a League of Nations. Doesn't that tend to prove that such a league would be a good thing?"

"Eggzackly," cried Eph, hammering the table with his fist. "It proves beyond a doubt that a League of Nations would be a good thing for old England. But you an' me ain't arguin' this question from the standpoint of Englishmen, be we? England comes out of this 'ere war with more territory than she ever had before; she'll git some if not all of the African colonies that belonged to Germany an' prob'ly an island an' an archipelago here an' there; she's strengthened her holt on all her own possessions; she owns half the earth, an' she's made up her mind to be content with jest that. But she don't want to be compelled to protect all her possessions alone by herself, so she welcomes this 'ere league that will do it for her. For this 'ere League of Nations is cal'lated to see to it that the peace treaty signed at Versales stays put. England is prob'ly the only nation that ain't fooled by all this talk of permanent peace an' universal brotherhood. She listens to it an' encourages it, an' the more highfalutin it gits the better she likes it."

"Jest now she's like yer first-class revivalist, who helps work up his audience to the highest pitch of releegus frenzy. Ye hear the shoutin' an' the hallelujahs an' the psalm singin', but ye notice that the master of the ceremonies never lets himself get so het up that he fergits to pass the collection plate."

"Jest at present John Bull is holdin' one of the greatest revivals ever known. An' yer Uncle Sam—God help him!—is the loudest psalm singer in the hull blamed congregation."

Not the Dove, But the Eagle

(Ex-Senator George Sutherland to Columbia University)

And it is not the dove, let me remind you, but the eagle which symbolizes the spirit of America: Yield nothing to the aggressor! A nation, like a man, must carefully distinguish between the desire for peace which springs from a timid soul, anxious only to be safe, and that which comes from a stout heart seeking the way of righteousness. . . .

That form of internationalism which teaches that the stranger beyond our gates should be the object of our solicitude equally with the loved, mutually helpful members of our own household, is not sound sentiment but maudlin sentimentality. The form of internationalism in which I believe is that of cordial coöperation among nations for the welfare and betterment of the people of all lands, but which will always look first to the welfare and betterment of our own.

It would mean very little to be an American if a thin fondness for all the tribes of men should be substituted for that passionate love of country and that flaming devotion to her flag which brought the flower of the nation to the sacrificial fields of France as to a place of great privilege.

Letters From Our Readers

ABSENTEE EXECUTIVES AND THE LAW

SIR,—In *Ex Parte Hawkins*, 136 Pacific Reporter, 191, the Supreme Court of Oklahoma, holding the Governor of that State incapable of performing the functions of his office while absent from the State under a provision of the State Constitution closely analogous to Section 2, Article 2 of the Federal Constitution concerning the disability of the President, said:

No one will contend that the powers of the Governor can be exercised by him during his absence from the State, any more than that a judicial officer of Oklahoma could open court and try cases, or could discharge any other official duty, in another State, or upon foreign territory. The office of Governor of Oklahoma was not created for the benefit of the man who temporarily holds his position. It is in no sense his private property; but it is alone for the people of Oklahoma, and must be confined to Oklahoma, and cannot be placed upon wheels and hauled all over the face of the universe. The Governor may go to other States, and travel in foreign countries, with all of the military pomp and glory of the Commander-in-Chief of the Oklahoma Militia, as he pleases, without forfeiting his office, and may carry his title with him; but his powers as Governor become dormant the very moment he crosses the State line, and they revive again as soon as he returns and is within the borders of the State. During his absence, or inability to act, the Lieutenant Governor is vested with all of the powers of Governor. The business of the people required that a Governor should always be in the State to approve bonds, honor requisitions, make appointments, quell riots, fill vacancies, and transact all other business which pertains to this office, without expense or delay to the people, or interruption in the administration of justice. An emergency may arise at any moment requiring the presence of the Governor within the State. The Constitution provides that there shall always be some one within the State clothed with power to perform the duties of chief executive. The Constitution must be obeyed, let it please or displease whom it may. There is nothing more ridiculous than to contend that the Governor, as a matter of whim or caprice, can leave the State to attend banquets, or play golf, in other States, or for any other purpose, and say to those who have business with his office: "Wait until it suits my convenience to return".

The same question is thoroughly considered, and the authorities bearing thereon reviewed by the same court, in another case, *Ex Parte Crump*, 135 Pacific Reporter, 428. While the court in these cases was construing a State constitution, the doctrine announced applies squarely to the questions arising in consequence of the "joy ride" of our Chief Executive to the Courts of Europe. The provisions of all the State constitutions on this subject are practically identical, and without exception, I believe, the powers of Governors have been deemed suspended by their absence from their respective States.

This is interesting and instructive as indicating an established attitude of the American people on a subject of first importance at this time.

Spokane, Wash.

O. C. MOORE.

PEACE TREATIES ON BELLIGERENT SOIL

SIR,—Will you please answer the following question for several teachers who are much interested in the excellent articles that are appearing in your WEEKLY?

Following any great war, when the peace conference has been held, has it ever been the custom to hold that conference in one of the belligerent countries? We were a little in doubt as to that, and it was given to me to find out; hence my asking you to decide the matter for us.

It did not seem quite the thing to do, and we could not remember a parallel case. I thoroughly enjoyed your articles in last week's issue.

CLEVELAND, O.

MAUDE A. McLAIN.

[Yes; peace treaties have often, perhaps generally, been made on the soil of one of the belligerents. The second Balkan war was ended with treaties in 1913 at Bucharest and Constantinople; the Greco-Turkish war in 1897 at Constantinople; the Chino-Japanese war in 1895 at Simonseki; the Russo-Turkish war in 1878 at San Stefano; the Franco-German war in 1871 at Frankfurt; the Austro-Prussian war in 1866 at Prague; the Danish war in 1864 at Vienna; the Crimean war in 1856 at Paris; the Italian War of Liberation in 1859 at Villafranca and in 1866 at Vienna; the Mexican war in 1848 at Guadalupe Hidalgo; the Opium war in 1842 at Nanking; the Russo-Turkish war in 1829 at Adrianople; and the Napoleonic wars in 1814 and 1815 at Paris and Vienna.—EDITOR.]

AN ARMAMENT SUGGESTION

SIR,—It seems to me that there should be no great difficulty in settling the questions of disarmament, Freedom of the Seas, and the like. The three commanding nations are France, Great Britain and America, and those matters upon which they pass judgment must be the law of Nations. The only question remaining is the manner in which to issue execution on the judgment.

It is admitted that to France a supreme army is exigible. Her geographic position requires it and hers is a martial people. She has need of but a small navy.

It is admitted that to Great Britain a supreme navy is exigible. The physical constitution of her Empire demands it, and hers is a maritime people. She has need of but a small army.

It may not be admitted, but it seems to me that to America neither a supreme army nor a supreme navy is exigible. We are not threatened on land by huge hostile continental neighbors, as France, neither are we solely dependent upon sea communication, as Great Britain. Our people are neither pre-eminently martial, as that of France; nor yet again, pre-eminently maritime as that of Great Britain. Our people are, however, possessed of a real genius for adapting themselves to the task at hand. It would seem, therefore, that we should possess ourselves of an army and a navy sufficiently large to enable us in time of need rapidly to supply adequate numbers of trained officers and men to insure the prompt and efficient organization of the potential supremacy that we at all times command. Our requirement is such a nucleus of both arms (and it must of necessity be large, though not the largest) as will enable us to convert our potential supremacy into kinetic supremacy, instant.

Hence, I would advocate for France, military supremacy and a small navy; for Great Britain, naval supremacy and a small army; for America, an army second only to France, and a navy second only to Great Britain.

We can afford to concede the same willingly to France and Britain, and they in turn cannot refuse to us that which is here suggested, since, if we so desire, in spite of protest and the keenest of competition, we *could* seize and maintain supremacy in both army and navy.

With such a disposition of strength, execution of any judgment of these three Powers would never be required.

WILLIAM D. BRUNYATE.

Newark, N. J.

IT IS SURVIVING, THANK YOU

SIR,—It takes a woman to give the whole sense of our reactions to your WAR WEEKLY. What others have said is decent and proper enough, and all, perhaps, that should be said to any mere man, considering great men's proneness (we mention no names) "to think of themselves more highly than they ought to think." But if you really wish to know what we all feel (all who are clamoring for the survival of the WAR WEEKLY), then, Sir, get down on your knees and hear the whole truth from the pen of "Maria Upham Drake" as it is written in column one, page 15, of the WAR WEEKLY's issue of December 21st.

ROBERT MARSHALL BLACKBURN.

Reading, Pa.

[Maria was certainly very cheering.—EDITOR.]

OPPOSITION FROM FORT WAYNE

SIR,—If you are as mean socially as you are politically, God pity your family and your associates.

Should you have cancer of the liver or an luetic brain, you naturally should be excused.

CHARLES E. BARNETT.

Fort Wayne, Ind.

[We would not venture to compete with the exquisite breeding of our correspondent's amiable observations by attempting a fitting response to them. We are not *that* mean, anyway.—EDITOR.]

SENTENCED

SIR,—I am delighted with the announcement of Col. Harvey, that he will continue the great duty resting upon him. He can not be honorably discharged from his service until released by his subscribers. Of course this means a life term.

Peoria, Ill.

C. V. MILES.

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He was a man, take him for all in all,
We shall not look upon his like again.

Theodore Roosevelt

TENNYSON went out upon the moor and wrote upon the face of a great stone, "BYRON IS DEAD!" Birds were singing. Flowers were blooming. Golden sunshine flooded the world. "Nothing in Nature's aspect intimated that a great man was dead." But to the stunned, heart-broken boy, all things seemed at an end.

To millions of American citizens a similar sentiment has come this week. Nor can we wonder at it. This man was so active, so vital, so aggressive, so much the very incarnation of life, that death for him seems grossly incongruous. He was so much a leader of men, so much the inspiration of a whole people, that for him to be gone seems like taking away the very heart of things. His friends, who were legion, may well cry, "Whom now shall we love?" His opponents, whom he of course had, may wonder "With whom now shall we contend?"

There is occasion for surprise, in a review of his career, to see how long it was and for how many years he was a conspicuous figure in the public eye. He was not yet an old man; some of us who are older will not admit the inevitable impeachment; yet it was more than a generation ago that he brought the attention of the State upon himself when, a strippling Assemblyman in his first term, he defied bosses and party and the admonitions of friends by demanding the investigation of a public officer simply because he was convinced that he *ought* to be investigated. It was thirty-five years ago that he became a national figure as a commanding leader of the forces of independence and high ideals in a Presidential campaign. There were not lacking men of vision in those days who saw for him a future second to none in the annals of the Republic; and their vision was not vain.

New York obtained a fuller knowledge of her son nearly a third of a century ago, when he was recalled from the Western ranch where he had sought and found renewed health and the spirit that dominated him all the rest of his life, to be a candidate for the Mayoralty. It was significant that he was opposed, on the one hand, by the machine politicians, and on the other by the motley throng of Socialist and semi-Socialist agitators. He was defeated, but he made an impress upon metropolitan politics that was not easily to be effaced. Thereafter for a number of years he was a Federal Civil Service Commissioner at Washington, administering that Merit System of which he had long been an advocate. Again he served his native city as the head of its Police Board, demonstrating that laws which had been dead letters could be made very much alive and very potent for the public good when administered by a really live man.

It has often and truly been remarked that the only factor on the Allies' side in the present war that was ready for the unexpected shock was the British Navy, which by its instant readiness saved the whole situation. It is no less true that the one efficient branch of our militant services at the beginning of the Spanish War was our Navy, which in two notable battles won the war; and it is indisputable that the chief credit for that readiness belonged to Theodore Roosevelt, who had for more than a year been Assistant Secretary of

that Department. It is a fact of history that we owed to him the circumstance of Dewey's being at Hong Kong and going thence to Manila.

It was to Theodore Roosevelt, too, resigning from the Navy Department to enter the fighting ranks of the army, that the nation owed the entrance of Leonard Wood upon his career, first as a most competent field commander, then as a singularly successful military and civil administrator and diplomat, and finally as the foremost soldier-statesman of his time in our army. Of his own achievements in the war, as a fighting commander in the field, and afterward as the foe of the red tape which was more fatal to our men than the Spanish soldiery had been, it is unnecessary to speak. The nation is often forgetful, but there are times when it remembers—when there is nothing left but **memory**.

Concerning Roosevelt's later and still more eminent career, controversy has ever been active, and may never entirely subside. But it would be self-stultifying for even his severest critic to pretend that his place is not indubitably secure among the greatest Governors of the Empire State and among the greatest Presidents of the American Republic. It is not too much to record that his Administration in each case marked an epoch, first in State and then in national history. The student and the historian in future years will be surprised to find how often he has to refer to those Administrations as the starting points of great civic impulses.

At the present time, when international issues dominate the world, it is pertinent to recall the masterful character and the beneficent results of his foreign policy. There was no hesitancy, there was no compromise, there was no supine opportunism. There was an assertion and there was a maintenance of American rights and dignity and honor that never had been surpassed by any of his predecessors. Yet there was peace. He could order the battle fleet with Dewey in command to be ready to meet German invasion on the Venezuelan coast; but the only result was that the German invasion was withheld. He could send our war fleet on a cruise around the world, to show to all nations the sea-power of the Republic; but it came home again without having to fire one hostile shot.

What wonder that the outbreak of the present war aroused him to something like an ecstasy of patriotic passion? The resolute and beneficent diplomacy which he had practiced was fallen into Bryanized decay. The militant preparedness for which he had striven was neglected. The robust Americanism of which he had been the prophet and the exponent was sicklied o'er with the pale cast of internationalism and neutrality. There was need for a voice to speak; and he spoke.

To millions, as we have said, it will seem an irreparable calamity that he should be taken away just at this time, when the nation and, indeed, the world, seem so greatly to be in need of him. Yet it would be a poor tribute to him to intimate that his work had not been so well and so completely done as to endure in triumph after his departure. We believe that it will endure. The people will not forget his words and his example. He roused them, and they will not fall asleep. His

last words, uttered with no thought that they were to be his last, will live in millions of hearts and minds as vitally as though his vibrant tones were still repeating them:

"There can be no divided allegiance here. Any man who says he is an American, but something else also, isn't an American at all. We have room for but one flag, the American flag. We have room for but one language here and that is the English language. And we have room for but one soul loyalty, and that is loyalty to the American people."

With the poet of Flanders' fields, his spirit may well cry to those who so long and so passionately loved his leadership,

To you from falling hands we throw
The torch; be yours to hold it high.

In his own farewell words, publicly uttered only a few hours before his death, he said: "There must be no sagging back in the fight for Americanism merely because the war is over." We respond, with all reverence, with all possible sense of loss, but with all the indomitable resolution which he so superbly personified: There must be no sagging back in the fight for Americanism, not even because Theodore Roosevelt is dead.

Our old friend, Colonel George Harvey, who in late years has revealed a fatal instinct for getting on the losing side of every argument, is opposed to a League of Nations. Unlike Senator Lodge, he is likely to stick to his guns, no matter how goes the battle, or which turns out after all to have been the popular side of the engagement. We shall not find him six months later protesting that he has all along been for the league, and pointing to the fact that without his opposition, the wholly admirable project would have been bungled fearfully for the lack of "constructive criticism."—*Rochester Herald*.

Right you are!

The Issue

THE issue is joined. We must assume that the President welcomes it. He at any rate invited and affirmed it. There was invitation of it in his utterances before he went abroad, when, without taking counsel of his constitutional colleagues in the treaty-making power or of the representatives of the people, without regarding the obvious sentiment of the nation as expressed in the press, and without so much as making his own purpose and intent plain to the understanding, he committed himself and assumed to commit the nation to a vague scheme of a league comprising all the nations of the world, to be formed not after but concurrently with the making of peace.

That such an amazing proposal, to which we have no idea that the Senate of the United States would ever for a moment assent, would be accepted or would be permitted to pass unchallenged by European Powers, was of course impossible. It was fitting that the challenge should come from that nation which has chiefly borne the brunt of the war, and which by long and bitter experience has learned the character of the Blond Beast. The "Old Tiger", Georges Clemenceau, was never in braver fighting trim than when, confronting the Chamber of Deputies, he said:

There is an old system which appears condemned today, and to which I do not fear to say that I remain faithful at this moment. Countries have organized the defense of their frontiers with the necessary elements and the balance of power. This system appears to be condemned by some very high authorities. Yet if such a balance had preceded the war, if England, the United States, Italy, and France had agreed that whoever attacked one

of them attacked the whole, the world war would not have occurred. There is in this system of alliances, which I do not renounce, I say it most distinctly, my guiding thought at the Conference, if your body permits me to go there.

There, as Hosea Biglow said, you have it, plain and flat. There was no mistaking his meaning. He was against an omnibus league, and in favor of a select alliance or entente of those nations which had stood loyally together in the war, which stood for the objects for which the war was fought, and which could be trusted to stand together for peace and justice and good faith and the security of the rights of nations and of men throughout the world. There was no doubt nor uncertainty, either, in his reference to "some very high authorities." He meant President Wilson. And there was, finally, no hesitation or equivocation when, after making this straightforward declaration, he demanded a vote of confidence upon it. "If you want to change pilots," he said in effect, "now is the time to do it. Are you with me or against me? Speak now, or forever hold your peace!" The Chamber spoke. By nearly three to one it approved his policy.

The President was prompt with his retort. Speaking the very next day at Manchester, doubtless with the French Prime Minister's words before him, or in mind, he said:

If the future had nothing for us but a new attempt to keep the world at a right poise by a balance of power, the United States would take no interest, because she will join no combination of Powers which is not a combination of all of us.

There again you have it, plain and flat; much plainer than most of the President's declarations are. He could scarcely have referred to M. Clemenceau's declaration more obviously, or have said more positively that the United States would have nothing whatever to do with any such arrangement as that which the French statesman had declared would be his guiding thought at the Peace Conference. The issue is joined.

It might seem ungracious to side with M. Clemenceau against Mr. Wilson; not merely ungracious but unpatriotic, if not treasonable, in the eyes of those who transform Decatur's toast into "Our President, right or wrong!" But at least there are certain circumstances, indisputable matters of fact and record, which must almost inevitably militate for the one and against the other in the Peace Conference. M. Clemenceau referred his policy to the popular chamber of the French Parliament for its judgment, and received its approval and ratification by a nearly three-fourths vote. The President has never ventured thus to submit his scheme to either house of Congress, but when he did ask the nation to elect a Congress which would approve whatever scheme he might submit to it, the nation refused to do so. M. Clemenceau will submit his plan to the Peace Conference with the indisputable backing of the elected representatives of the French nation. But the President will submit his plan on his personal authority, with the backing of only a minority of his countrymen. That is not a pleasant fact to contemplate, but it is a fact. Not only did the American nation, with the President's proposals for an omnibus league before it, refuse to elect a Congress subservient to his will, but it did elect a Congress the majority leaders of which are unequivocally and resolutely opposed to his league plans.

That, we say, is not a pleasant state of affairs; though there may be compensations in it if it results in keeping this country out of entangling alliances such as the omnibus league

would almost certainly involve. If the President's threat is fulfilled and the United States refuses to have anything to do with an entente comprising its chief Allies in the war, we shall not mourn as those without hope. We have an idea that France, Great Britain, and Italy among them will be able to hold Germany in subjection, without our aid. But we are perfectly certain that, whether President Wilson will enter a treaty to that effect or not, if ever another emergency like that of the recent war should arise, entente or no entente, the United States would instantly reënter the conflict for civilization and humanity.

We await with serenity and complacency, therefore, the result of the controversy which the President has thus provoked. It is a pity, no doubt, to have such a controversy at all. But—"You would have it so, Georges Dandin!" The President insisted, against the best judgment of the nation, in going over as a self-appointed Commissioner of Peace, and in presenting in the name of the American nation proposals which he had never so much as laid before the nation for its approval, but which the nation, so far as there was opportunity, had disapproved. If, therefore, he finds himself embarrassed and defeated in some of his aims, there can be no question as to where the blame must be laid. But whatever the personal aspects of the outcome, we have an abiding confidence that the honor, the prestige, and the essential welfare of this nation will not be impaired, and that the course to which we are finally committed will be in accordance with the traditional American principles of justice, democracy, and national independence.

Whatever else may be said of Colonel Harvey, it cannot be disputed that he is virilely American and just as virilely anti-German. It is no trouble for him to set down his thinking in black and white, first, because he is bubbling over with definite views on the subject in hand; and, second, because he has free range in his own publications to say what he pleases, provided he does not provoke Mr. Burleson too far.

Colonel Harvey seems to have clear-cut opinions as to how much Germany should be required to pay for its fearful wrongdoing. Most other Americans, we take it, are undecided in their minds on that point. They are willing that Germany should be compelled to pay to the limit of its power to pay, but where to set the limit so as best to serve the claims and interests of the nations to be compensated—that is the question, and it is a serious, practical one.

It would be impractical to imprison the whole German people for debt, but even if practical, it would be fruitless toward a settlement of obligations. It is, however, both practical and possible to hit upon a sum that will strike a workable mean between Germany's plain deserts in punishment and the German people's ability to expiate in money for their great crime.—*Minneapolis Tribune.*

They had their fling; they avowed their purpose to gouge us to the limit; they have no claim upon compassion. As Lowell said:

List the ominous stern whisper from the Delphic cave within:
They enslave their children's children who make compromise with sin.

The discontinuance of the *War Weekly* issued by Colonel George Harvey in connection with the venerable *North American Review* would have been a public misfortune; for so far as journalistic literature is concerned there has been no more important and interesting product of war conditions. *THE SUN* is glad to observe that the *War Weekly* is to go right on, beginning its second volume as the plain *Weekly*. There is a slight change of name, but it is the same desirable old thing, the same almost unique combination of spunk, humor and clear and patriotic vision.—*The Sun.*

War Objects—Then and Now

HOW far the President has drifted from his earlier and better attitude toward the war and its issues may readily be perceived in recalling some of his own words; words which, as he says, have cut as deep as swords.

Time was when he was a very apostle of non-intervention and non-participation in the affairs of transatlantic countries. He austere condemned men who, as he thought, were "preaching the duty of the United States to seek entanglement in the controversies which have arisen on the other side of the water." That was said a year and a half after the beginning of the war, when Americans were asking if the rape of Belgium and the ravishing of Northern France were not some of our business. The President thought not.

A little later he spoke again to the same effect. He was speaking of the war, as late as May, 1916, when its causes and objects were generally as well known as they are to-day: "With its causes and objects," he said, "we are not concerned. The obscure fountains from which its stupendous flood has burst forth we are not interested to search for or explore."

Nearly a year more passed, and then he advised the Congress to make a declaration of war. On what grounds? Not those causes and objects with which we were not concerned, not because of anything in those obscure fountains. No; the sole cause for our entering the war, as set forth in his war message to Congress on April 2, 1917, was the unrestricted German warfare against commerce, which had destroyed American ships and American lives and was practically a war against mankind. It was solely on that account, and not to "seek entanglement in the controversies on the other side of the water", that he led us into war.

Yet now what do we see? The President has promulgated his Fourteen Commandments, which he has declared to be "our programme" and "the only possible programme" on which we will consent to peace. Of those fourteen, four relate directly to those causes and obscure fountains with which he had declared we were not concerned; nine relate directly and exclusively to those "controversies on the other side of the water" our participation in which he had so vigorously opposed and denounced; and the remaining one is inevitably calculated to involve us inextricably in all kinds of controversies all over the world.

In other words, having gone into the war for one specific purpose and that alone, the President would have us now adopt a congeries of objects in the war with which according to himself we have no concern and with which we should not

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meddle. And so eager is he to "explore those obscure fountains" and to "seek entanglement in the controversies which have arisen on the other side of the water" that, on his own initiative, against the wish of the nation, and in defiance of precedent and Constitutional intent, he himself goes over there to drag us, if possible, into them.

Brother Ford Appears

WE are indebted to the enterprising *Evening Sun* for advance information concerning Brother Henry Ford's *Dearborn Independent* which makes its bow to an impatient public this week. It is to be 11 by 16 inches in size and to fill sixteen pages of unadulterated gray matter; that is to say, it will contain no advertisements. "Mr. Ford devotes one entire page to his own writings," quite a lot for an amateur, "and it is to this page the reading public will first turn," naturally. His primary purpose will be to "furnish ideas," but in other respects the paper will not differ materially from like publications. Among the contributors to the first number are Messrs. Daniels, Burleson, and Glass, but the original idea is formulated by Brother Ford himself under the arresting title "Sea Sovereignty, Power and Freedom," and reads as follows:

The nation which revived the discussion of sea freedom in our time was the nation which introduced the submarine to make the seas more dangerous and unfree than they had ever been in the heyday of the pirates.

But, if the sea is as free as we have declared it to be, why the rise of a new demand for freedom? Why the declaration of the President that the sea ought to be free?

For the people of the United States "the freedom of the seas" is not a matter of intense or bitter interest, because recent generations have not felt any abridgment of that freedom. Nevertheless the fact that we are not directly interested does not lessen the importance of this matter to the future peace of the world.

We have to assume that this is in line with what Mr. Creel aptly designates as the Thought of the Administration, although at first glance the co-ordination is less apparent than we should like. It is our firm intention, however, to read it over again some time with a view to resolving all lingering doubts.

The paper is to be "International in Scope," probably to avoid colliding with Brothers Bryan and La Follette, and is to have one million circulation, according to Mr. Ford, or one-half million, according to Associate Brother Pipp. In any case, it is to be a flivver and, as such, we welcome it to the fold.

So Creel is to come back. His mission abroad is said to have been completed, although it has never been explained what it was or why it ever was conceived. The President appears to be capable of exploiting American ideals for the benefit of Europe, and the army of press correspondents from all nations is eager to afford him every opportunity and channel for the dissemination of his thought. The American correspondents are fully competent to take care of themselves without an official shepherd. Then, why Creel? Possibly Colonel Harvey may find a berth for him on the *Weekly*, when he returns.—*Philadelphia Bulletin*.

No; let birds of a feather follow their traditional bent. We surrender all claims to our brand new Brother of the *Dearborn Independent*.

Is Poland the Crux?

DAY by day the Polish situation grows more serious, until there is reason for anticipating that it may prove to be the gravest factor in the whole problem of Continental reorganization. That would indeed not be unfitting. It was the Prussian ravishment of Poland that began the era of Hohenzollern aggression against the other nations of Europe and of the world. It would be appropriate to have resurrected Poland administer the *coup de grace* to fallen Prussia and the banished Hohenzollerns.

It will not do to throw the blame upon Poland, for seeking to seize her ancient possessions and rehabilitate herself without waiting for the formal award of the Peace Congress. It is true that she has done this. But in so doing she has done no more than has France in taking possession of Alsace-Lorraine; or than the Czecho-Slovaks and the Jugo-Slavs, in separating their territories from Austria-Hungary and organizing their own independent Governments; or than Roumania in formally annexing Transylvania. All these things have been done without serious demur, and with the cordial approval and recognition of the Allied Powers. We can conceive no reason why Poland has not an equal right to do the same, to take possession of Silesia and Posen and Dantzig, and to organize its civil government throughout its redeemed domain. Certainly America cannot demur, seeing that thus Poland is merely fulfilling one of the President's fourteen items in the only possible programme of peace.

The whole difficulty, which is dual in nature, is on the other side: in Prussia's resistance to the inevitable. While Austria-Hungary yields without a struggle to what she knows to be the just demands of the Northern and Southern Slavs and the Rumans, Prussia attempts to hold on to the lands which she stole, and to shut Poland out of her own by force. No wonder that Poland meets force with force. She would be unworthy of her new-found freedom if she did not herself strike the necessary blow. That is one phase of the trouble. The other is perhaps still more serious. It is that the Germans, as they retire from the Eastern front, encourage and incite the Bolsheviki to follow in their train, carrying into Poland the anarchy which curses much of Russia, in a malicious endeavor to demoralize and wreck that renascent country. No wonder that the Poles resent this iniquity, and, in return, strike straight at the heart of their unscrupulous foe.

Of course the Prussian reason for all this is quite obvious. It is realized by the Hohenzollerns and the Spartacans alike that a restored Poland, extending from the Carpathians to the Baltic, will seal the doom of German expansion eastward and prevent the exploitation of Russia. It was largely to bring Prussia into direct contact with Russia that Frederick II conceived and executed the destruction of the old Polish kingdom. It is to keep herself in direct contact with Russia that Prussia is now exerting every energy of intrigue and violence. Already Roumania and Czecho-Slovakia bar Austria-Hungary from the north and east. If Poland is added to the chain of buffer states, there will be a barrier from the Black Sea to the Baltic, shutting in the Hunnish lands on that side as securely as France and Belgium occlude them on the other. That is why Prussia is so desperately resisting Polish rehabilitation.

As for the Allied Powers, having recognized the new in-

dependence of Poland and her right to the territory which she is now seeking to occupy, there would seem to be nothing for them to do but to approve the forward Polish movement, trusting that it will be successful without much more strenuous endeavor, and that Poland will be able to enter the Peace Conference in full possession of her own, asking there merely ratification of an accomplished fact. In so doing, if haply she so does, Poland will greatly simplify matters and will save the Powers much trouble. And if in doing so a Polish army occupies Berlin, we shall be quite content; confident that the Polish occupation of Berlin will be immeasurably more civilized and humane than the German ravishment of Warsaw.

"Life goes on as formerly in Germany," says the *Petit Journal*, "looms are in operation, engines are humming, and reconstruction work is already under way. In France, on the contrary, mineshafts must be consolidated and reinforced, houses and cities rebuilt, and fields leveled."

The War Department's Lapse

IS the record of the War Department to be bad at both ends and good only in the middle? It really looks so, if Senator Chamberlain's indictment of it is true. At the beginning of the war the conduct of the Department was dilatory and inefficient almost beyond description. Thanks to Senator Chamberlain and some others, who defied the ostracism of the Administration for the sake of the country and its army, a great improvement was effected, and for a time, particularly while the Secretary of War was three thousand miles away, there was a really magnificent degree of efficiency, for which no praise can be too great. But, now that the war is over, there seems to have been, according to this same Senator Chamberlain, a most deplorable and discreditable lapse, costing heavily in credit, in comfort, and in human lives.

Three major charges are preferred by Senator Chamberlain: The first is that the Department has kept the country and the army in ignorance of its demobilization plans, though in England all such information was made public long ago. Perhaps we must pass this over as inevitable. Seeing that the President declares himself to have a hobby for publicity and to regard it as improper to transact any public business in secret, somebody has of course to look after the "Government under a blanket" part of the programme, and it might as well be the Secretary of War as another. Since he expressly directed that an important Department order, not relating to the conduct of the war but widely concerning the general public, should under no circumstances be imparted to the newspapers, we are quite prepared for any vagaries of dark-lantern secrecy.

Another is, that the pay of returning soldiers is months in arrears. There is only too much ground, in multitudinous personal testimony, for believing this to be true; and if it is true it must unhesitatingly be pronounced inexcusable and disgraceful. The country has certainly provided the needed funds. Since large numbers of competent clerical and other employees have been dropped from the various departments as no longer needed, it cannot be that there is any scarcity of labor to do the work. Neither can there be any pretence of taking time in a quest for perfection, as in the case of airplane motors and quick-firing guns. There is no more excuse

for making soldiers go without their pay than for making them go without their food.

The third charge is worst of all. It is that sick and wounded soldiers are not properly cared for in hospitals and otherwise on their arrival in the United States. There could be no more grave reproach upon the efficiency and the humanity of the Government than that, or any for which there could be less excuse. Concerning these latter two charges, the Secretary of War is reported as saying that he has been giving them his personal attention and that he has ordered corrective measures to be immediately made. That is obviously a confession of the truth of the charges, for otherwise there could be no occasion for "corrective measures." Men do not correct things which need no correction. But *have the corrective measures been put into effect?*

"So far as we in America are concerned," says Mr. Baker, "our case is in the hands of our Captain. He stands with head erect in the ancient places of the Old World where other kinds of treaties used to be made, and represents a great and free people. He is by the force of events the spokesman of the democracy of the world, and the compositions of this war will be a new Magna Carta, a new Bill of Rights to liberate the children of the future from the burdens of the past." Immediately two simple questions arise: What burdens did children bear in the past? and Why has "the democracy of the world" a spokesman, instead of the United States?

It seems fair to observe that in the first place the United States was immeasurably further away from its nearest international neighbor in 1800 than it is from its most remote and inaccessible sister in the family of nations in 1900. The isolation in which we once lived has been destroyed by application of science to industry.—*Secretary Baker.*

Aren't we still "three thousand miles away"?

A Home Peace Conference

"WHEN the whole world sees that wealth lies in production," said Lloyd George in one of his recent speeches, "and that production can be enormously increased with higher wages and shorter hours * * * there will be abundance to requite the toil and gladden the hearts of all."

Which remains to be proved. And now, if ever in this country, is the time to prove it. The abnormal wages incident to war emergencies must come down. Wage earners know it. Wage payers know it. Both are prepared, or are preparing, for it, and both, we fear, are preparing for it as for a bitter struggle of stubborn resistance on the one hand and imperious insistence on the other.

In other words, it looks like a mere clearing of the ground by the old belligerents for a resumption of that futile battle wherein neither gained and both lost, with only a molten mass of hatred slag as the residuum of the controversy's blast furnace heat. For years we have been going the mill-round of that disheartening circle—getting nowhere, the only gainers being the exploiters of the antagonisms.

Lloyd George points a way out of this deplorable deadlock, and he is supported in this country by a notable company of liberal, broad-minded men of the employer group.

"Give us shorter hours and better pay," labor leaders for years have been saying, "and there will be greater production and a better product."

"When the whole world sees that wealth lies in production, that production can be enormously increased with higher wages and shorter hours * * * there will be an abundance to requite the toil and gladden the hearts of us all," says Lloyd George.

First, the whole world must see that wealth lies in production. That is a matter of kindergarten education. Second, production is enormously increased in quantity and quality by higher wages and shorter hours. That is a matter for demonstration. It must be tested by a fair and free ordeal of actual experience. And what more favorable time for applying a broad and comprehensive test than the year of which we are now at the threshold? Both sides already know that they must yield something. Both sides are prepared to yield something. The war-time wage-paying and wage-winning spree is over. That was a season of extravagant demand and of helpless acquiescence. All economic principles and restraints were thrown to the winds. It was a mere industrial orgy which established no precedents and fixed standards. But even from the orgy some things have been learned; some convictions have become fixed. One of these convictions is that a return to the old cat-and-dog existence between employer and employee is unthinkable. The work cut out for this country to do in the next few years is staggering in its magnitude and in its variety. We have the brains and the brawn to do it, and somehow or other it has got to be done. By eternal wrangling and fighting among ourselves it can never be done. That much we know at the start. Whatever breeds eternal wrangling and fighting between those who pay and those who earn wages must be eliminated. The old ante-bellum capital-labor relations bred eternal wrangling and fighting. Therefore, the old ante-bellum capital-labor relations must go.

Something must take their place. What that something is to be can be determined only by a meeting of the fairest and broadest minds on both sides of the controversy. In other words, we seem to be about as sorely in need of a Home Labor-Capital Peace Conference as the world is in need of a Paris Peace Conference that will do something besides go a-visiting.

Is it really beyond human limitations for such a Home Peace Conference to reach a sound, safe basis of mutually satisfactory understanding? Is it beyond those limitations for representatives of the wage-earning and the wage-paying groups to formulate conditions under which Labor's promise of more results and better results with shorter hours and higher pay may have a full, a fair and a free test? To this end each side must give something. Each side must abandon mere pride-of-opinion obstinacy. Each side must throw into the discard its purely militant aggressiveness. Old grudges and old prejudices must go by the board. Each side must put trust and confidence in the other, and out of that confidence and trust, plus demonstrated increase of production and wealth from better wages and shorter hours, if Lloyd George and the labor leaders are right, will come that abundance which the British Premier said would "change the whole face of existence." How vast the reward for such a suc-

cess! How prodigious the sum total increase of our national contentment and happiness it would entail!

To Capital, Lloyd George said: "You shall not be penalized and plundered: do your duty by those who work for you and the future is free for all the enterprise or audacity you can give us."

To Labor, he said: "You shall have justice; you shall have fair treatment, a fair share of the amenities of life, and your children shall have equal opportunities with the children of the rich. * * * Labor must have happiness in its heart."

Is it within the power of a Home Labor Peace Conference to lay the foundations, at least, for the realization in concrete form of these alluring generalizations of the British statesman? If it is within such power, if under some comprehensive agreement for better pay and better hours Labor were to fulfill its promise of vastly greater and better production, then indeed we might see the dawn of a better day for those long warring groups whose interests are identical and whose dissensions, bringing so much evil to both, have wrought such incalculable injury to the entire country.

1914—Tellers of Truth—1918

(From the *Boston Evening Transcript*)

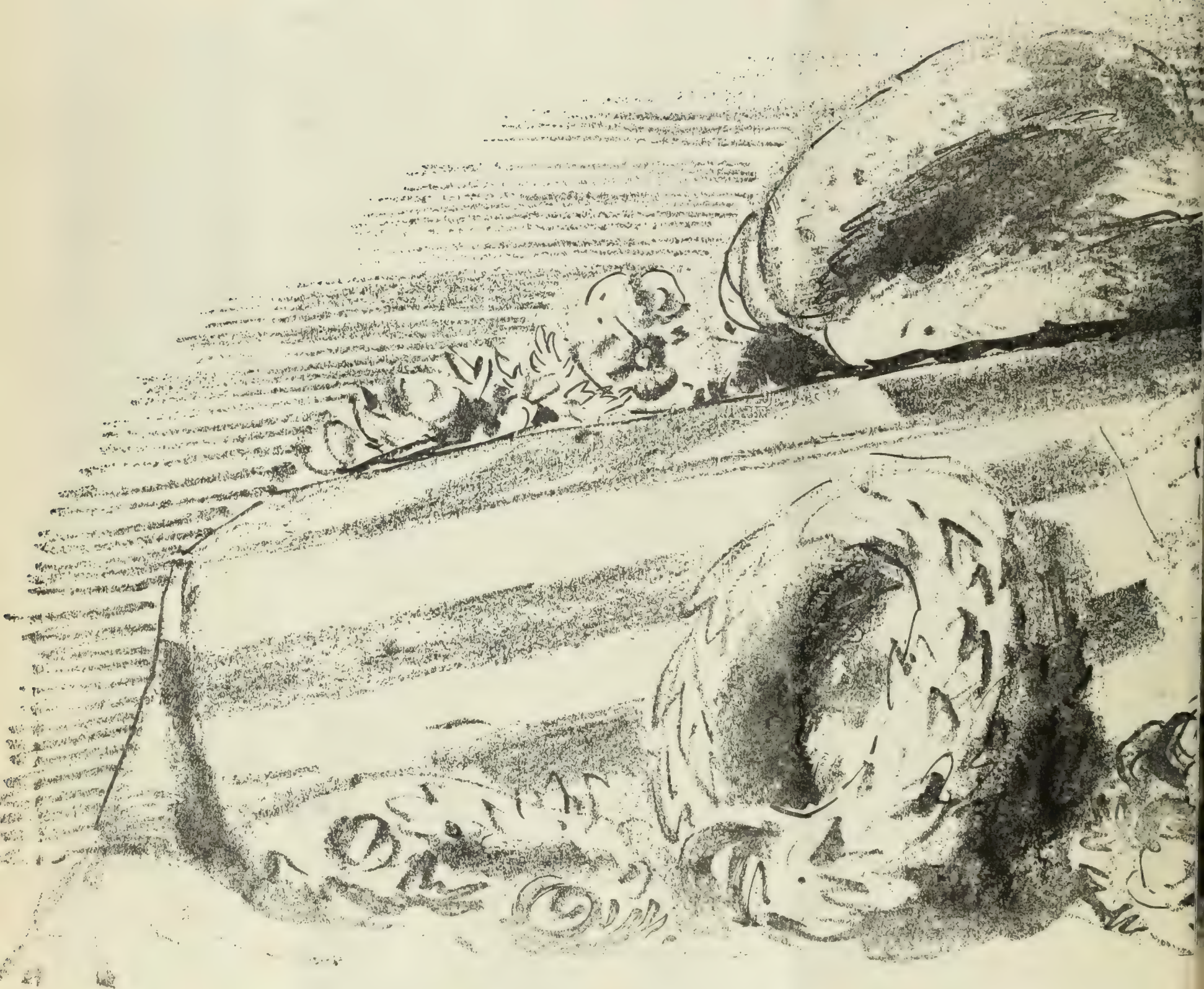
"As we look back over our country's history," writes Oliver in his "Ordeal by Battle," "we find that it was those men who told the people the whole truth—or what, at least, they themselves honestly believed to be the whole truth—who most often succeeded in carrying their proposals through. In these matters, which touch the very life and soul of the nation, all artifice is out of place. The power of persuasion lies in the truthfulness of the advocate, no less than in the truth of his plea."

The four years ending today have been a time of test in the life of the nation. The leadership of authority has often been lacking, but from among the people leaders have raised up who dared to trust the people and did not flinch from telling them the whole truth. These leaders, the living and the dead, have endeared themselves to their countrymen by the fortitude with which they have served the common cause of their common country. Who are they, and for whom have they been the spokesmen in their respective fields of endeavor? The following list may not be complete, but it includes the pioneers, the men whose privilege it was, by the power of their example, the quality of their courage, the range of their vision and the infectious appeal of their words and deeds, to "stir the heart and hold fast the conscience of the nation" until the Government caught up with the people and became the obedient, albeit reluctant, instrument of their will:

Theodore Roosevelt (deceased)	}	The People
Leonard Wood		The Men with the Colors
George Harvey	}	The Press
James Cardinal Gibbons		The Church
John Grier Hibben	}	The College
Henry Cabot Lodge		The Senate
George Earle Chamberlain	}	
Augustus Peabody Gardner (deceased)	House of Representatives	
Julius Kahn		}
Richard Irvine Manning	}	The State
Marcus Henry Holcomb		}
John Furroy Mitchel (deceased)		The City

The oneness of our people, the strength and solidarity of their nationalism, is borne in upon our minds and hearts as we let them dwell upon this roll of honor and rejoice in the remembrance that these truth tellers came from the North and the South, from the East and the West, and that the Jew and the Gentile among them, the Catholic and the Protestant, the Republican and the Democrat, the native born and the naturalized, were first and last Americans in the hour of America's trial. These leaders have their reward in the sense of satisfaction that comes from duty fearlessly done and in the gratitude of their countrymen, who will not forget the truth that was told or the men who told it through the four fateful years that today come to a close.

Substituting for "the Press" the *Philadelphia North American*, the *Chicago Tribune* and, at the head of the list, the *Boston Evening Transcript*, we heartily concur.





The Week

WASHINGTON, January 9, 1919.

WHILE the Presidential Progress continues unabated, the nation's mind is centered upon the passing of its greatest citizen. Theodore Roosevelt is dead, and for the moment all other matters seem secondary.

Elsewhere in these pages we have sought to pay tribute to the greatness of Roosevelt's achievement. God rest his valiant spirit!

The English visit was completed without a hitch, and with "Now do come again!" on one side and "You come and see us!" on the other. The Channel trip was safely if somewhat choppily effected, and after a brief stop-over in Paris the Presidential Retinue set out for Rome. At the frontier picture postals were purchased, and the natives came flocking down from the hills to see the great Democratic Drive. Much enthusiasm was manifested all along the way, culminating at Rome, where the President and Mrs. Wilson were received by the King and Queen and several hundred thousand Roman citizens.

In his address to the King and Parliament the President proceeded with his peculiar propaganda. Mindful of the fact that Italy had some very exceptional and intimate interests in the Balkans, he deemed it fitting to take up his prophecy concerning those states, and practically to serve notice upon the King that, even if the Queen was a Montenegrin Princess, he would not stand for any more Italian intrigues on the eastern shore of the Adriatic. The Lumber Room of Europe must set itself to rights without any outside interference.

Then, with the Balkans for an exordium, he took up his League of Nations for a peroration. Recalling the disapproval of that scheme which had lately been expressed by M. Clemenceau, and realizing that such opposition might seem to some like an obstacle to its success, he jauntily reminded his hearers that "the only use of an obstacle is to be overcome," and that "all that an obstacle does with brave men is not to frighten them, but to challenge them." Wherefore, being himself a brave man, he forthwith challenged M. Clemenceau with the cocksure declaration that "We know that there cannot be another balance of power."

Having thus laid down the law, he turned himself to the social side of his visit, with a state dinner, some luncheons and receptions, and the conferring of Roman citizenship. On Saturday he went to the Vatican and had a half hour's confidential chat with the Pope, concerning which we are told that the great social problems of the day and the general question of treaties were discussed, while Palestine and Armenia were touched upon. To hold the balance true, despite his disbelief in balances, he next visited the American Protestant Episcopal church, where representatives of other denominations were also assembled, and on Saturday evening he tore himself away from the Eternal City after what is confidently described as the busiest and most demonstrative visit of his whole European trip, and returned to Paris by way of Milan and Turin. We are assured that he personally, and his political views as well, were very favorably received by the Italians. Whether he succeeded in converting the Government to a renunciation of all interests in Albania, and persuaded it of

the impossibility of ever again forming a balance of power, will be seen hereafter.

In the address in which he declared that "this intolerable Thing, without conscience or honor or capacity for covenanted peace, must be crushed," the President referred to his aerial inspiration: "You catch, with me, the voices of humanity that are in the air." Last week in Rome, again, the atmosphere was vocal. Speaking of the necessary substitute for the now impossible balance of power, the President said: "I am happy to find everywhere in the air of these great nations the conception that that thing must be a thoroughly united League of Nations." And yet again: "Our task is . . . to have a real new atmosphere . . . I am happy to say that I feel that atmosphere gathering." Doubtless it is well to listen to the voices that are in the air. Yet there are also some advantages in having one's ear close to the ground; even when politics is adjourned.

M. Leon Bourgeois, President of the French Association for a Society of Nations, who is expected to be a delegate to the Peace Conference, and who is regarded as the chief French champion of the League of Nations Scheme, says plumply that his plan is for the Allies to form such a League among themselves and establish all its fundamental principles and rules, and then admit other nations only after very careful scrutiny and on most stringent conditions. We should like to have it explained, with or without a diagram, in what essential respect such a "League," formed as a close corporation of a few select nations, for the purpose of bossing the rest of the world, would differ from the old-fashioned "Alliance" or "Balance of Power."

"Everybody says"—wherefore it must of course be true—that the President's personally proclaimed propaganda is being most favorably received in all the countries of Europe. Indeed, he himself assured the King and Parliament of Italy that such was the case. All the same, each nation seems to accept his programme with the reservation, mental or vocal, that its own national interests are not to be jeopardized or compromised thereby. Great Britain accepts his Commandments; only, she is not going to let any "freedom of the seas" interfere with her navy. France accepts them; but she will not renounce alliances, which she has tried and found faithful, for a "universal association of nations" which has never been successfully tried by anybody. Italy accepts them; but she has not yet proclaimed her renunciation of the treaty which she made with her allies at her entry into the war. In brief, every nation applauds internationalism in theory, but in concrete practice, purposes to stick to its own individual nationality; and we imagine that that is just about what the United States of America will do, too.

According to the *Petit Parisien*, the four great Allies, namely, France, Great Britain, Italy and America, will get together to fix terms of peace; they will call Belgium and Serbia into conference with them on all matters; they will call in the other Allies on all matters which specially concern them; and then, having definitely fixed and prescribed the terms of peace, they will call Germany and her allies in, one at a time, to be told what is coming to them; so that those

criminal Powers will have no part in the conference whatever, except to stand up and hear the sentence of the court. When that is all over, there will be a general conference on freedom of the seas, League of Nations, limitation of armaments and other miscellaneous business. On the whole, we rather like the programme.

The Russian situation cannot be described as more reassuring. On the contrary, confusion seems to be growing worse confounded. At some points our troops and those of our Allies are pushing further and further forward, in much needed intervention for the assistance of the upholders of order and responsible government, while at other points Allied troops are being withdrawn. The Germans are encouraging the Bolsheviki not only to continue their demoralization of Russia, but also to invade Poland and hinder so far as possible the rehabilitation of that emancipated country. As for the gallant Czecho-Slovaks, to whom the world owes a supreme obligation for the salvation of Russia from utter ruin, they seem still to be abandoned by the Powers to their own devices. It is a strange and disquieting muddle all around, in which we cannot tell whether we are coming or going. But that has been characteristic of our policy toward Russia, ever since we recognized the Soviets and refused to sustain our friends because of fear that we might drive Lenine and Trotzky into the arms of Germany!

Meantime the question rises, What about Russia at the Peace Conference? It will be necessary for that body to do some serious and important business concerning that country, and it will be difficult if not impossible to do so without taking into counsel some representatives of it. It is reported that the Bolsheviki will send a representative thither, with a demand for his recognition and admission to the conference as the accredited spokesman of the Russian Government. On the other hand, various Russian Ambassadors or ex-Ambassadors, who were accredited by the former Government which the Bolsheviki overthrew, are getting together in Paris as a Provisional Council, to seek relations with the conference. The course of wisdom and of courage would seem to be to forget that we ever gave any countenance to the Bolshevik Soviets and refused to give aid to the only legal Government, and now to recognize and take into council the representatives of those elements in Russia which are fighting for order and good faith and for democracy against both Bolshevism and Czarism. There are such elements in Russia. Betrayed and abandoned as they have been, they yet contain the promise and potency of restored national life.

It was highly fitting for President Wilson to invite King George to pay a return visit to the United States, and it would be gratifying to have the invitation accepted. But it is strange nonsense for the *London Standard* to pretend that "Such a visit would be as unprecedented as the President's own voyage." It is true that no British sovereign has visited America, during his reign; but it is a commonplace for British sovereigns to go visiting and travelling in foreign lands whenever and as much as they please. On the other hand, no American President has ever done such a thing before, and it is contrary to the unwritten law, and to the spirit and intent of the

written Constitution, for him to do so. The two cases are entirely different.

Surely the venerable *Boston Traveler* must be mistaken when it charges flatly that its special foreign representative's dispatches "are being held up daily by the censor" and meekly wonders "what facts he has which it is considered undesirable for the American public to know." That there is lying a-plenty is evident, but hardly suppression, so far as we can perceive. For example, we can imagine nothing more irritating to the American Commission than the truth about the attitude of both Republican and Democratic Senators which appears daily in long dispatches from Mr. Judson C. Welliver to the *Echo de Paris*, a Clemenceau organ; and yet somehow or other it gets through and, still more strangely, gets printed. Truly, as Mr. Selden cables to the *Times*, "a most unusual and mystifying" circumstance. Perhaps Mr. Burleson does not control the cables of the French company. That might account for it.

Hindenburg is reported as protesting the other day that some of the conditions of the armistice could not possibly be fulfilled, "except at the expense of great suffering by the German people"; and he added that "a continuation of the blockade also imposes a great hardship upon Germany." Monstrous, indeed, to make the gentle Boches experience suffering and hardship! The reporter adds that "Hindenburg turned back to his desk with a faint, flitting smile on his stern countenance." We don't wonder. It was an excellent jest.

Secretary Redfield will be gratified to hear that Europeans think American manufacturers should forego the pleasure of doing business for a while. Mr. Albert Thomas, the Socialist leader, is particularly annoyed by the audacity of certain "men of affairs in the American army" in seeking contracts for reconstruction, regardless of the Secretary's admonition, and calls upon "that noble group of savants, jurists and diplomats accompanying President Wilson" to put a stop to such practices, as being "contrary even to the conception of the new world organization formulated by the President," in the interest of international socialism. And why not, pray? Logic is logic.

Edsel's Father continues with pertinacity to try to circumvent the clearly-expressed will of the voters of Michigan, so as to get himself sent to the Senate instead of Commander Newberry, who was elected by the people. This shows how earnest and self-sacrificing is his sense of duty; seeing that he himself really doesn't want the job and consented to run only because the President so greatly wanted him to do so.

Replying to an appeal for food, made by two of the worst of the Hunnish ravishers of Belgium, Mr. Herbert Hoover sententiously remarks: "Tell them to go to Hell!" The more we think of it, the more we regret that Mr. Hoover was not made one of our Peace Commissioners.

The report that the creel had resigned is now declared to have been untrue. That would seem to indicate that the creel himself started it.

Let Us Face the Facts

IT will be necessary for the American people to lend to their Government during the next eighteen months the stupendous sum of \$11,000,000,000. Some time during the coming Spring the Treasury Department will have to float a loan of approximately \$5,000,000,000. This is the sum which will be required to meet the expenses of the current fiscal year, the year which ends on June 30 next. The expenses of the Government for this fiscal year amount to \$18,000,000,000. Of that amount \$7,000,000,000 has been raised by the Fourth Liberty Loan. The revenue bill, which has now passed both houses of Congress, will provide an estimated revenue of \$6,000,000,000, and the remainder must be provided by the Fifth Liberty, or the First Victory loan.

There is no difference of opinion regarding the needs of the Government for the fiscal year beginning July 1. They will amount to \$10,000,000,000. Against the judgment and the votes of the minority, the majority, at the instance of the President and the Secretary of the Treasury, have included in the pending revenue bill, taxes for the fiscal year 1919-20, the rates being designed to raise by taxation \$4,000,000,000, which leaves a balance of \$6,000,000,000 to be raised by the sale of bonds. While, of course, no definite plans have been made for these issues, it is generally expected that the Treasury Department will undertake to float two loans, probably one of \$4,000,000,000 next Autumn, and one of \$2,000,000,000 in the Spring of 1920.

Why, in the face of these facts, the United States should refrain from collecting from the Central Powers its pro rata share of any indemnity which, in the judgment of the Entente Powers, it may be possible to collect, is impossible of comprehension. It is true that the President has proclaimed a policy of "no annexations and no indemnities", but that should prove no difficulty to Mr. Wilson, whose entire career has been dominated by supreme faith in the proposition that "consistency is the hobgoblin of little minds." The war has cost the American people not less than \$30,000,000,000, and if it be possible to relieve them of some portion of this tremendous burden, it is obviously the duty of its representatives at the Peace Conference to do so.

The figures given above serve to emphasize the fact that a large amount of money has been wasted by the Administration charged with the conduct of the war. With Congress and the entire people anxious that money should be spent without stint or limit to win the war, those immediately responsible have been guilty of numerous expenditures which in no wise contributed to that end. With many officials spending money like the proverbial drunken sailor, the aggregate of the sum wasted assumes an enormous total. While it may be idle to cry over milk that is spilled, there is grave reason to fear that the same extravagance is still being pursued, and that politics, rather than the interests of the tax-paying public, dominates the course of the Administration, especially wherever the wishes of labor are concerned.

In the light of the Federal financing which remains to be done, the depressed state of the market for Liberty Bonds must also prove an occasion of anxiety to thoughtful people. The necessities, real or assumed, of the holiday season have sent an army of small bond holders into the market to dispose of their holdings, and to most of these the fact that the securi-

ties of their Government, which they assumed were "as good as gold", have undergone a depreciation of practically \$5 on the hundred, has proved not only a startling and distressing discovery, but one which is bound to add to the difficulties of further flotation of Government bonds.

Expel Them!

LET us drive out and keep out the snakes in the grass. That is the commendable purpose of the Department of Justice, for the fulfilment of which it is about to seek the necessary authority of Congress. There are some thousands of enemy aliens in this country, whose presence at liberty was regarded as dangerous to the Republic during the war. Some were German spies. Some were incendiary conspirators. Some were trying to corrupt American opinion by the dissemination of German propaganda. Some were inciting treason. Therefore they were locked up in internment camps. In some cases that was a mistake. The men should have been shot or hanged. In the majority of cases, let us concede, it was the proper thing to do.

What is to be done with them at the end of the war? Their imprisonment will no longer be a military necessity. If set at liberty, they will no longer be able to aid our enemies in the war, for the war will have ceased to exist. But should they therefore be set free and be permitted to reside here? By no means. They have by their scandalous abuse of it shown themselves unworthy to enjoy American hospitality. If for nothing else than punishment for past misdeeds, they should be expelled from the land whose freedom they have so outraged. But there is another still more practical reason. It is this: It is to be presumed that if they were permitted to remain here they would in the great majority of cases be disaffected, seditious, and more or less actively hostile to the public welfare. Each one of them would be a centre of disaffection, and would be a more or less active mischief-maker. Every controversy or disturbance of any kind which arose among our own people would find in them eager fomenters of trouble. It is bad enough to have trouble-makers among our own citizens. To tolerate them when they are aliens would be folly.

Apparently, additional legislation is needed, to empower the Executive to expel and permanently to exclude these creatures. It certainly should be granted, promptly and amply. James Monroe once spoke of the law of self defence, of self preservation, as being, with states as with individuals, paramount and perpetual; and he spoke truly. Nor is that law dependent upon numbers. The nation has the same right to protect itself against a single alien conspirator or propagandist as against a hostile alien nation of millions. It has not only that right, it is under an imperative obligation so to do. It is bound in its duty to its citizens to give protection against moral as well as against physical contagion. Its immigration officers should exclude the would-be assassin of government as surely as the would-be assassin of individuals; the political leper as strictly as the physical leper.

We have hitherto been too lax in these matters. We have either underrated the value of American hospitality and citizenship, or have overrated our civic power to transmute base metal into gold. Expel these enemies of the Nation!

Out of Their Own Mouths

WE have no special admiration for Maximilian Harden, who at one time was a champion of and apologist for the infamies of the Huns. Because of that very fact, however, his recent re-indictment of his fellow-countrymen possesses additional force. He knows the facts, from the German side, and he is not prejudiced against Germany. We speak of his indictment of the German people. That is the significant feature of the case. He does not merely rage against the Government. The German people themselves, he insists, are insensate to the infamy which has been committed by Germany, and to the actual plight in which they themselves now stand before the world. So he reminds them of the account which has been made up against them, the validity of a single item in which he does not challenge:

Fifty-one months of brutal rule in Belgium, where administrative unity was broken and raw materials, machinery, goods of every kind, and three milliards in cash and banknotes alone were carried away. All law was broken, forced labor imposed, civilians were deported, and at the eleventh hour industries were still destroyed and towns plundered.

The devastation of Northern France and the destruction of cathedrals, monuments, mines, factories, and orchards.

Air raids against all law and all customs;

The sinking of passenger ships and hospital ships;

Secret agreements with the Irish and the Flemish;

The smuggling of explosives, bacilli, and incendiary instruments into neutral countries;

Everywhere bribery, fraud, and theft;

A cloud of witnesses brought to answer every accusation;

A country fertilized with the blood of the Armenian people, and all over the earth hardly a voice for Germany.

These are some of the things for which, according to this eminent German authority, Germany will have to answer. It is well that he gives his fellow-countrymen that reminder. It is well, too, that he gives it to us; so that our jubilation over the prospect of peace will not cause us to forget the things which, when they occurred, shocked us to utter abhorrence. Save in so far as some of these crimes were directed immediately against us, it is not for us to prescribe the penalty. There are other nations immeasurably more concerned than we. But since we have joined those other nations in the war to bring the Hunnish criminals to justice, it is for us now to stand behind them and to say that whatever they demand in reparation and guarantees, that do we approve and upon that do we insist.

Out of their own mouths, out of the mouths of their own authoritative exponents, are the Huns convicted. We shall see to what extent it is possible to rouse them to that realization of their guilt which is the first prerequisite to repentance and reform.

Where Shall They Rest?

WHERE are the bodies of our soldier dead to rest? This question is now acutely raised, with earnest and even impassioned opinions to various effects, though chiefly to three. One is, that they should be brought home and delivered to the surviving relatives or friends for disposition according to their will. Another is that they should be brought hither and be placed in a great national cemetery. The third is, that they should be left in cemeteries in the lands where they fought and died. All three are worthy of respect. Of none, it seems to us, may it be said that it should be arbitrarily adopted and enforced above the others.

So far as the first is concerned, we suppose it will not be for a moment disputed that in every case where the relatives or friends desire such a return, the Government should unhesitatingly grant it, if possible. That is axiomatic. To what extent such a desire will be manifested, we have yet to see. So in respect to the second plan, we should say that if there were any considerable demand on the part of survivors for the Government to provide such a cemetery, it, too, should be granted. But we should scarcely expect such a demand to be numerously made.

The third proposal will doubtless seem to many the most desirable, and we should not be surprised to see it pretty generally prevail. We cannot object to it with O'Hara's fine verses,

Sons of the Dark and Bloody Ground,
Ye must not slumber there.
Where stranger steps and tongues resound
Along the heedless air.

There are for us and for our dead no "stranger steps and tongues," no "heedless air," in France or Flanders, but rather a hospitality to and a reverence for our dead that could not be surpassed in our own land. We may be sure that if the bodies of our soldiers are left to slumber where they fell, they will be tenderly and sacredly guarded, and their graves will be forever shrines of patriotism to those peoples whom their sacrifice has sealed to us in a blood brotherhood.

There could indeed be no stronger and more enduring material bond between us and those nations than that of those graves in the fields of France and Flanders—serving as perpetual reminders to those nations of our sacrifice in their behalf as well as in our own, and as reminders to us, too, that those little areas of European earth have become by right of blood American soil, giving us an imperishable interest in the maintenance through unnumbered years of peace of the same confident fellowship that we enjoyed in the troublous and tragic days of war.

The king is a better looking man than indicated by photographs, which fail at the point of reflecting the vivacity and charm of a cordial habit. He has the appearance of an English country gentleman, not an imposing personality, but one of definite dignity. He has the rather husky voice of a man who smokes overmuch and his manner is the freest and the friendliest. I may illustrate his social attitude by reciting an incident. "I was on the American front recently," he said in talking with a small group, "in the midst of a company of officers, when I heard one of your chaps ask, pointing to me, 'Who is that bug?' Told that I was the King of England he sneered, 'King of England, Hell! Where's his crown?'"—*Alfred Holman in the San Francisco Argonaut.*

Senator Reed of Missouri, who calls himself a Democrat and opposes a League of Nations, must feel highly honored as he reads in the despatches from Europe that he is being quoted there along with Republican Senators to prove that President Wilson does not speak authoritatively for the United States. At the recent election Missouri chose one Republican Senator, and when it comes to inspect James A. Reed critically a few years hence it may conclude to have two of them.—*The World.*

In view of the fact that "at the recent election" Missouri rejected one Governor Folk, who had the full support of the Administration, and elected one Republican Judge Spencer, one Senator Reed may be more foresighted than the *World* would imply.

"Entangling alliances!" writes former Judge E. Henry Lacombe. "Flypaper surely has nothing on this."

A Pitiable Spectacle

IN his controversy with his fellow Democrat, Senator Hitchcock, of Nebraska, the Politicalmaster General does not shine. Senator Hitchcock charged the notorious fact that the seizure of the cables under authority of a resolution authorizing such seizure only when war imperiled the security of the country, was an improper act when the war, so far as armed collision with the Central Powers was concerned, was over, and when the security of the country was in nowise involved. Mr. Hitchcock went further. He charged that such seizure under such circumstances came perilously near to being a breach of faith with Congress.

To this the Politicalmaster General replied by characterizing as "silly" certain legal proceedings under such respectable direction as that of Charles E. Hughes, lately a Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, and further characterizing these legal proceedings as instituted for "publicity purposes." In support of these allegations and in support, apparently, of his highhanded act in seizing the cables when such seizure under such pretense of war emergency was flagrantly improper, Mr. Burleson introduced a brief in the "silly" lawsuit, which brief argued that the court before which the suit was brought had no jurisdiction.

By way of justifying the act of seizure as arising out of danger to the country's security owing to a state of war, the Politicalmaster General had not a word to say, for the very good reason that there was absolutely not a word he could say. The act was a rank outrage and a clear breach of faith with the American Congress and the American people. The pretense under which it was done was an insolently barefaced sham. It had not the remotest foundation in fact. It was a plain lie on its face. The one and only thing that could have justified it was war emergency and war peril. And there was no war emergency and no war peril.

By the terms of the resolution itself and by the reiterated assurances of its advocates when it was up for consideration, it was distinctly and explicitly set forth that only in case of danger from war to the country's security was the authority granted to be exercised. During the continuance of actual hostilities, even during the acute crisis when war was brought by submarines to our very shores, it was never exercised. When the war was over, when the enemy was stripped of all power for further aggression, and when only the technicality of a formal proclamation of peace remained, then every cable to Europe, to the islands of the Pacific, to Asia, to North and South America and to the West Indies was seized by the Government and put under the Politicalmaster General's control.

Replying to Mr. Burleson's absurd answer to his former criticisms, Senator Hitchcock reiterated his charge that the act was an act of bad faith to Congress. There are even charges as to the technical legality of the order of seizure. Senator Kellogg said, on information, that while the order may have been signed by the President on the 2d of November, it was entirely incomplete. It had never been countersigned by the Secretary of State. "It was never published or exhibited to anyone," continued Senator Kellogg, "until after the war had closed and the armistice had been signed. Even the date when it was exhibited to one of the telegraph companies was left blank, and the order was never made before the signing of the armistice. The law authorized the President to

take over the cables and telegraph lines as a war necessity, and not a Senator on this floor or anywhere else dreamed that we were giving the Postmaster General power to force on this country Government ownership whether the people wanted it or not."

Senator Watson affirmed, on information and belief, that when the order was made the date was first put down in pencil as the 14th, the armistice having been signed on the 11th, and that afterwards that date was erased and the 2d inserted. This the Politicalmaster General flatly denies. He says that he saw the President sign the order and date it on the 2d.

All of which is not of the remotest consequence one way or the other. As Senator Hitchcock said, even if the order had been signed on the 2d of November and had been fully completed and countersigned on that date, and even if it had been announced at that time, it would have been a breach of faith with the Congress of the United States. As a matter of fact, it was not announced on that date. It was suppressed. The country knew nothing about it until the armistice had been signed.

The whole transaction was underhanded and dishonorable to a degree.

President Wilson wrote to the Mayor of Northampton:

I would, if I could, come to Northampton, not only with pleasure, but with the feeling that I was making a pious pilgrimage to that particular part of England most directly associated with the great memory of Washington, but I would not be entitled to do homage there if I did not act as I suppose Gen. Washington would act and do nothing which took me away from the special duties which brought me across the water. My visit to Great Britain must be brief. The only place I can take time to visit is my mother's birthplace, which, I understand, I can visit without interfering with the special objects of my errand.

It will bear a second reading.

Treaties made by the President as the head of the civil government and after the war has come to an end, is a different subject matter from making peace by protocol or agreement.—*J. Ham.*

It are.

We confess that we would feel better if there was more talk about American ideas and less about Wilson ideas in connection with the ultimate terms of peace.—*Portland Press.*

Stand and Deliver

IS the Hyland Administration going to put over public ownership by threat of panic and bankruptcy?" asks the *New York Tribune*.

The question is pertinent but unanswerable. The Hyland Administration may be *trying* to put over public ownership in the manner indicated. It rather looks as though it were. But between trying to do a thing and doing it there is a distinction with a difference. For instance, the Administration which ought to be and isn't at Washington is trying to put over Government ownership of railroads. To that end it is holding a pistol to the country's head and demanding railroad ownership with ruin and bankruptcy as the alternative. Washington, plus Somewhere in Europe, has set the example. It may well be that the Hyland Administration is falling into line with this National precedent.

Neither the people of the city of New York nor the people

of the United States have said they wanted this kind of public ownership Socialism. They have never had the opportunity. The question has never been submitted to them. In the case of the Government at Washington and Abroad, why should it be? Possession is nine points of the law and the National Administration, static and peripatetic, has the possession. It is demonstrable to the point of being axiomatic that to throw the railroads at the heads of their owners in the plight to which wartime Government control has reduced them would be to throw them into bankruptcy and ruin. The crash in securities that would ensue would so pull down the pillars of credit that a panic unparalleled would be the logical consequence. Yet the threat of precipitating just that epoch of disaster is the threat which the Government is holding over the head of the country in its demand that the railroads be surrendered to it.

"Yes," said Mr. McAdoo, commenting on the ovations he was receiving from railroad employees whose wages he had raised to fantastic heights, "yes, and they are all equally enthusiastic. And there are 2,300,000 of them—and every one of them a voter."

To quote another eminent authority in practical politics, the late Tim Sullivan: "Give us municipal ownership and Tammany Hall will run the city of New York for a hundred years."

And Mr. McAdoo only wants five years more of railroad control, plus a political campaign backed by the organized millions of rampant and couchant Socialism and the organized millions of employees made opulent by loading the deficits of extravagance upon the taxpayers—only five years more of this is all the Director General asks. But personally he is not an advocate of Government ownership of railroads. He just wants five years in which to give the octopus tentacles an undetachable grip on the whole railroad system of the country, and then he will be prepared to approach decision of the question with a judicial mind.

And the threatened penalty for refusing this request is the immediate piling of the entire mass of deficit-accumulating railroad wreckage and confusion on the shoulders of the owners, from whom it was commandeered, and letting them and the country crawl out from under the scrap heap as best they may.

This is the offense of the Roosevelts, Lodges and Knoxes. They merely nag and bicker and complain. Not one of them has anything to offer. They all oppose what others propose. Everything that is done they would undo. There is no Republican policy. There is not even a hint of Republican policy.—*The World*.

Now let us see! The fourteen points of peace enumerated by President Wilson on January 8, 1918, dealt with the following subjects: (1) Secret diplomacy, (2) Freedom of the seas, (3) Freedom of trade, (4) Reduction of armaments, (5) Recognition of subject peoples, (6) Russia, (7) Belgium, (8) Invaded French territory, (9) Italia Irredenta, (10) Austria-Hungary, (11) The Balkans, (12) Turkey, (13) Poland, (14) League of nations. The first four and the last read in full:

I—Open covenants of peace, openly arrived at, after which there shall be no private international understandings of any kind, but diplomacy shall proceed always frankly and in the public view.

II—Absolute freedom of navigation upon the seas, outside territorial waters, alike in peace and in war, except as the seas may be closed in whole or in part by international action for the enforcement of international covenants.

III—The removal, so far as possible, of all economic barriers and the establishment of an equality of trade conditions among all the nations consenting to the peace and associating themselves for its maintenance.

IV—Adequate guarantees given and taken that national armaments will be reduced to the lowest point consistent with domestic safety.

XIV—A general association of nations must be formed under specific covenants for the purpose of affording mutual guarantees of political independence and territorial integrity to great and small states alike.

Senators Lodge and Knox insisted that these proposals have no bearing upon the immediate business of making peace terms with Germany and urged that their consideration be deferred. Could anything be more definite? We should think it would be clear even to a mind incapable of comprehending the meaning of "unconditional surrender."

When Senator Martin of Virginia, the Democratic leader, urged the immediate passage of a resolution providing payment of railway fares for thousands of discharged employees to return home, this colloquy ensued:

MR. TOWNSEND.—Mr. President, I wish to ask the Senator from Virginia a question about this bill. The Senator has presented a strong case, stating that many of these employees are practically without means; that they have not any funds with which to return home; that we want to get rid of them; and that it is necessary to pass this bill in order to accomplish that purpose. How is this bill going to become a law? Does the Senator know?

MR. MARTIN of Virginia.—Mr. President, I am concerned about the exercise of my own duty; I am not troubling myself about the exercise of the Presidential duty. If the Senator wants to know anything about that, he has the same opportunity to find out that I have.

MR. TOWNSEND.—Well, it is a mighty poor opinion that I have.

MR. MARTIN of Virginia.—Well, I have none. I do not know at all. I merely know that I have advocated and propose to continue to advocate such bills as I think are just and right, and if they fail to become laws it will be through no fault of mine. My duty is finished when I vote for them in the Senate.

MR. TOWNSEND.—I do not question the sincerity of the Senator, and I quite agree with him that it is proper for Congress to proceed to discharge its duty as it sees fit; but I am nevertheless curious in regard to this matter, and I thought the Senator might be able to enlighten me, especially as he is urging, as other Senators have urged, emergency legislation and insisting that something must be done now. It is in my thought, however, that nothing can be done now, for the President does not expect to get back here until spring, which will be after these people have suffered and perhaps died—too late for this relief to reach them.

MR. MARTIN of Virginia.—The Senator apparently knows more about that than I do. I do not know whether the President will be back in the spring or before that time. I am not speaking for the President; I do not know when he will return; but I propose to discharge my duty on the floor and rely on him to discharge his in the Executive chair.

Passing over as immaterial or as merely incidental the distress arising from Executive itinerancy, the attitude of the Democratic leader does not lack a certain significance.

"Our remaining task," Mr. Creel added, "is to bring the new Balkan States into quick contact with American thought and purpose. The whole world is acquainted with the ideas of President Wilson and the American democracy, but we have no opportunity, owing to war conditions, to disseminate American opinion into these new countries. When that work is done I am through." So the great Expedition will not have been in vain!

Letters From Our Readers

HOW TO CURE THE GERMANS

SIR,—Have you space for a great psychologic fact which the disposal of Germany involves?

Germany has a vast population who have been obsessed with the ideals of world domination, the use of brutal, destructive force, and contempt for all human life during so many years that the average German head has developed certain abnormalities of shape. Every competent character analyst knew when the war first started just how the Germans would and must wage war. We have never been surprised by their brutality, their lustfulness, their combination of cowardice, ferocity and treachery.

We also knew—what no others understood—that the only way ever to make the German race and people fit to live with is utterly and completely to disarm them of every naval vessel, gun, fort and military factory; and then give them to understand that any attempt to recover military strength will cut them off from the use of any of the coal and oil stations of the maritime world. As Great Britain and the United States control practically all of these, that part would work automatically. The logical effect would be that the Germans would be compelled to give up all of their vicious ambitions and devote themselves to digging out an honest living from their land and factories.

Nature is always trying to correct abnormalities, and when the minds of parents are confined to normal objects of life, the children are sure to show an approach to normality in the shape of their craniums and the impulses of their brains. Character is the totality of impulses, and these impulses show themselves on the surface of the head and face.

Another point on this line: There should be no hesitation by the Allies on account of German pride. The Germans can understand and respect only force and firmness on the part of their conquerors. We should wish that the Allied Powers will act according to their own best judgment, and not allow themselves to be diverted by any fatuous idealism from amateur visionary statesmen. First, put the Germans where they will stay put, and then let the Peace League grow logically out of the present alliance.

Seattle, Wash.

JOHN E. AYER, M. V.

FOR A NATIONAL MEMORIAL

SIR,—I have read with a great deal of interest an article in your issue of December 14th, "National Memorials of National Deeds," and agree with your findings that this has been a whole Nation's War, and the people of the whole Nation should be interested in a fitting memorial to the soldiers of the whole Nation.

I want to suggest the use of Stone Mountain, Georgia, for this purpose.

Stone Mountain is the largest block of granite in the world. It is seven miles around the base; 1,685 feet above sea-level, and the north side of it is a sheer perpendicular 835 feet from the ground. On this northern face could be chiseled out of the native rock a memorial surpassing all ancient or modern monuments. It would be the eighth, and greatest wonder of the world.

The great Pyramid of Cheops; the Sphinx; the Rock Figures of King Darius; the Lion of Luzerne, and all other monuments, are insignificant in comparison. In all the history of the world there has been no monument such as this could be.

You will recognize Stone Mountain as the site for the proposed Memorial to the Confederacy, for which the sculptor, Gutzon Borglum, was engaged. The proposed Confederate Monument will probably not be built, as the present war, with its ideals and effect on the present generation, has superseded the Civil War, which was only a family quarrel.

Atlanta, Ga.

CHARLES J. METZ.

NOT OUR FAULT

SIR,—On the 27th of this month I received a letter from my father in England, in which he stated that he had not been able to obtain the WEEKLY for at least six weeks. His letter was dated Nov. 28th. Whether he has had it since, of course, I don't know, but I would be glad to know whether it is due, as he thinks, to the refusal of the Postal Department to allow a foreign circulation of the WEEKLY, on account of its outspoken attacks on the Government, or whether it is simply due to an oversight on the part of your foreign circulation department. My father gets it through two friends—I do not know their names. As he has already seen such an example of high-handedness in the suppression of the foreign circulation of the *Nation* in England, his thoughts at once fixed on that as an explanation, particularly as I know he has a very poor opinion of Burleson, and I am glad to find him expressing his satisfaction at the return of the Republican majority.

San Diego, Cal.

NORAH WOODWARD.

IMPORTANT TO READERS

IF your copy of THE WEEKLY is late, please be patient. Allow sufficient time for the impaired mail service to function before complaining. Copies are mailed regularly each week on the same day. Delays, except in rare instances, are not chargeable to us.

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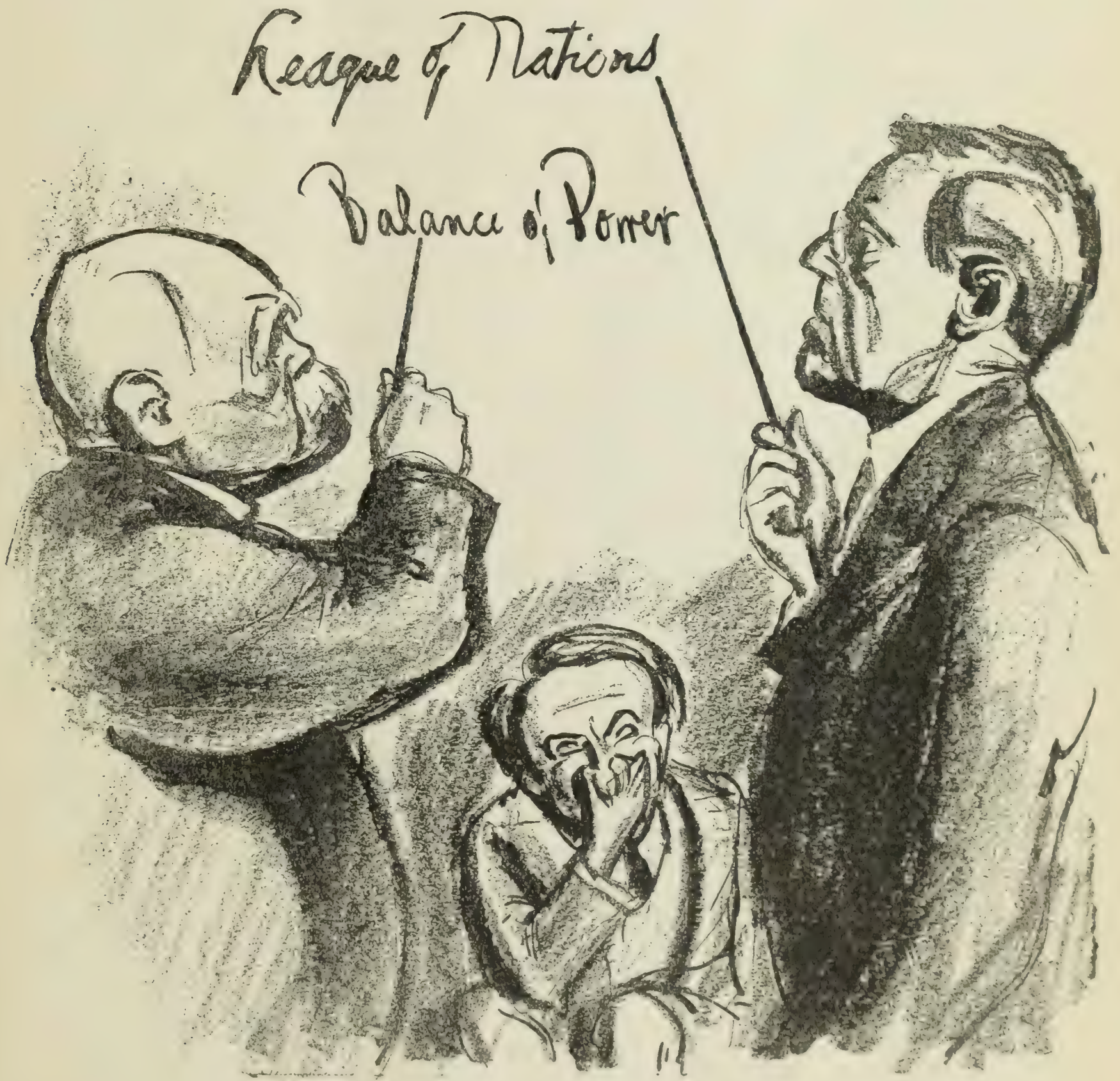
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VOL. 2

WEEK ENDING JAN. 18, 1919

NO. 3



SCHOOL BEGINS

America Is No Bolshevik

THE frolic is over; that is one comfort. And the good Lord must realize that it is high time. More than two months ago the fighting ceased and more than a month ago the President and Mrs. Wilson and Admiral Grayson and Mr. Creel landed at Brest in pursuit of entangling alliances. The measure of success or failure of the endeavor is yet to be determined. All that we can deduce from the purely speculative product of the fifty or more accompanying correspondents is that differences are still being "ironed out" and that, one by one, the Fourteen Commandments are being jammed through the unreceptive gullets of constituted authorities into the epigastric regions of the bodies politic.

This, of course, is a consummation to be wished, devoutly or otherwise, but we may not deny the expensiveness of the process. Not that the two or three millions of direct cost of the Grand Tour need be begrudged; that is but a tithe of the sum well earned for recreation by our long confined Chief Magistrate; it is the merest bagatelle. But meanwhile the burdens of war continue in time of declared peace. Not only is our unrestrained Government paying out money at the rate of seventy millions a day, but all business is practically at a standstill, on tenterhooks of suspense, awaiting the turning of the railway key of the whole industrial fabric. Yet worse is the rightful impatience and growing demoralization of nearly two millions of young Americans who have finished their work as soldiers on foreign soil, and wish to return to their homes, to say nothing of the thousands who are fighting and being tortured and killed for they know not what in Russia.

Not we alone! Since the armistice was signed on November 11, the whole distracted world has been crying for settlement, for peace, for a beginning of return to normal, healthful, fruitful existence. And nothing has been done,—nothing. Outside of Germany, whose thriving folk, despite the continued mobilization of their great army and sporadic uprisings in municipalities, are resuming productive activities, all Europe stands benumbed by the shillyshallying of statesmen slowly assembling to play a great game at Versailles,—to "match minds" over fads and fancies, which may bear heavily upon the future of mankind but now only block the releasing of all peoples for immediate service.

Some delay was unavoidable, no doubt. The climax came so suddenly that men in authority were forced to relax, to get their bearings and regain perspectives. Fresh mandates were required from France and England by their respective Premiers. Great care in the selection of delegates was obviously essential. Preliminaries such as these took time, of course, but nobody dreamed that they would take so much. The armistice was for thirty days, at the end of which time it was fully expected that the Peace Conference would be assembled. More than twice that time has elapsed since the ending of the war and the beginning of peace is yet to come—this week? So we are told; so let us hope and pray.

The extent to which our own Government is properly chargeable with this intolerable delay need hardly be measured. That it is considerable is plain, but how it could have been lessened without vitiating the President's policy

is not so apparent. Ostensibly his purpose was to make certain that his proposals should not be misunderstood by the various Governments, but really, as he who runs may now read, it was to obtain their acceptance by the peoples themselves.

"This," he declared at the outset, "is a people's, not a statesmen's, war. *Statesmen must follow the clarified common thought or be broken.*"

Convinced by tumults of applause that he had struck the right note, he reiterated like provocative statements in speech after speech, with so much apparent success that his closest newspaper recorder, Mr. Bayard Swope, exultingly quoted a distinguished Frenchman as saying that "President Wilson can upset the Government of France whenever he chooses" and a prominent Englishman as not only assenting, but adding that his influence was "equally strong in England." Another inspired correspondent wrote:

It must not be forgotten that America is bound by no alliance, and retains its traditional position of strict independence and freedom of action, enabling it to withdraw at any time from these conferences or the peace congress itself. Mr. Wilson is so strong with the European public that he could easily carry his case to the peoples.

"Mr. Wilson," said the Socialist, Mr. William English Walling, "has now become the spokesman of international democracy and as such he has put forth a doctrine of democratic internationalism," thus obtaining throughout Europe, according to the Philadelphia *North American*, "the unre-served and aggressive support of the forces of Pacifism, Socialism and Bolshevism which hope to translate the war against German imperialism into a war against the democratic institutions that overthrew it."

All this and much more to the same effect, which crept haltingly over the cables, was sufficiently disquieting, but the real gravity of the President's menacing diplomacy did not appear until he went to Italy; and even then it would not have been brought home to us but for the outspoken dispatches of Mr. Louis Seibold to the *World*. From these it appears that the Socialist leaders had taken seriously Mr. Wilson's expressed determination to heed "the plain people" in preference to their Ministers and had "annotated his speeches and distributed them in the industrial centers" so widely that the Government was obliged to "suppress the movement inaugurated among the soldiers along Bolshevik lines" by arresting the most active agitators.

Although "by no word or act did the President encourage the local ambitions of the Socialists," yet there was "no discounting the fact that the propagandists of the various Socialist reform movements insisted upon regarding him as the national as well as international champion of their respective demands, seeking through different agencies the democratization of Italy." Nor was there "any doubt that the intensity of enthusiasm provoked among the Socialists by his visit occasioned much concern among high officials of the Italian Government." In fact, "Italian Government officials at Milan and Turin admitted to the writer that the belief existing among the Socialists that the President was in full sympathy with their democratic professions alone prevented a serious outbreak," and "several incidents that *could not be*

described pointed directly and unmistakably to a determined effort of the Bolshevik agitators to unite the soldier element with the radical Socialist following in the leading industrial centers where extreme industrial depression prevails."

Socialist agitators among the soldiers sent a delegation to urge the President to address "the friends of Italian democracy" in the Piazza Venicizzia, on the line of the parade from the Quirinal to the Chamber of Deputies. The head of the delegation later tried to persuade Ambassador Page to alter the official programme, using this argument: "We have a right to hear the message he brings to the working people and soldiers, who want to be as free as the people of America."

Mr. Seibold adds:

The Alpini captain, standing between Mr. Page and the writer, displayed typically Latin emotion in the argument, the crowd back of the lines of soldiers meanwhile roaring a mighty chorus of approval. *Noticeable in the group, identified as Socialists, under the impressive gold and marble memorial to Victor Emmanuel II, was George Creel, chairman of the Committee on Public Information.*

The Minister of War "concentrated an immense body of troops on the piazza" to quell the disturbance, but "just as the carriage bearing the President and the King passed the street lights were suddenly extinguished, causing much anxiety among the commanders of the military forces lest they would be unable to control the troops properly in the darkness."

"The same condition," Mr. Seibold continues, "existed at Milan and the Socialists' influence was even more pronounced at Turin," where "the President evoked the wildest show of enthusiasm of the spectators by assuming the attitude of a band leader and marking time while the Socialist band played 'The Marseillaise.'"

Replying to the welcome of the Mayor of Milan, the President said:

I am very much touched today, sir, to receive at the hands of wounded soldiers a memorial in favor of a league of nations and to be told by them what it was that they had fought for—not merely to win this war, but to secure something beyond, some guarantee of justice, some equilibrium for the world as a whole which would make it certain that they would never have to fight a war like this again.

In speaking to the delegation which welcomed him to Milan:

The world is not going to consist now of great empires. It is going to consist for the most part of small nations apparently, and the only thing that can bind small nations together is the knowledge that each wants to treat the others fairly. That is the only thing. The world has already shown that its progress is industrial. You cannot trade with people whom you do not trust and who do not trust you.

At the University of Turin:

After all, when we are seeking peace we are seeking nothing else than this, that men shall think the same thoughts, govern their conduct by the same impulse, entertain the same purposes, love their own people, but also love humanity and, above all else, love that great and indestructible thing which we call justice and right.

It is inconceivable that the ignorant peasants could grasp the literal meaning of sentiments thus expressed, but they could divine that the speaker was putting them ahead of their governors and gratefully, in hopeful anticipation of what he might do for them, they hailed him as "the Great

Apostle" and "the God of Peace," and burned candles before his pictures at the shrines of the Virgin. John Alexander Dowie himself was never more highly honored.

But what will be the practical outcome of this policy of terrorizing the heads of nations? It seems unthinkable that men of the stature of Lloyd George and Clemenceau and Orlando will bow their heads submissively in fear of being "broken" for refusing to immerse their minds in the "clarified common thought" of Mr. Wilson. It is equally incredible that in their hearts they should not be angered beyond measure by such treatment and seize upon every opportunity to make their resentment felt. Wholly aside from the shocking impropriety of going over the heads of duly constituted authorities and the positive immorality of stirring the ferment of revolt at this most critical of times, what in reason can there be hope of achieving?

We ourselves confess to a sense of utter bewilderment and no little apprehension. We can understand a crude diplomacy which threatens Great Britain with a navy greater than her own, but this is different. As the sturdy and conservative old Lexington, Kentucky, *Herald* gravely says:

Should President Wilson, moved by that keen insight and foresight which he has now and then displayed, return home sooner than he expected and to some extent lessen his personal participation in the peace discussions, it may, regardless of assertions to the contrary, be due to the peculiar and unconscious influence which he has had on the growth of the revolutionary spirit in Central Europe, and a madness that threatens to overspread the whole of that continent.

Will men who, with bloody daggers in their hands, point to the Christ as the first great "Socialist," hesitate to hail the President of the great Republic of the West as the leader of "the oppressed" of all lands who are now seeking, with flame and sword, to destroy all forms of established government?

Today we may well wonder whether his unconscious influence is not the most formidable obstacle in the pathway of the coming peace conference, and whether or not even some of the liberal statesmen of Europe may not shortly deem it expedient to take issue with him.

One fact is certain. It is well that the speechmaking has ended and that the conference is to begin. The matching of minds may work wondrous changes even before the President returns, as pray God he may, a month hence to obtain a mandate from his country. Let us hope so. But let the representatives of the people in Washington take heed! There must be no misrepresentation of this Republic—not for a day, nor for an hour.

It is a time for vigilance, no less than for tolerance.

America is no Bolshevik.

Among all the tributes paid to Theodore Roosevelt, none has been more noteworthy or more appropriate than that of the Huns, who are unsparing in their denunciation of him as their "arch-enemy." That is what he was, and it is one of his noblest titles to grateful fame. The world scarcely yet realizes how great a part he played in arousing the soul of the American nation to a realization of the peril which confronted it, and to the necessity of putting forth every atom of both physical and spiritual strength against the Blond Beast. Old-time legends celebrated and apotheosized champions who went forth to battle with dragons and demons. History will record the greater worth of this man who gave his life to battling with the foulest foe humanity has known.

We Gain a Premier

THE President and Mrs. Wilson returned from Rome via Milan and Turin, somewhat wearied, but in the best of health and spirits. They found a palace full of presents from all over Europe when they arrived and will look them over between times before shipping them to this country. Cousin George's memento turned out to be a *History of Windsor Castle* instead of a *History of the United States*, but it is beautifully bound and quite interesting. The \$40,000 mosaic from the Pope, however, is the first prize of the collection up to date.

Just what to do with these gifts constitutes a minor problem, in view of the provision of the Constitution forbidding a President to accept, without consent of Congress, "any present, emolument, office or title of any kind whatever from any king, prince, or foreign State." The most natural suggestion is that Congress be asked to give its consent, but since no special reason for doing so is apparent, objection is made that such action would be in effect a waiver of fundamental law and difficult to justify as a precedent. Some hold that the inhibition might properly be ignored entirely upon the ground that there was no expectation, at the time of its adoption, that a President would ever be subjected to such embarrassment as a week-end visitor in royal palaces. Others think it would be well to keep the things in storage until Mr. Wilson shall become a private citizen and can accept them; but nobody seems to know when that will be. The Attorney General will probably have to decide. Perhaps that is why Gregory resigned.

Meanwhile, care should be taken to disabuse the public mind of any impression that the President's adoption of a new title bears upon this perplexity. *Le Temps*, aided by the *Times*, made this clear when, on January 8, it announced that "President Wilson has officially informed Premier Clemenceau that he does not desire to be considered at the Peace Conference as the head of a State, but only as the Prime Minister of his State,"—a matter wholly of self-determination, since "the United States Constitution makes the President not only the head of the State, but the head of the Government, and President Wilson will claim only the right to the prerogatives of the last-named office at the Peace Conference." Although his appearance as "the head of a State," the *Times* explains, "would not have been unprecedented—both the King of Prussia and the Czar of Russia attended the Vienna Congress of 1814-15 in their sovereign status—it would, nevertheless, have been embarrassing to the conferees; for ex-officio, as the highest ranking official present, he would as a matter of precedence have taken the chairmanship at all meetings."

The point was made in Congress before the President sailed and seems also to have been considered abroad. Anyhow, while he was on his way, the Secretary of the Allied conference in London announced casually that it had been decided that M. Clemenceau should be chairman; so, whatever may have been Mr. Wilson's intention, his conclusion was to sit with the bunch.

That it was a wise and gracious decision does not admit of doubt. True, none of our copies of the Constitution explicitly designates the Executive as the "head of the Govern-

ment," but we recall distinctly that Mr. Creel once so interpreted the document, and we should hesitate to challenge his authority. His decision, moreover, stands at least upon a par with the dictum of Senator J. Hamilton Lewis that Mr. Wilson is really acting "as Commander-in-Chief" and consequently is fully empowered to negotiate treaties without paying the slightest attention to the Senate. In any case, we find nothing in the Constitution forbidding a President to appoint himself Prime Minister any more than to leave the country; so under current practice he can do so, and naturally he does.

Upon second thought, too, since neither the Constitution nor the statutes make provision for a Premier, of course they cannot prevent a Premier from accepting gifts from potentates or anybody else. Moreover, as President, Mr. Wilson will be in a position at any time to reject proposals which he might have accepted as Prime Minister.

However you look at it, the idea is a good one. We ourselves like it immensely. We have always wanted a Premier.

"Send Us Home"

By Lieutenant Grantland Rice, Third Army, A. E. F.

France may have Alsace-Lorraine;
Italy can grab her share;
Slip the British Turkey-Spain,
Or a slice of old Ukraine,
Africa, or anywhere;
But so far as we're concerned,
Looking back across the foam,
With our faces westward turned
All we ask is—"Send us Home".

Belgium has a worthy claim
On the war chest of the Hun;
Serbia may well exclaim
"We were also in the game
When you scored the winning run."
But concerning just our stake,
Hiking through the muddy loam,
We have one request to make—
All we ask is—"Send us Home".

Maybe we have done our part;
Anyway, we gave our best;
Though a trifle slow to start
We came through with willing heart
When we bumped against the test;
Now when all rewards are due,
Peering through the wintry gloam,
This is all we seek from you—
All we ask is—"Send us Home".

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Dealing With the Bolsheviki

“MUCH ado about nothing,” or at least, “All’s well that ends well,” is likely to be the final comment upon the Anglo-French “incident,” to use the old diplomatic phrase, over the participation of the Bolsheviki in the Peace Congress. There has been an attempt to magnify, exaggerate and distort it into the semblance of something portentous, even a quarrel between the two great Allies; and also to make it seem that the United States was concerned in it in some embarrassing way. All of which, we confidently believe, is quite unwarranted.

It is unfortunate that there have been from the outset such diversities of opinion and such irresolution of action concerning Russia. It would, as we have hitherto urged, have been vastly better for the Allies, America included, to intervene resolutely and with adequate force in Russia at an early date, for the support of the lawful Government of that country and in response to the earnest and repeated request of that Government. But they did not do so; and America was probably chiefly responsible for their failure to do so. Having given quasi-recognition to the Bolsheviki, our Government professed to be afraid to intervene lest it should offend Lenine and Trotzky and drive those delectable scoundrels into the arms of the Hunnish conspirators whose facile tools they had all along been. The result of that hesitancy was chaos, and now—the penalty must be paid.

That hesitancy, moreover, is still maintained. The Allies are not quarreling over the matter, and will not do so. But they are not agreed on a consistent and persistent concert of action. Some are for going on, others for withdrawing. In some parts of the empire they are aggressive, and in others they are retiring. It is not to be wondered at, then, if there is some division of counsel as to the way in which to deal with the Bolsheviki at the Peace Congress. But that does not mean that there is going to be any quarrel there, any more than there has been over the question of intervention.

What seems to have happened is this: The British Government, realizing the prime necessity of dealing radically with Russian affairs at the Peace Congress, and the difficulty if not the impossibility of doing so satisfactorily in the absence of Russian representatives, and observing, moreover, that there were three or four rival Governments struggling for supremacy in Russia, suggested to France and the United States—probably also to Italy and Japan—that it might be well to invite all of those Governments which would act in an orderly and decent manner to send representatives to the Congress. These were to come not, of course, as members of the Congress, to participate as peers in its deliberations and decisions, but merely as guests on sufferance, for testimony and consultation; and a *sine qua non* of their being received was to be that the Government sending them should cease fighting and “revoluting” and should co-operate harmoniously with the others in seeking the common good of Russia.

It is obvious that that condition would be an insuperable bar to the reception of any Bolshevik envoys, for the reason that if they quit fighting and acted decently they would no longer be Bolsheviki. To speak of orderly Bolsheviki is a contradiction in terms. But the French Foreign Minister, rightly loathing the slightest consideration of the Bolsheviki, could not bring himself to sanction even that equivocal

recognition of them, and told the British Government so, with admirable vigor and with an expression of sentiments which it did our hearts good to hear. Our own Government, having long ago somewhat compromised itself on the general subject, appears to have said nothing; or, at any rate, to have left the matter to our peregrinating President to deal with as may please him.

Remembering the manner in which every candidate who in any degree was tainted with a suspicion of Bolshevism was rejected by the British electorate which returned Mr. Lloyd George to office with an unprecedented majority behind him, we have not the slightest idea that that gentleman, or any member of the British Government, has any more notion of making a “contract with crime” by entering into relations with the Bolsheviki, than has the French Foreign Minister or any of his colleagues.

Two Delegations

THE announcement of the appointment of the French delegates to the Peace Congress unavoidably suggests comparisons, or perhaps contrasts, of a twofold nature, between them and their American colleagues. We do not mean, of course, comparisons of a personal nature, which might be odious. Just as all states in an international council are regarded as equals, so all these delegates, as men, in their private and personal capacity, are to be esteemed as peers. Let us leave out of mention, therefore, even their names, and consider them according to their official or other standing. The American delegates are:

The President, who, in this connection, wishes to be regarded not as President, but as Prime Minister;

The Secretary of State, corresponding to Minister for Foreign Affairs;

A former Ambassador, entirely dissociated from any cognizance of or official interest in the war;

A private citizen, who has never held office;

A General of the Army, not conspicuous at the front.

The French delegates, as now announced, are as follows:

The Prime Minister;

The Minister for Foreign Affairs;

The Minister of Finance;

The High Commissioner to America;

A former Ambassador, intimately concerned with matters relating to the war.

Now, with all due respect for our countrymen, we must regard the latter as more authoritatively representative of the French nation and its Government than the former of America. Such seems to be the case, if we look merely at the nominal official rank of the delegates. It seems much more so when we consider that most of the French delegates are members of the French Parliament, while not one of their American colleagues is a member of Congress. Still more so does it seem when we remember that the French delegates enter the congress backed by the approving franchises of the people, or of their elected representatives, while the Americans are not thus backed, but on the contrary suffer from the fact that at a general election held shortly before their appointment a decisive majority was cast against their party and their policy.

This unfavorable contrast is confirmed when we turn from

the personnels of the delegations to the manner of their appointments. The French delegates were nominated to the Council of Ministers, and after careful consideration were confirmed by that authoritative body. The American delegates were, so far as the world has been permitted to know, autocratically selected by one man, himself a member of the delegation, and were never reported to any authoritative body for confirmation. Most of the Frenchmen, as we have said, are members of the Parliament which will pass upon their work, and have received an overwhelming vote of confidence from that body. Not one of the Americans is a member of the Senate which will have joint power with them in making the Peace Treaty, and not one of them has received a vote of confidence from that body.

If the President had appointed among the American delegates two or three representative members of the Senate, and had submitted the whole list to that body for its confirmation, this country would be as authoritatively represented at the Congress as France or any other nation will be. As it is, we must regret that autocracy has handicapped democracy.

The Railroad Director's Report

THE annual report of the Director-General of Railroads is more acceptable as a vindication of Government control as a war measure than it is as an argument for the perpetuation of that control in time of peace. Nobody will question the efficiency with which Mr. McAdoo administered his great, complex and arduous trust, or the benefits which accrued to the Government and the nation therefrom in facilitating the prosecution of the war. Those were matters of current observation and record, and the recapitulation of them calls for much approval and little or no dispute. There can be no question, either, that many inconveniences, privations and losses were suffered by the public through the methods of Government control, at which the public did not repine and for which we are not inclined to criticize the Government, because they were a part of the necessary war sacrifices of the nation.

There will arise in the minds of many readers of this report two important questions, which they will regret not to have had more satisfactorily elucidated by Mr. McAdoo. One relates to the degree of governmental responsibility for the inefficient state of the railroads at the beginning of the war. It will not do to assume, as some do who should know better, that the railroads were doing the very best that they could do or could be expected to do under private management, and that the great improvement in service to the Government which Mr. McAdoo effected was simply the measure of the intrinsic superiority of Government control over private control.

Such was not the case. It was notorious, it had been for years, that the roads were suffering grievously from governmental meddling. The Interstate Commerce Commission on the one hand and a multiplicity of State laws and commissions on the other had hampered and harrassed them almost to despair. They had asked for relief, and had been denied.

When, therefore, the Government assumed control, it immediately did two things. One was to sacrifice much of the convenience and comfort of the traveling public in order to use the roads more largely for Government work. That was

necessary and was commendable. The roads might, of course, have done the same under private control, but it was on the whole much better to have it done under Government control. The other and more important thing was to make many radical changes, such as consolidation of systems and terminals, which the private owners could not have done because the Government would not let them. They had asked for permission to do some of these things, and it had not been given to them.

The Government succeeded, therefore, because it was able to do things with the roads which it would not have permitted the roads to do for themselves. In that there was and is certainly no valid argument for permanent Government control.

The other question which arises is, why there should be so obvious and persistent an effort to transform a special war-time condition into a permanent condition of peace. Mr. McAdoo, referring to the manner in which the railroads under Government control served the general public, says:

The service rendered under such conditions cannot and ought not to be taken as the measure of what might be expected through Federal control under normal conditions or in a time of peace.

That is quite true. But who thinks of so taking it? Congress, in giving the President power to take over the roads, had no thought of doing so in order to see how Federal control would work "under normal conditions or in a time of peace." It did so purely and simply as a temporary war measure, intending that at the end of the emergency caused by the war the roads should revert to their former private control. Whatever designs members of the Administration may have, Congress and the nation generally are interested now in knowing how the system of Government control served the special war needs of the Government, and not in how the same system might serve the normal needs of peace.

We do not impute any ulterior motives to Mr. McAdoo, whose administration of the roads under difficult circumstances reflects upon him credit as great as the benefit which has accrued to the nation. But it is the simple truth that the passage from his report which we have quoted sounds precisely as though Congress had authorized governmental control as an experimental or probationary measure, preparatory to making that control, and indeed ownership, permanent.

There will, as we have said, be many readers who will wonder why such a tone should have been injected into the document.

Sweeping back the ocean is a task something like George Harvey's, when he declares that we "do not owe it to humanity to toss our cherished Republic into a melting pot," and so on; which is his way of describing and denouncing a league of nations. "Our cherished Republic," yes; it is such. There is its history. It speaks for itself. That history has been judged by trustworthy students. And now mankind is judging it, the man in the street throughout the world is judging it. Mankind cherishes what we have so long, and perhaps too selfishly, cherished. Our success has brought problems which weigh heavily upon us. And we must not forget that every great culture since the world began has ultimately died in the land that gave it birth. So except this freedom be given forth it must surely perish.—*Schenectady Gazette*.

In what country has freedom, once attained, "died in the land that gave it birth"? In England? In France? In Switzerland? In Italy? In Greece? In Brazil? In Argentina? We know of *none*.

Straining the Constitution

AMONG the stories told of Lincoln, canonical or apocryphal as the case may be, is one to the effect that in the very midst and crisis of the Civil War, a friend raised the question whether some act of the Administration did not come pretty close to violating the Constitution; to which the great President replied, "No; but I expect that before we get through with this thing, the Constitution will be strained about to the limit."

It is of course an axiom of government, implied and practically provided for in the Constitution itself, that extraordinary emergencies justify extraordinary measures. Lincoln never violated the Constitution. He never strained it to the breaking-point; though he wisely and patriotically held it better that it should be "strained about to the limit" for its own preservation, than that it should be permitted to lapse and be destroyed through failure of strenuous interpretation.

But it is a very different thing to strain the Constitution, not for its preservation, but for its perversion, and to bring upon it potentially the disfavor and reproach of a great majority of the nation. We can indeed conceive few things more pernicious and more fraught with menace to that loyal devotion to the Constitution which is the very soul of our national security and strength. Yet that is precisely what is now being done by the fanatical propagandists of "nation-wide prohibition," and by those legislators who, through thoughtlessness or cowardice or some less discreditable motive, are so glibly voting to fasten irrevocably upon the land a system of worse than dubious merit.

Apart from the fundamental question of personal liberty, which may be involved in State or municipal as well as national prohibition, the prime and, to our mind, unanswerable objection to the pending measure is that it would inject into the national Constitution, legislation of a kind which does not belong there, which it was never intended to put there, and which would be incongruous with and indeed repugnant to the whole spirit and purpose of that instrument. It would be putting into the fundamental and practically immutable law of the whole nation something which conspicuously belongs to the police or other powers of the States. The makers of the Constitution had no thought of inserting into it any such provision. On the contrary, they scrupulously and most wisely avoided so doing. And among all the various amendments which have since been adopted, there is not one which in the slightest perceptible degree approximates to such an infringement upon State rights. This amendment, if adopted, would differ from all others, not in degree alone, but in kind. It would mark a new departure in Constitutional law, and would set a precedent for the inclusion in the Constitution of all sorts of special and local ordinances.

We have referred to this threatened adoption of the amendment as an act which, once taken, would be irrevocable. That is the second most serious consideration; because the practicality and the desirability of prohibition are by no means assured, but on the contrary are matters of great doubt. It would obviously be a most unfortunate thing to have a system permanently fastened upon the country and then, in a few years, find that it was undesirable and mischievous. That would mean either that one of the mandates of the Constitution would be tacitly ignored by the great majority of the nation,

or that we should have to submit to an unwelcome and mischievous system of which we were unable to rid ourselves; either of which would certainly lessen popular regard for the fundamental law of the nation.

It should be borne in mind that while a law of Congress may easily and expeditiously be amended or repealed at any time when the majority of the people so desire, such a procedure is quite impossible with the Constitution. If the prohibition amendment should be adopted, by the vote of three-fourths of the States, it could never be repealed or altered save by a similar vote. That would mean that, no matter how disastrous a failure and detriment the system proved to be, or how earnestly the great majority of the people desired its repeal or modification, less than six per cent of the population of the United States could absolutely prevent any such remedial action. The negative votes, or the mere refusal of an affirmative vote, of thirteen States, would be sufficient to prevent any change in the Constitution.

Now there are thirteen States which have an aggregate of only 5,609,732 population, in a total of 104,878,716 in the forty-eight States of the Federal Union. Those thirteen have only about 5.3 per cent of the whole. They have little more than half the population of the State of New York, considerably less than either Pennsylvania or Illinois, and only a little more than Ohio. Yet, standing together, they could absolutely block the will of all the rest of the nation. In some cases that might be well. It is well, for example, that a single State, with perhaps only one-tenth of one per cent of the population of the nation, could completely veto any proposal to deprive it of its equal representation in the Senate. But that so small a majority of the nation should be invested with power thus to keep forever saddled upon the whole country a measure which is not properly a matter of national legislation, and which in no respect involves the integrity of the nation or the rights of the individual States, save to impair them, would be an anomaly of the most ominous kind.

If any State wants to make the experiment of prohibition by State law, well and good. Let it do so. If the thing works well, the State can stick to it; if not, the State can repeal it. We shall go beyond that and say: If a majority of the people of the nation vote for Representatives and Senators under a mandate expressed or implied to enact a national prohibition law, well and good. Let the experiment be made, if it be properly within the purview of national legislation. But without any such experiment, and without any practical possibility of relief in case of dissatisfaction, to fasten this untried system irrevocably upon the nation would be so reckless and dangerous a performance that it is impossible to understand how it can be deliberately done by legislators who recognize its actual and its potential nature, and who have a due sense of their responsibility for the welfare of the nation.

George Harvey announces that he does not approve of the proposed League of Nations, and then, with the indirection which characterizes much of such opposition, proceeds to point out the perils of European alliances. The last prop falls from under such argument when it is made clear that the League of Nations is not an alliance.—*Detroit News-Tribune*.

What is it?

Dead Letters for Live Soldiers

MR. OTTO PRAEGER, of Texas, the Second Assistant Postmaster-General of the United States, officially testified to a Senate committee last week that eight or ten carloads of mail for American soldiers are lying undelivered in France, and that "probably millions" of such letters will presently be shipped back to this country, to go to the Dead Letter Office, from which some of them will eventually be returned to their writers. Blame for this scandalous failure to deliver mail was placed by Mr. Praeger upon the War Department, to whose agents the Postoffice Department turns over the outgoing army mails at the port of exit from this country. We assume that this testimony is properly to be regarded as authoritative, and certainly not as inspired by a desire for carping or fault-finding, or by animosity toward the Administration.

We are the more inclined thus to regard Mr. Praeger's testimony because of many private testimonials to similar effect which have come to our knowledge. A sample, one of many, lies before us at this writing; a copy of a letter written to the Commissioner of Training Camp Activities:

I know a soldier boy in France, who writes pretty faithfully, who never yet has written a single word of complaint. "A little money would come in handy," he says, "for I haven't been paid for four months. . . . But that's all right. We got the Kaiser's goat, and that is what we were after." It was all right, *he said*, even when he had got no letter for two months, but creeping into the letter were words that brought tears to the eyes of every member of the family: "If I could only hear from home;" and "For God's sake write to me, for I am a long way from home;" and this with twenty-five to thirty letters to that boy on the way, some for two months to two months and a half! If this was just one boy, it would not be subject to criticism, but it is the story of many hundred thousands.

If this letter had been printed before Mr. Praeger's testimony, some hot gossellers of the Administration would have denounced it as semi-seditious exaggeration, or falsehood. As it is, it stands confirmed by high official authority.

And what, by the way, was the occasion of the writing of that letter? The Secretary of War had written to the Commissioner of Training Camp Activities, suggesting what kind of letters American mothers should write to their sons abroad, and the Commissioner had obliged by actually issuing a form letter—after the fashion of the "Ready Letter Writer"—for mothers to copy and send to their boys!

Now that "form letter" was, as might have been expected from the circumstances of its origin, pretty poor stuff. We can imagine the average soldier boy, on receiving it, wondering what on earth had happened to his mother that she should write it. But if it had been the best possible letter in the world, had it been better than any American mother could herself write out of her own heart and mind, it was a monstrous impertinence for the Secretary of War to suggest such a thing when he knew that he was neglecting or, at any rate, failing to deliver to the soldiers millions of letters which had been written to them. What did it matter what kind of letters were written, if they were not to be delivered? Can it be that he objected to the letters which mothers were writing to their sons on their own initiative, and purposed to suppress them and to deliver only those which were copied from his own "Every Mother's Ready Letter Writer"?

Messrs. Baker and Burleson may settle between themselves which is the more responsible for this monstrous lapse of

executive efficiency, and for this grievous wrong to the soldiers, and, indeed, to the people, of the United States. The blistering fact of the wrong remains. As the writer of the letter which we have quoted says, "There is no excuse for such handling of the mails. . . . Instead of insinuating that the mothers of America don't know what kind of letters to write to their own boys, the attention of some of the 'Commissioners of Activities' should be given to looking up the parties who are responsible for this needless hardship to both the soldier and the home folk. Even at this late date, if they are simply incompetent they should be removed or disposed of in some way, even if we have to pension them; and if they are and have been criminally negligent, some of the mothers and soldier boys who have suffered could suggest the right punishment."

General Wood's Fine Work

GENERAL LEONARD WOOD has inaugurated a line of work at Camp Funston which will be of far-reaching value to the large force of men under his command as well as to the country at large. In addition to their army training, the Camp Funston men have educational facilities such as would be beyond the reach of very many of them elsewhere.

By arrangement with the Kansas State Agricultural College, which is at Manhattan, Kansas, only a few miles from Camp Funston, instructors from the College give frequent lectures at the Camp on all branches of agricultural work—stock raising, land fertilization and so on, including Agriculture in its broadest sense. As most of the men under General Wood's command are from the farming population, this course of instruction should be invaluable to them on their return to civil life. In addition to that, the College has offered to take 300 men in the institution's workshops and laboratories and instruct them in a course of mechanical engineering. General Wood has taken full advantage of this offer. There will be barracks near the College, and as many men as possible will be quartered there and comfortably cared for while receiving the instruction so generously offered.

At the camp itself instruction in various lines of study is going on. The mornings, weather permitting, are devoted to strictly military instruction and army work, while the men generally have the rest of the time to spend in improving themselves in general study. The illiterates, of whom there is a not very large but by no means negligible percentage, have full opportunity for instruction in the elementary school branches which, outside of the army, many of them would feel more or less humiliated in asking for and accepting.

This is putting the Army, while we are on a peace basis, to the very best use that could be made of it. It is making of it a sort of University, which is not only creating American soldiers—and American soldiers are second to none in the world—but which is also lifting to a higher level the standards of American citizenship. There is in all this a breadth of vision and an intelligent patriotism quite characteristic of General Wood. It is worthy of him at his best, and that is saying a great deal. Whatever this admirable soldier's personal feelings may be at the all but feminine petty spitefulness to which he has been subjected, he has utterly sunk such feelings and has given himself as whole-heartedly to the

duties in the field to which he has been confined as has any man in the service, either here at home or abroad. That his men at Camp Funston are devoted to him is a matter of course. They have been devoted to him wherever he has been in command. He measures up to the highest standard of the American Army officer and gentleman, and when you have said that you have said about all that could be said in praise of any man.

"Inborn Gentlemen, All of Them"

WE have all been very proud of the war record of our splendid fellows over there. At Belleau Woods; at Chateau Thierry; in the dashing sweep by which the St. Mihiel salient was wrested from the Huns after they had held it with a grip of steel for four years; in the dogged, terrible weeks of deadly combat in the Argonne—a second Battle of the Wilderness—our men added laurels to American arms as fine as any in our history. We have been very proud of all this here at home. We have been proud of the tributes paid to the gallantry of our men and officers by all the Allied commanders—by Marshal Foch, by General Haig, and, in his modest, straightforward, soldierly narrative, by our own Pershing.

They all tell the same story. It is a very old story. It has been told over and over again. It is the same story which has been writ large across the pages of history whenever the deeds of American soldiers have been recorded. But it never stales in the telling. It thrills American hearts at its every repetition, and never has it thrilled them more than in this, the latest telling.

But the splendid record of our soldiers does not end with their dashing, daredevil record on the field of battle. They have won other tributes than those from military commanders—tributes calculated to stir us all as profoundly as any that have been won by their conduct in the smoke and uproar and fiery hell at the front. One of the latest of these comes from the Marquise de Noailles in a letter to a friend in New York. She writes:

Bring a smile on somebody's face! That seems to be the motto of all Americans over here. Sugar plums, chocolate, gasoline, tires, delicious white bread, all luxuries now unknown are given to the French by your people. One of the things that touches me most is the love of the Americans for little children. In all villages you can see little tots shrieking out in laughter while a huge boy in khaki romps about for their own particular amusement.

And then Madame de Noailles gives us this picture:

A month ago; the middle of the Champs Elysées; wet day; mud all over; motors running about wildly; issuing from a refugees committee and aghast at the idea of crossing the avenue a poor shrivelled granny; a big burly United States boy who takes up granny, lifts her in his arms as if she were a baby, and off she trots with a hundred *'Merci bien, M'sieur!'*

Surely a very pretty picture, and we would venture the suggestion that if the deeds of our men in France are to be immortalized on canvas by the Detailles and de Neuville of the War with the Hun, the record would hardly be complete were this episode omitted.

"Such inborn gentlemen," continues the Marquise, "all of them, is what they are. Remembering their mothers and

sisters, they respect all women; help the mothers, fight with the fathers, and will always extend a loyal hand to the children. May they long remain with us."

From all parts of France have come tributes like this. They have fallen as thick as the flowers showered on our passing regiments by the hands of women, little children, and all the weaker, more helpless ones left in war's brutal wake. "Inborn gentlemen, all of them!" Surely that is the cap sheaf of all the laurels our splendid fellows have won! Men they proved themselves in every ordeal that tried men's souls. And gentle they proved themselves in all their contact with those towards whom courteous respect and helping kindness are rights no real man ever yet has failed to honor.

They have defined the much abused word "gentleman" in deeds, not words. They have illuminated that old shop-worn definition with moving pictures which have made it blaze with a new and a living light. And the picture of that frail, flustered, little old "granny" carried like a child by one of our khaki-clad huskies across that avenue of mud and dizzily skidding autos is not the least heart-stirring of the exhibits, by a good deal.

Of a certainty, every American man that is a man—every 100-per cent American man—will tingle with pride to his finger-tips when he reads of deeds like these as much as he will when he reads of the daredevil fighting fury of the same men when they hurled themselves against the Unspeakable Beast who wrought all the wreck and ruin. His eyes, that blaze with pride in the warrior, may be mistily dim with the same emotion that is in the cheery, light-hearted, bright-faced Bayard in khaki carrying the burdens of the weak and helpless, romping with laughing children, sharing his food and scanty luxuries with the hungry and heartsick victims of foul wrong. No posing. No sentimentalizing. All of it just in the routine of the day's work—merely the instinctive, matter-of-course routine of the gentleman. That's all!

We thank you, Madame de Noailles. Of course, we always knew it of our soldiers, but it is good to hear it from you, and very gracious in you to say it.

It is really a pity that Colonel Harvey, in his recent New York speech, couldn't have been as sane about the league of nations as he was about Germany's liability to pay. He had a clear and positive idea about that. He put it in a more concrete way, it seems, than most of his contemporaries have done:

But we are told that Germany cannot pay! Cannot pay? With nine-tenths of her productive labor under arms, she furnished seven billions a year for four years in her dastardly attempt to conquer the world. Surely, in time of peace, she can provide three billions a year for fifty years. At any rate, she can and should be made to try. And the infamous scoundrel now living and plotting at ease in Holland who, whether he gave the order or not, pinned the iron cross upon the breast of the captain who sunk the *Lusitania*, must be brought to the bar of justice and tried, convicted and hanged for the murder of the Frohmans, the Hubbards, the Pearsons and the kiddies whom Alfred Vanderbilt vainly gave his life to save.

We may say that strong language doth not profit, but in the multitude of soft words we shall forget justice. We may say that the proper court will in time render a right decision, but over here at least public opinion needs to stand behind the court. The condemnation of the above is warranted. Its suggestion is proper.

Especially that about Germany's ability to pay. If the war had been begun in any other way there might be talk of a compromise. The evidence is before us, and we ought to remember that Germany planned this war for years, and precipitated it when her military masters deemed they were ready and able to sweep the whole world of opposition off its feet. Germany was the player of the game who stakes all on a throw. If the throw fails, he loses all. Germany lost. Shall not Germany pay?

—The Hartford Times

The Week

WASHINGTON, January 16, 1919.

THEY are at last beginning to prepare to get ready to get to work. It is now a little more than two months since the Armistice was declared, and the Supreme Inter-Allied Council has held one meeting. This Supreme Inter-Allied Council, it must be understood, is quite distinct from the Inter-Allied Conference, which has also held a meeting, and of course they are both also quite distinct from the full Peace Congress. It appears to have been necessary, as an essential prerequisite to determining what the civilized Powers are to do with the Huns, to conduct an extended and protracted propaganda over the crucial question whether a combination of, say, half a dozen Powers, formed for the benign purpose of bossing the others, shall be called a "Balance of Power" or a "League of Nations." But at last they are getting ready to prepare to begin to get to work; so let us all thank God and take courage.

The delay in getting to work at Versailles has had and is having bad effects in several important quarters. It has undoubtedly aggravated the situation in Germany, where things have been and still are very bad indeed. Of course it is all very well to let the Huns stew in their own juice. We have not a particle of sympathy with them in their troubles, which are precisely the kind of troubles that German propagandists strove to foment in other lands, even in our own. As a matter of cold, calculating self-interest, however, it does not seem good policy for the Allies unnecessarily to foster doings which will make their own tasks harder. Prompt definition and application of peace terms would not only have prevented much of the deviltry at Berlin and elsewhere, but, which is far more important, would have made it easier for the Allies to exact satisfaction from the Huns.

In Russia, also, delay is costly, particularly when marked with hesitancy, divided counsels, and all manner of backing and filling. In some parts of that country the Allies seem to be pressing their intervention with all possible vigor, and in others they are scuttling out as rapidly as they can; some are for intervention, and some are for getting out. Like the Tuscan army at the Bridge:

Those behind cried "Forward!"
And those before cried "Back!"

There appears to be some difference of opinion even between Great Britain and France, as we point out elsewhere,—the former having, we are told, suggested that if the Soviet Government will behave itself it should be permitted to send delegates to the Peace Congress, along with delegates from some of the other fifty-seven varieties of government which Russia now boasts. This may, of course, have been a bit of irony, uttered in full knowledge that the Soviet folk never could behave themselves. Anyway, the French Government vigorously dissented, and refused most properly to have anything whatever to do with the "criminal régime of the Bolsheviki." As Laurence Sterne observed, "They order this matter better in France."

Still more regrettable have been the results of the delay in Poland. The Allies are really not treating that country well.

The Poles rejected all the temptations of Germany at the beginning of the war and threw in their lot with the Allies, at a time when their joining forces with Germany would have been a most serious matter for the Allies. At immense cost to themselves, they remained loyal to the Allies and rendered incalculable military services to them. Yet now they have been permitted to suffer bitter hardships for lack of Allied aid, and even to run the risk of being demoralized by the Bolsheviki. One of the first acts of the Allies after the making of the armistice should have been the giving of all needed aid to Poland for her rehabilitation and strengthening against the foes on both sides of her.

Increasingly awkward, because of the delay in peace-making, is the plight of the people in lands of disputed or of potentially changing sovereignty. Both Germany and Poland are holding popular elections. What are the Poles of Posen to do? The Polish Government tells them that they are to be re-incorporated with Poland, and must therefore vote in the Polish elections; while the German Government warns them that, if they do so, they will be guilty of treason. The people of Schleswig are in a similar quandary, and so are those of other regions.

A cable dispatch to the New York *Tribune* tells us that the American Peace Commissioners—including, we assume, the President—realize that the American Constitution would not permit our army and navy to be subject to the commands of any international court or other alien body, and that they are therefore likely to agree quickly and completely with Great Britain, and probably with the other Powers, on the League of Nations business.

But since the Constitution certainly will not permit our army and navy to serve as international police, waging war at the behest of some League of Nations, or whatever it may be called, we can see no use in pleading for a League which will enforce peace by militant means. Indeed, to enforce it by any means at alien behest, would be of doubtful expediency for this country. We cannot wage war with our army and navy at the command of an international League, and we do not think that we should wage a commercial war, conduct a boycott, or anything of that sort, at the command of any foreign organization.

Edsel Ford's father, in his *Dearlyborn Independent*, declares that he would rather hear that a man had made a million plows than that he had made a million dollars. Seeing that the profit on each plow would probably be a good deal more than a dollar, the preference thus expressed inclines characteristically to the side of thrift.

Democrats, particularly those of the Administration fold, are sitting up o' nights with eagerness and zeal to avoid a special session of the new Congress, while Republicans are suspected of something more than a willingness to have such a session called. In normal circumstances, special sessions are doubtless undesirable. But the circumstances which will exist at and after March 4 will not be normal, but decidedly abnormal, and of critical importance to the nation. With perhaps the most important treaty or treaties ever made in the world to be acted upon, and provision to be made by ap-

propriate legislation for their fulfillment, there may well be imperative need of prompt action by the representatives of the people and the Constitutional advisers of the President. It is inconceivable that such treaties, consequent upon the great war, when made in March or April, should be deliberately pigeon-holed until next December.

Dr. von Hertling's last words give unexpected but impressive confirmation of the estimate of the German people which has hitherto been expressed by Dr. Muelhon and various others, to wit, that they were not dragged unwillingly into the war by the Kaiser and his military caste, but that they were heart and soul with him and as much for the war and all its deviltries as he, so long as there was a supposed prospect of winning, and that they turned against him only because he failed to win the war. The former Chancellor admitted that he hated Prussia, and that the other non-Prussian German states did the same. But he and they veiled that hatred and gladly accepted Prussia's leadership so long as she seemed to be winning. It was only when Prussia and Prussianism were seen to be losing that Bavaria and the others repudiated them. That we believe to be the truth, and it should be a reminder to us that in dealing with the German people we are dealing with those who are just as bad as the Kaiser himself.

There is something peculiarly pathetic and tragic in the results of the Irish elections. Sinn Fein success cannot be brushed aside lightly. Ireland may irritate us and may madden us, but it must interest us so long as its potentialities for trouble are as great as they are today. If the Irish question were a local question, or if it could be localized, Sinn Fein ascendancy might cause little bother and less concern. We would gladly wash our hands of the entire mess, leaving the solution—or the continuation of the squabble—to Dublin, Belfast, and Westminster. But its ramifications circle the globe, spreading dissension everywhere. In all history there is no more remarkable political story than the birth of the Nationalist party in blood and its transition from a revolutionary to a constitutional organization. It was Ireland's greatest asset and England's greatest ally in imperial politics. Had it been supplemented by a practical organization, we might mourn its loss, but at the same time look to the future with some hope. But where the Nationalists appealed to the reason, Sinn Fein merely calls to the blood. Its purpose is to capitalize that residuum of hate which has militated against every plan for Irish settlement in the futile hope of establishing a Republic that cannot be established so long as the British Empire is determined upon self-preservation. There the situation rests. What the results will be no man can foretell. There may be blood shed: there may be revolution. Anything may happen. But we shall have to wrestle with this problem, whether we will or not. If we are to judge the future by the past—and we must do so—it is fair to assume that the entire world will be affected. Neither treaty, league, nor covenant will heal the sore. It must be removed.

The Secretary of the Navy has stated that before the sign-

ing of the armistice Great Britain had 61 battleships and Germany had 19. Philosophic historians, mulling over the reasons for the Allied victory, will please take notice.

The President has so frequently asked that Congress do this, that, or the other thing as a "necessary" aid to the execution of his policies, that we are not surprised at his asking for enormous naval expansion as the greatest possible assistance to him in the Peace Conference. But we should like to have the exact connection specified; preferably by some advocate of disarmament. As we remember it, the fourth of the Fourteen Commandments calls for "adequate guarantees that national armaments will be reduced to the lowest points consistent with domestic safety." And nothing will so aid him to secure the adoption of that rule as for Congress to authorize the building of a navy as big as England's. Will somebody please explain it, with or without a diagram?

There seems to be an inclination in some quarters to remark unfavorably upon M. Clemenceau's recent reference to England's prompt entry and America's delayed entry into the war. The French Prime Minister had, of course, no thought of slurring the United States; a country of which he was for some years a resident and for which he has always had much admiration and affection. He was merely stating a fact; as President Wilson did when he mentioned that practically the only American soldiers lost in transportation to Europe were lost on a British ship. Sometimes such facts are pertinent, and sometimes they are not.

"The Looter Looted" is the latest comedy of the Huns. The mob of Berlin has been plundering the royal and imperial palace, making a specialty of the wardrobes of Mr. and Mrs. Hohenzollern; some of them, with characteristic humor, leaving their own soiled and tattered garments in place of the resplendent uniforms which they "conveyed." Practically, it will not greatly matter, for Mr. and Mrs. Hohenzollern are not likely hereafter to have use for their imperial trappings. Sentimentally, the thought of it must be somewhat grilling to the unwelcome guest at Amerongen; as a reminder of the day of three or four years ago when his sons and other underlings were stealing spoons, jewels, dresses and all other valuables they could lay their thievish hands upon.

The shrillest and most insistent demand of the American Bolsheviki is that we shall stop intervening in Russia. At the same time they are exulting and boasting over the extent to which Russian Bolshevism is invading other lands to the detriment of their peace and order. The two circumstances present a fine exhibit of Bolshevik logic and consistency.

All parties are included in the new British Cabinet, the political opponents of the Prime Minister filling most of the important places. But over here "politics is adjourned."

The Cost Of Liberty Loans

WHEN, a year and a half ago, Mr. McAdoo announced that the Government would finance the war directly from the Treasury, rather than sell bonds through the banks, the country applauded. It was a good sign. Ours was not to be "a bankers' war." Economy itself was the compelling motive. There would be no profits for anybody, least of all for Wall Street. Federal officials and plain citizens, without financial taint, would do the necessary work and the Treasury would be assured of one hundred cents on the dollar.

The public accepted the plan. The creels applauded because every slap at the banks automatically strengthened the "nation's morale." Finally, it fitted nicely into the rampant theory of having the Government run everything and everybody irrespective of experience or consequences.

In truth there was nothing in the proposal that really should have aroused either enthusiasm or chagrin. The success of the loans was assured from the day we entered the war. It was only necessary to arouse the dormant patriotism of America to transform all our assets into federal credits. The method, although important, was not vital.

There was a good deal of unnecessary noise and lost motion in the campaign, but the loans were over-subscribed and that was the result desired. To the thousands of men and women who contributed their time and money the country owes an everlasting debt of gratitude.

But was the method the best and the wisest? Let us see.

The official expense account shows that the loans cost the Government approximately \$30,000,000: first loan, \$2,762,536; second, \$5,539,062; third, \$8,293,519; fourth, \$8,727,658, and the War Savings Certificates, \$4,459,990.

These figures represent merely the costs of directing the loans. In fact, they do not include all such costs because great overhead expenses have been absorbed and do not appear in the official report. Of course there are no figures available with which to reckon the actual cost: the tremendous expenses to the banks, which, in many cases, virtually loaned their entire organizations to the Treasury, and the vital assistance given by thousands of other firms and individuals. If it were possible to estimate the total cost, it is reasonable to assume that it would aggregate more than \$100,000,000.

But putting aside all other considerations and accepting the report as it stands, it is quite evident that the country paid well for the loans. They cost the Government between one and two per cent.

The second consideration, the results of which cannot be computed so readily, if at all, is the fact that the method of handling the loan virtually paralyzed the Treasury Department temporarily and caused the Secretary of the Treasury to quit his post when his presence in Washington was vitally necessary, in addition to distracting his attention from other matters for protracted periods.

Although Mr. McAdoo was a human dynamo, the loan campaigns, added to his other duties, were too much even for his iron constitution. Just how much the country lost as a result of the attempt to economize on the loans is a matter for future speculation.

So much for the past; now consider the future.

Mr. Carter Glass, the new Secretary of the Treasury, has the most difficult post in the Government. The problems

which he must solve are simply stupendous. The financial fabric of the country is centered on him. If he falters, much less fails, this country may be rocked by a financial disturbance which will be universally felt.

He has ability. He has courage. He has many of the qualities that are needed to meet the future, but he lacks experience. All of his time and strength will be required during the next year to master the problems that confront him if he is to formulate wise policies. To require him to give time and thought to Liberty Loan campaigns at the expense of really vital subjects and to follow Mr. McAdoo's programme of stumping the country from coast to coast would merely invite disaster.

Physically and temperamentally Mr. Glass is the antithesis of Mr. McAdoo. Over-exertion will wreck him physically, and his best friends know that he cannot work well under stress or in the midst of disturbance. In fact, we divulge no secret when we state that it was these very considerations, based on self-knowledge, that prompted him to avoid rather than seek his present post.

Every consideration points to the desirability of relieving Mr. Glass, as far as possible, from the responsibility of floating the next loan. There need be no question of economy or profits. The Government has tried its hand, and the expenses, although not excessive, have been considerable. The banks have the machinery to put the loans through, and it must be remembered that the future ones will be subscribed not in the fervor of mid-war patriotism, but rather in the light of a plain duty for the average citizen.

Arguments based on cold reason, rather than oratory enlivened by the necessity of supporting our boys over there, must and will be used to put through the forthcoming loans. In other words, a straightforward business campaign must be followed. Anyhow, the country knows too much of the criminal waste of the moneys so generously loaned to listen with much patience to the kind of patriotic appeals that were used so generally heretofore.

All that is necessary to solve the situation is to apportion to the various reserve districts the average cost to the Government of the former loans, and to reapportion these sums to the banks on the basis of the subscriptions returned by them. Good-natured competition, fostered by general Government appeals, will do the rest. If this method is followed the Government will be relieved of the burden, and Mr. Glass will be left free to devote all of his time and energy to the real problems before the nation.

The banks cannot refuse the task, and once having accepted it they cannot fail. All that is required is a word from Mr. Glass.

An Excellent Suggestion

(From the World)

Perhaps the best way out of the difficulty will be for Colonel Harvey, Senator Lodge and Senator Knox to make a separate peace with Germany, exacting such indemnities and guarantees as their war sacrifices demand, and leave the other belligerents, including the United States, to get out of the diplomatic muddle as best they can. Making peace has become a complicated business in view of the conflicting demands of the Allies, the Jugoslavs, the Czecho-Slovaks, the Poles, the Letts, the Ukrainians and the casual neutrals. If the work can be simplified by allowing Colonel Harvey, Senator Lodge and Senator Knox to withdraw from all concerted negotiations and make a peace of their own with Germany, even regardless of the principle of self-determination, that may prove the easiest solution.

The Shipping Tragedy

WITH the possible exception of the aviation scandal nothing in our war record compares with the disgraceful wreck of the shipping programme. In the very first number of the WAR WEEKLY we warned the public to put no faith in the promises made by Mr. Hurley. It was evident that the man was a hopeless visionary—even a year ago. His public announcements indicated clearly that he had no conception of the task assigned to him. He discounted all experience in the ship-building world to take up every experiment proposed. He lived in a dream of optimism surrounded by a group of press agents who foisted his absurd promises on a gullible press with a degree of success that even George Creel must have envied.

But before the spring had passed even Mr. Hurley began to realize that a day of reckoning was approaching and he "commandeered" Charles Schwab to help share the glory or the shame of the great tragedy. We applauded Mr. Schwab's appointment, for in truth, we hoped that his tremendous energy and large business experience might help salvage some of the wreckage.

At the time Mr. Hurley was appointed we prayed that Mr. Homer Ferguson might be put in charge—but it was too much to hope for. Possibly Mr. Schwab has done good work. There is no way of ascertaining what he accomplished, but if he contributed anything of value the fact is not evident.

The most complete record of the failure that has yet been unfolded was presented by Senator Calder the other day. Deplorable as were the revelations, there was no one on the Democratic side capable or willing even to attempt a defense of Mr. Hurley, with the exception of Senator Fletcher of Florida. It is hardly worth while to take Senator Fletcher seriously, because, next to J. Ham, he is always ready and willing to defend anything and anybody connected with the Administration. But even Senator Fletcher contented himself with the bare announcement that there had not been as much waste and extravagance as has been generally charged.

Senator Calder showed that virtually all the shipping that Mr. Hurley advertised as his own accomplishment was actually laid down in private yards, to private order, and was taken over by the shipping board and completed under the authority of the President's proclamation.

The tremendous yards built or building at the Government's expense contributed almost nothing except profits to the individuals who conceived them.

Leaving out of consideration altogether the gross waste of the people's money in construction of yards and ships, and discussing merely the results or lack of results, from this, the principal part of Mr. Hurley's endeavor, Senator Calder made the following illuminating resumé:

Complete failure to deliver ships in time to be of actual use in the war programme. Ninety-three were promised, none were delivered.

Failure to the extent of 87 per cent in the number of ships launched. One hundred and sixty-four were promised, 22 were launched.

Failure to the extent of 57 per cent in the number of ships placed in construction. Two hundred and forty-nine were promised, 107 were laid down.

Failure to the extent of 66 per cent in the amount of steel erected and of 74 per cent in the number of rivets driven.

The supply of steel from the mills was nearly up to scheduled

requirements and much in excess of the quantity actually used in construction.

The supply of fabricated steel was 35 per cent short of estimated requirements, but exceeded actual erection requirements by many thousands of tons.

The construction progress being made in the month from October 15 to November 15 shows the following:

The number of ships launched and in process of outfitting is 69 per cent below normal for scheduled speed. This fact will seriously limit deliveries of finished ships for some months.

There are a full number of ships under construction on the ways, so that the limiting factor in launching from now on will be labor and its turnout.

The actual construction work, I am informed, is progressing at approximately 40 per cent of scheduled speed.

This means that the yards are a very long way behind in work done to date and that they are losing ground rapidly in comparison with scheduled requirements.

The final completion of the work under contract will probably take nearly a year longer than the time allowed in the contracts.

This analysis represents only a summary of the bare results. It does not pretend to pierce the surface and expose the methods by which the money was wasted or the entire adventure mismanaged. That is another story. It will come later.

It was fortunate for Colonel Harvey that the war was over when he made these references to Mexico and Santo Domingo and Costa Rica. The *Metropolitan Magazine* was excluded from the mails not many months ago for airing these skeletons in our family closet. While the espionage law was in force nothing brought down the wrath of the Administration quicker than criticisms of our dealings with our neighbors of this hemisphere.—*Rochester Democrat-Chronicle*.

The Espionage Act is still in force.

Never Again!

WE have now the finest army ever mobilized on the American continent. It is rapidly dissolving. Very soon it will have vanished—reabsorbed into our industrial population. Nothing will be left of it save the ineffaceable memories of its splendid achievements. We shall then be, in a military sense, just where we were when the war, towards which we had been inevitably drifting for nearly three years, found us so pitifully unprepared. Fortunately between us and the enemy there were then two formidable barriers—the fleet of Great Britain, which held the Hun in an iron grip on the high seas, and the armies of France and England, which held him by the throat on land.

That saved us. That and that alone gave us the time we needed to organize and arm. Without that respite we would have been as helpless as an unarmed mob before trained armies equipped with every known device of destruction. It is not pleasant to recall those days of confusion, of squandered time and squandered millions, of disgraceful failure here and of disgraceful collapse there, and, above all, of the organized and systematic lying which so long kept us in a fool's paradise of fancied progress that in a more critical moment might have meant our ruin. It is not pleasant to recall all that. It is not the time to recall it. That time will come when the full record shall have been laid bare, as at no distant day it must be laid bare, with all its grim lessons for us to take or leave as we choose.

By that time our magnificent army of to-day will have melted away. We shall be where we were when the war came, so far as an organized military force is concerned. We shall have no army worth mentioning. We shall not

have men enough to garrison our forts, let alone to patrol the turbulent Mexican border. The old game of raids across the Rio Grande, of sniping our citizens across the border with impunity, of insolent Villa brigandage on our territory, may be resumed as of yore. We shall not even have the force wherewith to meet these conditions that was available before the war. Our Regular Army itself will have all but disappeared. All that remains of it now is made up of those who enlisted prior to April 1, 1917. Of these, thousands are dead, wounded, or missing. That splendid little handful of men we called our Regular Army has been shot to pieces. We have no Regular Army. Compared with its responsibilities, it is an absurd corporal's guard.

And now Secretary Baker is asking for legislation to authorize rebuilding that Army on the old lines by voluntary enlistment. The plan, it seems, is to settle back into the old rut. We are to learn nothing from the awful ordeal through which we have just passed. Its terrible lessons are to be relegated to the old limbo of "academic questions." Having been saved by the equipment and fortitude of foreign armies and fleets from the ruin to which our old path was leading us with deadly certainty, we are blithely to set out again along the same road. So far as anything to the contrary has developed in Washington, that is the programme.

We do not believe the country will permit it. If some statesmen and a few bureaucrats have learned nothing from what the world has just gone through, the people of the United States have learned much. We believe they have learned enough never to submit to our being caught again in the unhappy plight in which our war with Germany, and even our little scuffle with Spain, caught us. There is not a city, village, or country four-corners between the two oceans which is now without its own striking object lesson in what military training will do for American manhood. Furthermore, even with our army of to-day dissolved, we would not by a thousand leagues be where we were in point of sheer helplessness when the 1917 call to the colors came. Reabsorbed into the population we have millions of trained men inured to war in its sternest, most exacting terms. Millions of Americans springing to arms over night would no longer be a foolish oratorical rhapsody. It would be a soul-stirring fact. We have the millions of men, and they are trained men. Moreover, we have the arms to equip them and send them rushing to their rendezvous ready for concentration at any threatened point.

That is what we have now, and, in our belief, it is what the American people intend to have not only now, but hereafter. The army of young veterans of to-day will be the army of old veterans of to-morrow. The swiftly flying years will soon sweep them into the ineffective class. As their ranks thin they must be filled up. There is but one way to do this. Universal military training alone will keep for us this present tremendous reserve force ready to spring to the country's defense at a moment's notice. Every community now has available its corps of instructors. The mechanism for universal training is everywhere at hand as it never was before. We believe the country is going to demand that training. We do not for a moment believe that the American people are going to permit the pacifists and the mollicoddles, so loathed by that great American who has just responded to the last call, to lead us back into the old paths, into the old

fatuous blindness which has cost us so dearly in the past.

It will not do. The American people will not have it. Over and over in the past they have had it. But now, "Never again!"

The Hun's Regress

NOW that the cycle of William the Damned is practically complete, it is fitting to review his various expressions of the spirit in which he undertook the conquest of the world. By way of prologue, let us recall his personal instructions to his soldiers in 1900, on their departure for China:

If you meet the enemy, give no quarter, take no prisoners; let whoever falls into your hands be doomed. Just as a thousand years ago the Huns under King Attila made for themselves a name which to this day is a mighty one in tradition, so may your appearance make the name German to be feared for a thousand years.

In the first year of the Great War, 1914, this was his word to his soldiers, instinct with the spirit of fourteen years before:

Before the leaves fall from the trees we shall be back again in the dear Fatherland. Exterminate first the treacherous English and walk over General French's contemptible little army. You, my troops, are my guarantees that I can dictate peace to my enemies. To the dust with all the enemies of Germany!

The second chapter, in 1915, maintained the same tone:

America had better look out after the war. I shall stand no nonsense from the Americans. . . . In a just cause I am ready to force myself to be cruel. . . . The war drama is now coming to its close.

The third chapter came in 1916:

Fear will creep into the bones of the enemy. . . . Germany is invincible in spite of the superior numbers of our enemies, and every day confirms this anew. Germany knows her strength and she relies on God's help. . . . The foe has prepared his soup, and now he must sup it.

In 1917 the fourth chapter was no less vaingloriously confident and truculent:

We must bring peace by battering in with iron fist and shining sword the doors of those who will not have peace. If only we cast the burden on the Lord, He will smite the foe hip and thigh, as he did Amalek, the prototype of perfidious England. Our U-boats are not going to rest until with God's help the enemy is beaten. The year has proved that the German people has in the Lord of creation above an unconditional and avowed ally on Whom it can absolutely rely.

Even as late as the middle of 1918, he did not hesitate to say in his fifth and final chapter:

Gott the Lord has laid a heavy burden on My shoulders, but I can carry it in the consciousness of our good right, with confidence in our sharp sword and our strength.

But a little later he was constrained to paraphrase and amplify the epigram about "leaving his country for his country's good" with characteristic elaboration of hypocrisy and falsehood:

To avoid difficulties and to put an end to the mourning and suffering of my people, I renounce the throne and leave my faithful subjects free to choose a government which seems to them most compatible with honor and to their interest.

By way of epilogue, let us add the words spoken in prophecy a century ago by another German, immeasurably greater and wiser than any Hohenzollern. Said Goethe:

Maledictions on him who, a German, led on by treacherous advice, in a fury of pride, would wish to repeat the dream of the French Corsican. Sooner or later he will perceive that an immutable law reigns, and that in spite of his power and his vigorous exertions, nothing will come of his attempt but his own disaster and the ruin of his people.

Res finita est!

A Californian in Paris

(Alfred Holman, in the San Francisco Argonaut)

THE first note of "wartime condition" in Paris comes to the visitor in the problem of getting from the railroad station to a hotel. In London there is scarcity of cabs; in Paris they are all but non-existent. Then there is the other difficulty of finding a hotel which has not been commandeered for military or other public use. Those still doing business are so filled up—for the most part with American and British officers—that the unofficial visitor has frequently to apply at half a dozen before finding a place to lay his weary head. And when after long search one finds accommodation there is small comfort, since under the severe system of fuel rationing every hotel is a veritable cold-storage establishment. The London hotels are cold, but there is abundant hot water; in Paris you must bathe in ice-water unless content to wait for Saturday night. Private houses have permission to heat up their tanks on Thursdays and Saturdays; in hotels the allowance is for Saturday and Sunday. The French, who have their own ideas about bathing, don't mind it, but the discomfort is considerable for American and British visitors whose habits are more amphibious.

The streets of Paris are at once familiar and curiously changed. There are the same groups lunching and wining on the sidewalks despite the chill in the air. But in the moving throng khaki is the dominant note, for the Britsher's and American's olive drab is much more in evidence than the Frenchman's horizon blue. My first impression was that Pershing's entire force of two million and more men must be quartered in Paris. American soldiers seemed everywhere—parading up and down, loitering before shop windows, rushing about in motor cars, even playing baseball in the *Champs Elysées*. Whole streets, like the *Avenue de la Montaigne*, have been taken over all but wholesale for offices and living quarters. Likewise half a dozen hotels in different parts of the city have been turned into headquarters of one or another branch of military or naval service. The American flag is as familiarly displayed as that of France and one hears English spoken almost as generally as French.

The atmosphere of Paris, while thus differentiated by the conditions of war, is as brilliant and as gay as ever. Under the strict rationing of gasoline and the universal commandeering of horses for military uses there is less wheel traffic than in other days. But the walking throngs are even more than usually dense and the buzz of talk and laughter is as loud as at other times. The retail shops have lost none of their brilliancy and the windows of the *Rue de la Paix* glitter as alluringly as in the days when Joy seemed the sole occupation of the Parisians. Evidently there are those who have money to spend and who spend it, even though prices are anywhere from fifty to one hundred per cent above normal. And high as they are, prices are not what they seem, for in addition to the nominal charge there is a government tax of ten per cent extra upon every article which the purchaser must pay. Thus after giving the shopkeeper his price-and-a-half or his price-double there is another ten per cent coming from the pocket of the consumer, if that be the right name for the buyer of Parisian fripperies. Yet under all these handicaps the smile of the dealer is as bland as of yore, for money seems abundant and business is brisk.

The ever amusing propensity of the Parisian to turn anything and everything to the account of sociability and gayety finds continued illustration even in war-time, and in nothing more curiously than in connection with the candy stores. Chocolates, which are as essential to the Parisian as jam is to the English, may be purchased in expensive varieties at all times, but the cheaper grades are for sale only at a fixed hour—3 o'clock of each afternoon. Long before that time there collects in front of every candy store lines of waiting purchasers similar to the throngs which besiege theatrical ticket offices upon special occasions. Oftentimes as many as two to three hundred persons are lined up for hours, the tedium of waiting being relieved by universal and amiable chatter. Thus some thousands of persons spend half of every afternoon in the streets of Paris, perhaps less regardful of the opportunity of buying cheap chocolates than of the social privilege which goes with the lining-up system.

One may, if by good fortune he should fall in with a military friend in possession of a motor car—and what is of paramount importance, a petrol permit—ride from Paris to the French battle front in three hours. The change is radical and dramatic, for your Frenchman works or fights precisely as he plays—with his whole mind and heart. At the French front all is strictly business, although much of the machinery of supply is makeshift. Whereas on the British and American fronts the commissariat is definitely and even formally equipped, the French background of the fighting line is a jumble of improvisations. Any old thing

on wheels—motor lorries, decrepit taxicabs, Paris omnibuses, baggage wagons, peasants' carts—all are in the service of bringing up ammunition, transporting men, or carrying food. France has been too busy these past four years and a half in forging the essentials of war to give attention to its incidental paraphernalia. I hardly need to say that for all a certain heterogeneous and disorderly appearance of things behind the line, the French line itself was very definitely and positively in fighting form. The French soldier in his spirit or in his achievements needs no encomiums; he has proved his courage and his prowess on a thousand fields in this and other wars. And on his own front he looks the part. Nowhere in the camps and trenches did we see a more military order of things than at the French front. Everything pertaining to *morale* was all that it should have been. There is a notable difference between the French and British relationship between officers and men. The British theory that Jock is of less account than his master is carried to a frigid extreme in the army. There is only formal interchange between officers and men. But the French officer is a species of brother to the French soldier. He addresses him familiarly by his name; oftentimes he knows something of his domestic and personal affairs and conditions; he sympathizes with him and talks with him familiarly. More than once in our brief visit to the French front I saw an officer with his arm affectionately over the shoulder of a French soldier wounded or otherwise distressed. It was sweet—really sweet; and my reflection was that that dignity which has to be sustained by formality of pose and curtness of speech even in military life has little to commend it on the score either of humanity or of utility. The French officer, for all his familiar habit in dealing with his men, loses nothing of authority; and the results of field operations in this war abundantly show that a friendly spirit between officer and man is no blight upon the fighting edge. . . .

In Paris in the month of October food was sufficient—even abundant, if one did not mind what he paid. Prices were about double those of ordinary times. But of certain things there was scarcity amounting to famine, with prices to match. One of our party in a burst of hospitality suggested an after-dinner *liqueur*—one of those hair-oils which sold at the equivalent of fifteen cents per in other days and was dear at the price. His surprise, not to say embarrassment, may be imagined upon receiving his "check" at the rate of twenty-two francs for each service. Of course this was an exceptional instance, due to the fact that in Parisian cellars that particular brand of chain-lightning had declined to a dribble. Butter there was none. Saccharine replaced sugar. In the hotels they gave you for coffee a decoction of which I fervently hope the awful secret has been lost in the shock of war. Fish, as in England, was abundant, and bacon might be had freely, but of beef and mutton the supply was limited and the quality very far below par.

But at the front there was abundance of everything, with a mastery in the cookery which left nothing to be desired. However rigorous the rationing in Paris and elsewhere outside the fighting zone under the exigencies of war, there was none of it in the camps and in the regions adjacent thereto. Nowhere in the course of a somewhat extended and more or less privileged life have I ever found better "chow" than that supplied at the various fronts—British, French, American. After a long course of war bread and limited sugar ration at home, after thirteen days of cold-storage provender on shipboard, after two weeks of game dinners in London, and after a week of straight haggis in Scotland, the luxury of unrationed license and of French cookery in the war zone was truly joyful.

In Paris, as elsewhere in France, mourning is the dominant note in feminine apparel. In vastly many instances it is legitimate, reflecting the loss of immediate relatives. A particular instance of its genuineness—we trust there will be no smiles at this revelation—was the case of a woman who came within my observation who had been four times bereaved in the loss of successive husbands since the beginning of the war. Surely this long-suffering daughter of Eve was entitled to all the consolation to be found in the trappings and suits of woe. Every countryside, especially on Sundays, is dismal in its parade of crêpe, or where crêpe is not available, of cambric. Mourning is the fashion in France. Usually it is expressed in a pathetic simplicity, but there is suggestion of humor in the fact that the particular class whose practice it is to decorate and otherwise enliven the vistas of the *Bois de Boulogne* is now wholly made up of "widows"—very *chic*, very demure, obviously in receptive attitude toward sympathy and consolation.

Letters From Our Readers

HOW THE PRUSSIANS TREATED PARIS

SIR,—Bully for Miss Clara Hinton Gould, of Santa Barbara, California, when she declares in your issue of December 28:

Not one crumb of anything grown on our soil should go to that accursed nation (Germany). That they pay for it, makes no difference.

She's a trump!

A word as to how the Prussians treated Paris forty-eight years ago:

Ernest Alfred Vizetelly was present in Paris during the German siege of that city in 1870, and Vizetelly in his *Republican France* says:

The sufferings of the Parisians had been severe during the long blockade. At first, 500 oxen and 4,000 sheep had been slaughtered daily for their consumption. (Prior to the siege, the average daily consumption had been 935 oxen, 4,680 sheep, 570 pigs and 600 calves, to which should be added 46,000 head of poultry, game, etc., 50 tons of fish, and 670,000 eggs. At the moment of the investment on September 19, the live stock, collected together, largely in the Bois-de-Boulogne, amounted to 175,000 sheep, 30,000 oxen, 8,800 pigs, and 6,000 milch cows. In addition to considerable quantities of grain, wheat and rye, the stock of flour in the hands of the Government for the trade was estimated at about 44,000 tons.)

At the end of September, meat was rationed, the daily allowance for each individual being about 3 oz. Horse flesh was then largely patronized, and somewhat later, when the ration of beef or mutton fell to 1½ oz. per diem, it became more in request than ever, in such wise that on November 13, only some 70,000 horses were left, 30,000 of them being required for military purposes, so that only 40,000 might be utilized as food. Animals from the Jardin de Plantes and the Jardin d'Acclimatation were then slaughtered, and dogs, cats, guinea pigs, and rats were added to the Parisian fare. Horse flesh was in due course strictly rationed, but the Government abstained as long as possible from the rationing of bread. On December 8, however, it was found that the Government stores both of grain and flour, represented only about 24,000 tons, and on January 18, (1871) bread (now made of just a little wheaten flour with an admixture of bran, rice, barley, oats, vermicelli, and starch) was rationed at the rate of 10 oz. a day, children under five years of age receiving only half that quantity. The meat allowance was then actually under one ounce per diem, so that, on an average the Parisian obtained only about one quarter the quantity of food which he usually consumed. . . . Far more serious was the health bill of the city. Among the non-combatant population, there were in November (1870) 7,444 deaths against 3,863 in November the previous year. In December, there were 10,665 deaths against 4,214 in December 1869. The proportion rose in the last week of the year to 85 per thousand, whereas 21 per thousand was then the rate in London. In January (1871) between 60 and 70 people died from smallpox every day and the ravages of bronchitis and pneumonia were always increasing. At last, between January 14th and January 20 (1871) the mortality from natural causes rose to no less than 4,465, whilst only enough bread for a few more days was left. Thus capitulation became a necessity.

New York City.

E. G. R.

FROM A GOVERNOR OF SALONIKA

SIR,—I have read with great delight your beautiful article, "The Grandeur of Littleness", in the *WAR WEEKLY* of November 23, and as a personal friend of Mr. Venizelos, on a mission to this country on his behalf, and as a former Governor of Salonika, I beg you to allow me to express to you personally and on behalf of my fellow countrymen, my warmest thanks and gratitude.

The critical moment is now at hand when the destinies of my 3,000,000 fellow countrymen will be decided at the Peace Conference: they have been in bondage and served as slaves to semi-barbarous races from the heights of Himara, in Northern Epirus, to the littoral of Thrace; in Constantinople, Adrianople and Asia Minor, where in the city of Smyrna, for instance, which, be it said, is called by the Turks "Giaour" Smyrna, Infidel Smyrna, there are 243,479 Greeks as against 96,250 Turks. Will Europe and America, following the principles of liberty and self-determination enunciated by President Wilson, render justice to Greece, who has deserved well of humanity in all her long life as a nation? Will the day of liberation and national unity dawn at last, or is Christian Europe going to condemn us, once more, to continue living bereft of the most cherished of all possessions—our Freedom?

JOHN N. METAXA,
Former Governor of Salonika.

New York City.

"RAISED"

SIR,—You have been selected by some of your zealous readers here at the Academy to settle a dispute concerning the following grammatical usage:

"He was raised on a New England farm."

Is the use of the verb "raised" in this example incorrect?

The question is not as to whether "rear" would be more elegant, but as to the *correctness* or *incorrectness* of the verb in question.

Would good writers today always avoid the above-mentioned form?

CADET ROBT. C. ARMSTRONG,
U. S. Military Academy.

West Point, N. Y.

["He was raised on a New England farm" is perfectly correct English. We do not think the verb "rear" in this connection would be "more elegant."—EDITOR.]

ENTANGLING ALLIANCES

(From the Boston Herald)

TO THE EDITOR OF THE HERALD:

In your paper of Tuesday, December 24, is a report of an address by George Harvey, given at a dinner of the New England Society of New York. Colonel Harvey is reported as saying that President Wilson has sailed for Europe "in eager pursuit of the entangling alliances against which Washington warned the nation." It would be well for the American people if it were better known that these are not Washington's words, as we are so frequently told, but Thomas Jefferson's.

A. A. SNELLING.

[We did not attribute the phrase to Washington; of course, it was Jefferson's. Washington's words were: "It is our true policy to steer clear of permanent alliances with any portion of the foreign world." Wherein lies the difference?—EDITOR.]

WE ARE NOT GRASPING

(From the Brooklyn Eagle)

TO THE EDITOR OF THE BROOKLYN EAGLE:

Dr. Wilson went to Europe to defeat just such advocates as Mr. Harvey, who would keep the German people under bondage for fifty years. What a noble doctrine for lovers of freedom to enslave 60,000,000 people for a period of fifty years! Great! Let us go back to the ancient times of Jewish and Philistine wars, and find out what happened to nations that slew the vanquished and took their wives and children into captivity and slavery. Is this Mr. Harvey's formula for a lasting world peace in opposition to President Wilson's aims for a world League of Nations?

I. J. LEHR.

[Oh, they can keep their wives.—EDITOR.]

WHO HAS THEM?

SIR,—Thanks to the *WEEKLY* and the kindness of Mr. S. H. Vandergrift, of Washington, Mr. L. I. Lorimer, of Germantown, Pa.; Dr. Clarence Wells, of Quincy, Ill., and an unknown friend from Denver, Colorado, I have received all the missing numbers of the *WAR WEEKLY*, except No. 1 and No. 2.

I am most anxious to get these two numbers in order to complete the full year of the *WAR WEEKLY*. If you know of anyone having these two numbers, who would consent to part with them, I will appreciate your sending me their name and address.

J. D. LYON.

Pittsburgh, Pa.

A HELP TO UNDERSTANDING

SIR,—Permit me to thank you in behalf of myself and family for the great help in understanding the great issues of the day which we have received from the *WEEKLY*. I discovered the *WEEKLY* one day last summer at a newsstand, and since then can hardly wait for Tuesday to come around.

C. H. WOOD.

Little Rock, Arkansas.

THE SAME, SIR, TO YOU

SIR,—In this last hour of the old year, I wish you increasing influence, circulation, and prosperity in the coming New Year, and that your health, ink, and unrestricted liberty will continue unto victory for Our Country's Constitution, and its free institutions, and its free people.

C. GEO. KROGNESS,
The Minneapolis Tribune.

Minneapolis, Minn.

THE WEEKLY

BY GEORGE HARVEY

Continuing the North American Review's WAR WEEKLY

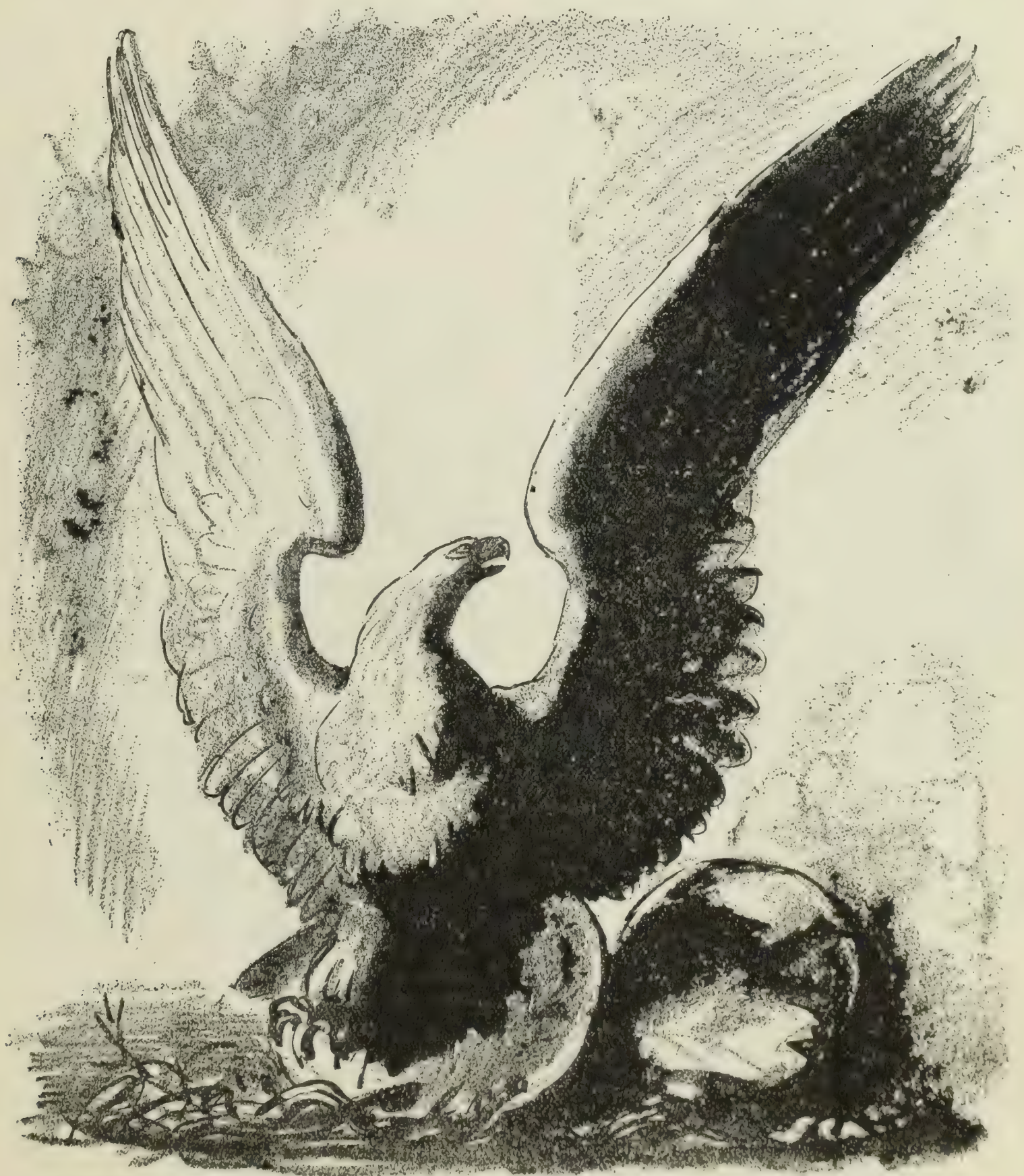
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VOL. 2

WEEK ENDING JAN. 25, 1919

NO. 4



THE REAL DOVE OF PEACE

The Great Conference Opens

MORE nations are represented here," said President Wilson at the opening session of the Peace Conference, "than were ever represented in such a conference before;" and M. Clemenceau added: "President Wilson has special authority to say that this is the first time in fact that the world has ever seen assembled together a delegation of all the civilized nations of the earth." Strictly speaking, of course, that was not true, unless we regard the Congress (as indeed we should, but as by no means all of us do) as called together primarily and purely to dispose of the issues of the war and to make a treaty of peace. As such, it is doubtless the largest ever held. But if we regard it (as many, even of high authority, seem to do) as above all a Congress for the formation of a League of Nations and for reorganizing the world upon a basis of perpetual peace, then we must admit that it is not nearly as large as the second Peace Congress at The Hague, which comprised the representatives of forty-four nations against only twenty-six now assembled in Paris. The same comment is to be made upon M. Clemenceau's reference to it as comprising "all the civilized nations of the earth." If we bar out the Huns and their Allies as uncivilized, there surely remain other states which are civilized, yet which are not represented at the Quai d'Orsay.

Not to be finical, however, let us gratefully assume that the President, consciously or unconsciously, had in mind that this is above all a Congress for settling the issues between the Allied Powers and the Huns, relegating all other matters to secondary place, and that this spirit will dominate and pervade the sessions of the Congress. As such, it is by far the greatest international gathering in history. It is more than that: It is unique in that it contains no representatives of the defeated belligerents. It is an *ex parte* council, composed exclusively of the representatives of one side of the controversy, and their sympathizers. The other side, the defendants to the suit, are excluded: they will be called in only at the close to listen to and to accept without debate the sentence which is to be imposed upon them.

That, too, is precisely as it should be. In former cases victor and vanquished met together to discuss and to settle terms of peace. Even at Vienna, in the Congress of Europe which forms the nearest historic precedent for the present gathering, France was represented as the peer of the other Powers, and indeed her chief delegate was one of the most conspicuous and forceful figures there, impressing his subtle will persuasively and triumphantly upon Metternich himself. At Berlin, too, in 1878, the Turk, vile as he had shown himself, was admitted as a peer to help determine his own fate. But now, for the first time in human history, the beaten Power is an outlaw among the nations, with no standing in their councils. Germany has not even the privilege of the ordinary criminal, to be present at the trial and to be confronted with its accusers. This Congress is indeed no Court of Oyer and Terminer, to hear and to decide. The world has long since heard and has decided. The verdict is rendered. All that remains is to frame and to pronounce the sentence.

That, we should say, is the supreme distinction, above all others, of the Peace Congress which was opened in Paris

last Saturday. Its function is to do justice. It is to demonstrate how perfectly the combined wisdom and judgment of the Powers can arrange reparation for the injured and punishment for the guilty. We do not mean "punishment" in the merely vindictive sense of inflicting suffering. The keenest suffering that can be inflicted upon them will be, rather, to have their lust baffled, to have their power for mischief taken away from them, to have their victims rescued and rehabilitated at their expense, and to have themselves put back into their proper place. That will be their supreme punishment, and that will be perfect justice.

That will be, too, we must believe, the surest possible guarantee of the peace of the world. It will render impotent for war the only considerable Power that is or that would be likely ever again to break the peace. It would set for all time an example which no nation would ever ignore. If it be a truism that justice is the sole foundation of satisfactory and enduring peace, then indisputably the doing of justice will be the strongest guarantee of peace. With justice done, peace will abide. Without the doing of justice as perfect and as complete as human wisdom can devise and human power can execute, no Covenant, no League, can hope to make peace permanent. For such a peace would be unjust, and any covenant or league formed to support injustice would be "a covenant with death and an agreement with hell."

Open or Closed Diplomacy?

THE First Commandment was first of all disposed of; by a substantially nullifying compromise. Its text was: "Open covenants of peace, *openly arrived at.*" If that meant anything, it meant that the deliberations of the Peace Congress should be held in public; or, at least, that they should be fully reported to the public. Unless we are misled by the news which we get through the grace of the creel and the Politicalmaster-General, that was what the head of the American Peace Commission, and incidentally author of the Commandments, expected, intended, and strove to achieve; so that everything that was said and done at the Quai d'Orsay would be proclaimed to an avid and palpitating world.

But it was not so to be. Those who were not yet converted to the New Freedom in diplomacy clung to the notion that there were some delicate matters which would best be discussed in private, though of course the conclusions would be promptly disclosed, and that they were not yet ready for town meeting negotiations. Nevertheless there were faces to be saved, and therefore a compromise was made. Press representatives were to be admitted to all meetings of the Congress excepting executive sessions. So while the speeches are being made, and business is being transacted which all the world assumes in advance as a matter of course, we shall have open diplomacy, open wide enough to gratify even what the President describes as his "hobby for publicity." But the moment some really important and controversial item comes up—click! An executive session, messieurs; and all is secret as the grave. Then how stands the First Commandment?

The course of this matter has been a curious and a tortuous one. The President, as we have recalled, has long professed a passion for publicity, declaring that no public

business could properly be transacted behind closed doors; though he himself was ever non-communicative to a degree. It was quite characteristic of him that he should place this demand for open diplomacy—public not only in its results but equally in its processes—at the very head of his Four-tenn Commandments; and yet should observe the most impenetrable silence and secrecy as to the meaning of those decrees. It was then pointed out that it was the invariable practice of the United States Senate to discuss all treaties in secret, and generally to keep their texts secret, until they were ratified, when of course they were required by the Constitution to be made public; whereupon, again most characteristically, he explained that that was all right, that he meant merely that treaties should be made public after ratification—as if anything else ever was done with them in this country!

Yet while agreeing that of course the Senate should hold treaties secret and discuss them secretly, until they were ratified, he demanded that the Peace Congress should not merely publish its treaty as soon as it was made, but should do all the work of making it openly, with all its discussions in public. The Peace Congress was not to enjoy the privilege which the Senate enjoyed. Would it be worth while, we wonder, for the Senate to consider in private a treaty which had thus been made in public?

The average American citizen, we imagine, will think that this country ought to have at the Congress a commission so truly representative and so vested with authority that we should be able unhesitatingly to trust its members to discuss in confidence with their colleagues the important and sometimes exceedingly delicate matters which will come before the Congress; content to have the result fully and promptly disclosed. If there is any further need for publicity than this, it would appear to be in relation to the purposes and programme of the American delegates. It was formerly the custom for such delegates to be regularly commissioned by the Government, and to receive instructions as to the course they were to pursue. In this case the President has simply taken four companions on his own sole authority and has entered the Congress with them without letting the nation behind him know definitely what they propose to accomplish.

If we could only have had a definite declaration of purposes at the beginning, being assured of complete disclosure of results at the end, we would have been content to let what passed between be held in confidence, save as it was deemed proper to reveal it in official communiqués. As it is, what the public wants to know seems likely to be withheld from it, while matters in which it takes no interest will be dinned into its ears with damnable iteration.

The President is in Paris, not by your order or direction.—*Secretary Franklin K. Lane.*

Quite true, Mr. Secretary. But what moral—or for all that, legal—right has the President to go to Paris without the order, direction, or consent of the American people, whose servant he is?

Great Britain cannot believe that America is sincere in her decision to become bone dry.—*Cable dispatch to The Tribune.*

She isn't.

The Meaning of a League

SENATOR BORAH speaks plainly. He gives little comfort to the international doctrinaires who would submerge patriotism beneath a tide of universal brotherhood. He may not command the unqualified and invariable approval of those who are opposed to a League of Nations. But at least he puts the case in a peculiarly direct and lucid way, and furnishes food for much-needed thought.

A League of Nations can have only one legitimate object. That is, to preserve the peace of the world. That object is not only legitimate; it is eminently laudable. When Proudhon testified before a legislative committee that Socialism was "every aspiration for the amelioration of humanity," he was told, "Then we are all Socialists." If the League of Nations comprised every agency for the preservation of peace, or were the only possible means to that end, then we should probably all be its advocates. But such is not the case.

If a League of Nations is to keep the peace of the world, or is to enforce peace upon the world, it must do so, Senator Borah suggests, in one of two ways. Perhaps we might say, three ways; though the third may be reckoned merely a part of one of the two.

One way is through moral suasion. But such a league was formed years ago. All the important nations of the world solemnly agreed and covenanted "to use their best efforts to ensure the pacific settlement of international differences", and, before themselves appealing to arms, "to have recourse to the good offices or mediation of one or more friendly Powers"; and, when they saw their fellows quarrelling, to "offer their good offices or mediation to the States at variance." We say that the nations all pledged themselves to that: Germany, Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria and Turkey with the rest. But that League of Nations did not enforce peace nor prevent war in July and August, 1914, and we have seen no convincing evidence that another now formed on the same moral basis would prove any more effective in the face of some Power that might regard treaties as scraps of paper and that might cynically declare the Ten Commandments to be *leges nullae* in affairs of state.

The second way, upon which Senator Borah dwells at greater length, is that of physical force, military coercion. With this, as we have said, we may conjoin the third way, that of non-intercourse and boycott, since the latter would of course imply and would almost certainly require the exertion of force. Doubtless that would in many cases—in all, perhaps—prove effective. We have no doubt that the present Allied Powers, thus leagued together and putting forth all their belligerent might, would be able to overwhelm any recalcitrant nation and impose their will upon the world. But let us make no mistake as to what that would mean, materially, and quite apart from the moral principle involved.

It would mean abandonment of all thought of disarmament, or of reduction of armaments, which the advocates of a League profess so greatly to desire. Obviously, it would be necessary for the leagued Powers to maintain enormous forces in constant readiness. These forces would have to be great enough not merely to defeat any hostile Power or combination of Powers, but also to do so instantly, in a single overwhelming stroke; for it would be farcical to pretend to

maintain peace by letting wars occur and suppressing them only after a long campaign. We should have to maintain large standing armies and navies, with the inevitable burdens of taxation. Senator Borah is quite right, and he performs a great public service, when he reminds the nation that this is what a League to Enforce Peace through coercion would infallibly mean.

Now we are not of those who condemn *per se* large appropriations for army and navy, or universal military training, or conscription. On the contrary, we earnestly favor such measures. But all depends upon their object. At risk of being thought selfish, we would conscribe a million or ten million men if necessary for our own safety, but not one at alien dictation for an alien cause. We would spend for our navy not merely the six hundred millions which Senator Borah deprecates, but six billions if needed for the security of this republic, but not a dollar for a ship to be at foreign beck and call. We would fight with every available man and dollar for the defense of this nation and for the maintenance of its rights, whether at home or abroad, but we would not strike a single blow nor fire a single shot at the demand of some alien Power in an alien cause. Yet, as Senator Borah well reminds us, that is what we might be called upon to do if we entered a League of Nations whose purpose was to maintain peace and regulate the affairs of the world by physical force. For that would be the indubitable meaning of such a league.

Roosevelt, Taft, and the "League"

IT was a timely and significant thing that Colonel Roosevelt's last editorial, not published until after his death, should be devoted, with characteristic directness and energy, to consideration of the President's pet project, and that Mr. Taft should promptly supplement it with a most sympathetic commentary upon the commentary. It is impossible not to listen attentively to the voices of the recipient of the Nobel Peace Prize and of the chief protagonist of the "League to Enforce Peace," whether we entirely agree with them or not.

There could be no more just and accurate description of the President's League of Nations plan than Colonel Roosevelt's, that it is "absolutely in the stage of rhetoric." Neither in his original proposition nor in any of his enunciations to the populace of alien lands, has Mr. Wilson given us the slightest clew to his meaning. So vague have been his words that they might be interpreted as meaning almost anything; so that, no matter what was decided upon by the Peace Congress he could say, "That is just what I meant," and so claim credit for the authorship of the achievement. But such a device will not prevail with the Peace Congress, or, which is more important, with the American people. "If the mountain will not come to Mohammed, Mohammed will go to the mountain." If the President will not be frank and explicit with the American people, the American people will be frank and explicit with the President.

"The American people do not intend to give up the Monroe Doctrine." So says Colonel Roosevelt in his vibrant tones in his last outgiving; and so say the people of whom he was and is the truest spokesman. That means that we shall not enter nor countenance a League of Nations in which Euro-

pean Powers would be authorized to intervene in the affairs of the Western Hemisphere. Much as we desire enduring peace among all American republics, we do not purpose to have it enforced by any European Power, no matter how friendly and confident our relations with that Power may be. That principle, which we do not think any American statesman will venture seriously to challenge, may well be regarded as fundamental.

What, then, is the inevitable corollary? That we cannot enter a League which would cause us to intervene in purely European affairs. That should be self-evident. It is an essential implication, indeed, a direct avowal, of the Monroe Doctrine. "We do not wish," says Colonel Roosevelt, "to undertake the responsibility of sending our gallant young men to die in obscure fights in the Balkans or in Central Europe." No, we should not wish that in any event; and we cannot imagine the European Powers desiring it unless for one of two purposes. One is, to make American troops mere international mercenaries, which should of course be unthinkable. The other is, to give the European Powers title similarly to intervene in American affairs, which is absolutely and forever inadmissible.

The American people will not, moreover, permit any other nation or combination of nations to dictate to them how large or small an army or navy they shall have, or how they shall employ it. Let that be clearly understood. This country will not, at the behest or for the sake of any European or other alien nation, saddle itself with a greater armament than it needs, in its own opinion, for its own purposes, nor will it at such alien behest reduce its armament below the point which it considers needful for its own security. That it will not put its armed forces under alien command, save by its own special volition as in the present war, and that it will not delegate to any other Power or league of Powers the authority to involve this nation in war, should be recognized as axiomatic.

"Would it not be well," asks Colonel Roosevelt, "to begin with the league of the Allies who have fought through this great war?" The suggestion is practical, and equitable. This temporary alliance was formed by America and the other Powers for a specific purpose. It should complete that purpose. That is the first if not the only duty at the Peace Congress. That is the only excuse that we have for being in the Congress. Peace is to be made; justice is to be done; the wronged are to be compensated; the guilty are to be punished. Those are the tasks before us, which should be performed before anything else is undertaken.

If the Powers which won the war will only lay aside all other matters and devote themselves directly and whole-

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heartedly to the task of settling the immediate issues of the war, following the wise if ancient precept, "Do the next thing," all subsequent operations will be greatly simplified and facilitated. We have an abounding faith that if full justice is dealt to Germany by the Allies in the Peace Congress, it will be entirely safe and prudent for America to accept an honorable discharge from the temporary alliance in which she has acquitted herself so well, and to leave to those who have been her allies the task of maintaining peace upon the continent of Europe while she devotes herself to a similar duty in the Western Hemisphere. And it will not matter in the least to us whether the nations in question call themselves a League of Nations or a Balance of Power, a *conversazione* or a Noah's Ark.

Mr. Taft has scathingly pictured the ideal of some of those here who have been foremost in clamoring for a League of Nations; "men," as he well describes them, "without a country, who exalt internationalism and deprecate nationalism. With them," he truly says, "the League of Nations seems to mean the dilution of that intense and moving love of country, the source of all real, effective progress, into a nerveless, colorless, flabby and transcendental brotherhood of man. Universal brotherhood should, of course, be an increasing influence in the world, and is, but it will never be useful if it means the loss of patriotism." Those are golden words. We assume that Mr. Taft is able fully to reconcile them with his own project of a League of Nations for the Enforcement of Peace. But he will not think it strange of those less versed in the subtleties of diplomatic dialectics hold somewhat bluntly that the way to make peace is to make peace; that the first great duty is for the Powers which have won the war to prescribe and to impose terms of peace. That done, if the Powers which have done it fear their own inability to maintain what they have achieved, it will be for them to seek aid through the adherence of other well-disposed nations. Until, however, that is done, "the rest is all but leather or prunello."

The Open Boat

"When this here war is done," says Dan, "and all the fightin' through,

There's some'll pal with Fritz again as they was used to do;

But not me," says Dan, the sailor man; "not me," says he;

"Lord knows it's nippy in an open boat on winter nights at sea."

"When the last battle's lost an' won, an' won or lost the game,

There's some'll think no 'arm to drink with squareheads just the same;

But not me," says Dan, the sailor man, "an' if you ask me why—
Lord knows it's thirsty in an open boat when the water-beaker's dry."

"When all the bloomin' mines is swep' an' ships are sunk no more,

There's some'll set them down to eat with Germans as before;

But not me," says Dan, the sailor man; "not me, for one—

Lord knows it's hungry in an open boat when the last biscuit's done."

"When peace is signed and treaties made an' trade begins again,

There's some'll shake a German hand an' never see the stain;

But not me," says Dan, the sailor man; "not me, as God's on high—

Lord knows it's bitter in an open boat to see your shipmates die."—*Celia F. Smith, in Punch.*

The Cult of the Impertinent

THERE was no exaggeration in Mr. James M. Beck's description of the Prohibition Amendment as a deadly assault upon the Constitution's basic principle of home rule; nor, we fear, in his foreboding that in the near future that impertinent and ill-starred measure will create vast and mischievous discontent between man and man and between class and class. We say this, as Mr. Beck courageously said it, in the face of the fact that the amendment has been adopted with a promptness and unanimity phenomenal in such operations. The deed is done, as irrevocably as illogically; but the doing of it does not vindicate its wisdom or its patriotism.

The merits or demerits of prohibition, per se, are not now at issue. What we deplore is the gross impertinence of injecting into the National Constitution something which does not belong there, which the makers of the Constitution never intended to have there, which violates the whole spirit and intent of the instrument upon which it is an incongruous excrescence, and which more than anything else in all our history is likely to cause widespread dissatisfaction with the Constitution and with our system of government. For the first time there is danger that American citizens will be made to feel that State and municipal home rule has been invaded and that personal liberty has been infringed upon by the National Government; and that they are being subjected to a system so inquisitorial and oppressive as to be more fitting for the old Russia of the Czars than for the United States of America.

This extraordinary phenomenon is, moreover, symptomatic of a wider and more general movement which we might characterize as a veritable cult of impertinence, a craze for irrelevance.

Some time ago we commented upon the incongruity of grafting a prohibition clause upon an agricultural appropriation bill; and of demanding the adoption of a woman suffrage amendment as a necessary aid in prosecuting the war. The same criticism was to be passed upon the President's Fourteen Commandments, as containing matters which, however impeccable in wisdom and benevolence, had no proper relation to a peace treaty. Now we see the same perverse intrusion attempted at the Peace Congress itself.

We are informed, for example, that there have been placed upon the agenda of the Peace Congress a number of questions relating to industrial economics: The question of the closed or open shop, the right of workingmen to join labor unions, child labor, night work for women and adolescents, hygienic supervision of factories, insurance against sickness and accidents, old age pensions, and the like. The plenipotentiaries of the Powers who have assembled to settle the issues of the war and to re-establish peace in Europe, are to be asked to legislate for the world upon these things, and to embody their conclusions in the definitive treaty of peace.

Now there can be no question that these are important matters, upon which authoritative action should be taken. So it is important that Broadway, New York, shall be well paved; but it would be absurd to ask Congress to enact a Federal law prescribing the quality and thickness of the asphalt coating that was to be laid upon the roadway of that thoroughfare. It is certainly important that workshops shall

be maintained in a sanitary condition, and that child labor shall be prohibited; but it is a counsel of madness to suggest that such matters in the United States shall be regulated and controlled by international treaty. Nor can we consider it other than as monstrous impertinence or else subtle and malign propaganda to inject discussion of such matters into the deliberations of an international Peace Congress.

We can imagine that if somebody wanted to engender dissension and strife in that body, and to defeat it in its one great purpose of administering justice among the belligerents of the great war, he could scarcely devise a better means of achieving that pernicious purpose than this. But we should regret unspeakably to believe that the men who direct the deliberations of the Congress could be thus seduced by a malicious cult of impertinence.

The New Director General

SECRETARY McADOO'S selection and the President's appointment of Mr. Walker D. Hines as Director General of Railways is a distinct disappointment to the officials and the owners of the railways of the country. This is due to the fact that, whatever views Mr. Hines may at one time have entertained regarding railway management and railway economics, his opinions have been so completely submerged since he became associated with Mr. McAdoo in the federal control of the railways that today he is merely an echo of the late Director General. He has espoused Mr. McAdoo's view that the period of federal control should be extended for five years, and even the alternative set forth, first by President Wilson and later by Mr. McAdoo, that if Congress is unwilling to grant the five-year extension the roads should be immediately restored to private ownership, regardless of the fact that such a step would work the gravest injustice to their owners and probably would produce a financial panic of the most alarming proportions. Indeed, so formidable would be the disaster resulting from this alternative, that practically no one can be found, outside of the Administration, who does not regard it as simply a threat designed to coerce Congress into taking a step which is diametrically opposed to the convictions of a majority of its members.

While the Government controls all the railroads in the country, to incur the displeasure of the Administration involves loss of employment for the railway official so unfortunate; for there is no other employer to whom he can turn or to whom he can sell the kind of service in which he is especially proficient. For this reason, railway officials who are without private incomes are chary of expressing themselves other than privately in any manner which they believe would incur that displeasure. But in private conversation they freely predict that in Mr. Hines the Administration has found merely an alter ego for Mr. McAdoo, and that the policies and wishes of the former Director General will obtain as completely with Mr. Hines at the head of the Railway Administration as they would if Mr. McAdoo had retained the title.

There are, to an extent never before existing, prospects of broad, comprehensive railway legislation, legislation which

would utilize, for the benefit of the public, experience of federal control, which would make for materially improved service and at the same time observe the rights of those who with their enterprise and their capital have built the railways of the country. But it is wholly impracticable to pass that legislation at this session of Congress. In the estimation of many members of the Interstate Commerce committees, it would require not less than two months of assiduous labor on the part of each of the committees, and at least a month of general debate, conferences, etc., to put the highly important legislation in shape for the President's signature. A highly encouraging feature of the situation is that consideration of the problem is proceeding with comparatively little partisanship. The management of the railways has exhibited a notably progressive spirit. Republicans and Democrats alike appear to be working in harmony, with an eye single to achieving the greatest general efficiency of transportation and proper respect for the equities involved. If, therefore, the President will permit Congress to work out its solution without executive interference, legislation which will satisfy all but a few extreme radicals will be assured. And if Congress is called in special session, this legislation can probably be enacted even before the Sixty-sixth Congress meets for its first regular session, next December.

That President Wilson will permit Congress to solve the problem is the earnest hope of all interested in the subject. That by so doing he will add a notable achievement to the record of his Administration, is the confident prediction of his friends. But that the situation is wholly in his hands is admitted by all who are informed on the subject.

Sioux Falls Vanishes

SIoux FALLS, in Minnehaha County, is, or was, the largest city in South Dakota. We have no statistics at hand later than those of 1910, but in that year Sioux Falls had a population of just a shade under 21,000. That was nine years ago, and the city has been growing very rapidly since then. It is, or was, the metropolis of South Dakota. At a venture, we probably would be rather below than above the mark if we placed its population, when last heard from, at over 25,000.

What gives a singular interest to these details concerning one of the most prosperous of the smaller cities of the Middle West is the remarkable circumstance that Sioux Falls has no post office. This, on its face, seems incredible. But it is none the less a fact. We have the authority of the Politicalmaster General's own Post Office Department for the statement, and the reputation for reliability and dependability which the Post Office Department enjoys, under the administration of the gifted Burleson, is noted, notorious even, throughout the length and breadth of the land.

And that Department is on record in a document now before us with the definite assertion that there is no post office in Sioux Falls. Inferentially, there is no such place as Sioux Falls. The Politicalmaster General erases Sioux Falls from the map. The document named is a wrapper covering third-class mail matter sent by H. J. Condén, 122 So. Michigan Ave., Chicago, and addressed to Dr. G. G. Cottam, Sioux

Falls, South Dakota. It was returned to the sender rubber-stamped with this legend:

Returned to Writer.
No such office in State named.
U. S. No. 4 M. D.

And there you are. The existence of the State of South Dakota is not denied. The geographical experts of the Politicalmaster General knew there was a State called South Dakota, or found it out somehow, and they admit the fact. But they did not know that the largest city in the State had any existence. In fact, they put themselves officially on record as denying that there is any such place as Sioux Falls "in the State named." Sioux Falls has vanished. The Politicalmaster General has wiped it off the map.

No Friendship With Huns

WEEKS ago there were disquieting reports of fraternization between American troops and German civilians, in the occupied zone along the Rhine. That was at the Christmas season, however, and it was hoped that such improprieties would be ephemeral. But now we are told that the mischievous thing is going on and is increasing with the result that a certain degree of coolness if not of antipathy and mutual distrust is being engendered between the American and French troops. That, if true, is simply monstrous; though, of course, it is precisely what the Hunnish propagandists have been working to accomplish.

We cannot imagine that American soldiers would deliberately fraternize with the ravishers of women and the murderers of infants. Yet that is what they are doing when they enter into social relations with the civilian population of Coblenz and other German territory. Those civilians did not do the devil's deeds in France and Belgium, but their sons and brothers did, and they themselves not only condoned but approved and exulted in the infamy. The average German hausfrau chuckled when she learned that her husband had bayoneted Belgian babies in their cradles, and gayly decked herself with the trinkets which he stripped from the bodies of the women whom he murdered. The Prussian mädchen welcomed back to her arms the more eagerly the lover who could boast of having ravished half a dozen maids of France or Flanders.

It is to be wished that these facts could be kept constantly in the minds of all our soldiers in the army of occupation, to guide them in their conduct toward the whelps of the Blond Beast. We could wish that every one of them were required to commit to memory the words of William Hohenzollern, then King of Prussia and German Emperor, in the early days of the war. These were:

Everything must be put to fire and blood. The throats of men and women, children and the aged, must be cut, and not a tree or a house left standing.

That was the spirit, that was the purpose, that was the decree, of that sadistic degenerate; vicarious, perhaps, but none the less personally culpable. And that was and is the spirit pervading the people who have been taught to regard him as the direct vice-gerent of God upon earth.

Let our officers see to it that there is no more of this indecent fraternization between clean and brave Americans and the foul beasts of Prussia.

A Non-Enforceable Amendment

THE New York *Sun*, an advocate of prohibition, lays its finger on a weakness in the recently ratified prohibition amendment to the Constitution which promises indefinite delay in giving vitality to the measure, even if it does not result in its ultimate defeat.

The joint Congressional resolution just endorsed by the Legislators of forty States, four more than necessary, as a Constitutional amendment, makes no provision for enforcement. That must be provided by other legislation. But there is no provision designating the legislators who are to enact these enforcement laws. This vital question is left in a state of such confusion that the temptation is strong to regard as deliberate the actual ineptitude in that respect of the Joint Resolution as it was passed by both houses of Congress. The enforcement clause of the Resolution as it went to the States for their ratification, and was by forty of them so ratified, is as follows:

The Congress and the several States shall have *concurrent power* to enforce this Article by appropriate legislation.

Concurrent action between the House and Senate of Congress and between the Houses and Senates of the several States is understandable. It means entire agreement on every detail of any measure introduced. It means that House and Senate must separately pass identically the same bill. But how is this concurrence between the Federal Congress and the Legislatures of the several States to be established? Is an enforcement act passed by both branches of Congress to go from Congress, as an Upper House, to forty-eight State Legislatures, as a Lower House, for concurrence? And suppose all these forty-eight Legislatures do not act as one, but as forty-eight? Suppose each one of them enacts an enforcement law different from all the others, and none of them in agreement with the Federal law? That is not beyond the bounds of possibility, even if it is more improbable than that only a State here and there fails to approve the Federal measure. In either case there would be failure of Congress and the several States to "concur," and without that concurrence in methods of enforcement there would be failure of power to enforce, for power to enforce is conferred by the Joint Resolution *on the specific condition of concurrence.*

If an enforcement act passed by the Federal Congress went to each of the several States for concurrence, might it not by each of them be sent back to Congress with amendments to be discussed and debated, tossed back and forth from Federal House to Federal Senate, until accepted or defeated as the case might be? In that event there might be amendments from each of the forty-eight States to be thus disposed of, and each of the forty-eight States might make not one, but a dozen, amendments, each one to go through Congress on its own merits in the usual routine of procedure. In such case, were we living in the days of Methusaleh, some of us might possibly survive long enough to see the Prohibition Amendment enforced. But it would be rash to wager even on that.

Exploring the bewildering perplexities of the question along other lines, the *Sun* asks:

Does it mean that if Washington enacts one law and Albany fails to concur, or if Albany passes its law and Washington

fails to concur, there shall be a failure of legislation altogether; as happens when the Senate passes a bill or a resolution and the House does not concur? In that case the attempt at concurrence between the Nation and the State would nullify the principle of the amendment so far as that particular State was concerned.

Does it mean that a law enacted by Washington shall have force only where the States have not otherwise provided? That interpretation of the amendment is scarcely conceivable.

The *Sun* is authority for the statement that there are Constitutional lawyers in Congress and elsewhere who believe that a second amendment is necessary to relieve the mix-up of non-related authorities and to define, intelligibly, ways and means of enforcement. This would imply that the entire Prohibition Amendment legislation and ratification would have to be done all over again.

Just why so faultily drawn a measure was permitted to pass is either very mysterious or very self-evident. If the statesmen who drew it and the statesmen in Congress who enacted it did not see its confused futility, that is indeed a mystery, for there are as keen lawyers in Congress as may be found in the country. If it was drawn and passed to serve a makeshift political purpose with the set intention of rendering enforcement an impossibility, then the reason for wording the amendment as it stands is obvious. This theory, too, might possibly throw some light of explanation on the astonishing spectacle of forty State Legislatures fairly tumbling over each other in their exultant eagerness to ratify a measure which every one of the scores of bright lawyers in such legislatures must have known was fatally handicapped, so far as enforcement is concerned.

It is not a pleasing spectacle from any angle of observation. It suggests that the legislators involved were dolts or hypocrites. It furthermore betrays a disheartening levity of intelligence or character, or both, in approaching so serious a matter as amending the Constitution of the United States.

Another House-Cleaning Due

JUDGING from letters of complaint pouring in upon Congressmen and Senators at Washington, our men abroad have gone for about six months without receiving a cent of pay, and from three to five months without getting any letters from home.

As to the failure to receive letters from home, that is easily explained. The worst mail service ever known in the history of the country, hands over at tidewater here such letters as survive its manipulations to the most incompetent War Department on record. Apparently when the letters reach the other side they are dumped in heaps, baled up and shipped back home to be returned to the writers. The Assistant Postmaster General was quoted in Congress the other day as saying that eight or ten carloads of such mail matter had just been received here from France.

To our soldiers across the sea, judging from the tenor of their letters, failure to get their pay is a secondary matter to failure to hear from their loved ones at home. Many of these poor fellows are lying sick or wounded in hospitals. To their physical sufferings is added the mental torture of not being able to get a line of writing or a word of news from the folks at home. For all they know, fathers, mothers, wives may be dead and buried. Tons of the precious letters which

they are so longing for, are being dumped, meanwhile, into some dead-letter receiving vault. When this morgue is full, the pathetic contents are boxed up for shipment to the distracted souls back in the old homes, who, in their turn, are unable to get any information from the War Department as to where and how their sick and wounded ones are.

Representative Mann, on the floor of the House, read a large batch of these letters both from soldiers and from soldiers' wives and mothers bearing on this unhappy state of affairs. Some of these missives from the soldiers to the home folks were fairly heartrending in their pitiful appeal for tidings of any sort from those so dear to them. On the other hand, he read letters from agonized mothers and wives here who knew their soldiers were wounded and ill somewhere, but who could get no information other than this maddening fact from the War Department. In one such case Adjutant General Parker told the applicant for information to write to the Red Cross in Washington. Commenting on this, Mr. Mann said:

Here is a man wounded severely in the service of the United States on the firing line in September last. His wife has been informed of the injury, and, as I shall show later, with other letters, is probably unable to get into communication directly with the soldier and writes to the Adjutant General's office to inquire about him. Now it would be just as cheap for the Adjutant General's office to cable to France as it is for the Red Cross to do it. I can conceive no meaner disposition on the part of the Government than to tell a wondering and grieving wife, "Your husband was severely wounded nearly four months ago, and if you want to know how he is, communicate with a private party."

It does seem atrociously callous and mean to treat a woman that way, especially a woman who had given her husband to die for his country if need be. But they get used to that sort of thing in the War Department. They have spread false news of men being missing, wounded, dead, even, and thereby have filled many homes with grief and desolation when the supposed lost ones were alive, well and hearty, at their posts of duty.

It is all of a piece with the general state of demoralization at which matters in the War Department have arrived once more after that memorable cleaning up in the earlier days of the war. In fact, the Department of the Most Efficient Public Servant President Wilson Has Ever Known has fallen down on the home stretch just about as hopelessly as it did at the start. When the Democratic Senator Chamberlain proclaimed the Bakerian collapse in the course of a speech in New York, he won, for his pains, the singular distinction of being virtually called a liar by the President of the United States. And then came the investigation which demonstrated that Senator Chamberlain had told the truth and nothing but the truth. There *had* been a deal of lying going on. That was shown very clearly. It was shown, too, that the lying was of a highly organized, persistent character. Only it was not the assailants of the War Department who were telling the lies. It was those who were endeavoring to screen that Department's doddering incapacity.

The hour seems to have struck for another such investigation as the Chamberlain charges brought about. Responsibility should be brought home to somebody for the needless, senseless sufferings our soldiers and their relatives

are undergoing. As was said on the floor of the House, such an investigation should and would have nothing to do with politics. It is not in the least a partisan matter. The soldiers of Democrats and Republicans, Democratic and Republican families, all alike, are indignant at the blundering ineptitude which is causing so much distress. They should be and are one in wishing to see the end of a disgrace so damnable, and in wishing to see those responsible for it dragged out into the light. It is just another and a non-partisan house-cleaning that is due, and long overdue.

A Growing Obsession

PRESUMABLY when the new telephone rates have been in operation for a time, there will be a gradual growth of understanding as to just what they mean in dollars and cents to telephone patrons. As presented in general terms they have involved rather more complicated ciphering out in items of distance and cash than most people were disposed to undertake. The general disposition was to wait until we know the worst and then make up our minds what we are going to do about it.

In several States, however, that attitude of watchful waiting has not been adopted. In Massachusetts, Minnesota and elsewhere the State Public Service Commissions have served notice of rigid scrutiny of points of interference with local rate regulations, with promise of vigorous contest if any attempt is made to override rates fixed by State authority.

Generally speaking, the assumption is that the new rates proposed will range heavily in excess of those prevailing under private ownership and operation. An expert in Massachusetts has asserted that Texas is the only State in the Union where the rates will not be about doubled. Now Texas, of course, is the Politicalmaster General's own State. But even in Texas there has already been an outbreak against his new rates. In Houston a few days ago the City Council refused to put these new rates in force. At a largely attended meeting of representative business men this action of the Council was cordially endorsed.

There was especial cause for exasperation in Houston from the fact that the Politicalmaster General had threatened to enforce his edict there with a club. Residence telephone rates in Houston heretofore have been \$2.00 per month; business rates \$5.00 per month. Under the new schedule, residence rates are raised to \$3.00 and business rates \$7.50 per month. Right here the Politicalmaster General swung his club. If the City Council refused to accept this increased rate, then the rate they would have to take would be \$3.50 for residence and \$9.00 for business telephones.

And now the people of Texas are asking by what authority, legal or moral, the Politicalmaster General is proposing to penalize a community for not accepting without protest any edict he may see fit to promulgate. He issues a command as to what telephone rentals must be paid. If there is a contest; if his Imperial Majesty's order is so much as disputed, then every telephone patron in the entire city is fined from 50 cents to \$1.50 per month ever after!

The Dallas *Morning News* calls it "a luminous case of bureaucracy," and marvels that it should have been ventured

while the question of Government ownership of telephone lines is under consideration; for it raises a warning of one of the inevitable consequences of Government ownership.

As to its being a luminous case of bureaucracy, we fully concur. But we do not share the surprise of the *News* concerning the Politicalmaster General's venturing it at this, or any other, time. The fact of the matter is that the Politicalmaster General's head is rapidly becoming swollen to Hohenzollern dimensions. He seems to be developing a form of arrogant egomania pretty much on all-fours with a similar case of much interest to psychopathic students which is now under observation in Holland. The obsession of the Holland patient was world domination. That of the Politicalmaster General is Government Ownership. To both, apparently, the end justifies any means, however extreme. Self-determination be hanged! State regulations? Bosh! Scraps of paper! Grab everything in sight! Hang on to it! If anybody even so much as squeaks a plaintive protest, impose fines on him for his impertinence!

The *News*, continuing its mild complaint, says that, accepting such edicts as that of the Politicalmaster General,

no community would have any authority or voice in determining the telephone rates it shall pay; they would be determined by some one at Washington in no degree answerable to those on whom the charge will fall as a tax, and any obstreperousness on the part of the community would incur a fine as a vindication of bureaucracy's dignity.

Of course the community would have no voice in the matter. Of course the community would be punished if it so much as hinted that it had a right to meddle in its own affairs. That is the Law and Gospel According to St. Burleson. Let him violate it who dares!

So the process of ham-stringing the telephone service is going right along with the process of ham-stringing the mail service. Pile up the charges! Pile up the deficits! The public pays both! And meantime, the self-perpetuating political control machinery becomes more and more perfected.

Germany Must Pay the Bill

(From the *Elizabeth Journal*)

The cost of the war Germany forced upon the world, as George Harvey points out, must be paid. It must come out of the pockets of somebody. It must be paid by Germany, the aggressor, the guilty offender, who is responsible for all that the war has caused of agony and destruction, or by the victims of it.

Unless Germany is compelled to pay the bill the Allied nations must settle it. France, that has suffered so much because of German lust, must help pay it. Belgium—devastated and desolate Belgium—must help settle it. Great Britain, that has already spent so much in blood and treasure to save civilization from the Hun peril, must help pay it. Italy must help pay it. A large part of the bill will come out of the treasury of the United States.

Colonel Harvey is right, and his opinion is approved, when he says that the bill must be assessed against Germany and collected, even though it requires long decades for that country to make restitution for all the wanton waste and destruction it has wrought.

It is a false, maudlin sentiment that has been expressed by those who say Germany has already suffered sufficient punishment for her crimes. The sufferings of the German people are not to be compared with those of Germany's victims. Germany prepared—deliberately and in cold blood—for her campaign of loot and lust. Preparations for what Germany has done have gone on throughout fifty years. All Germany entered into that work. The awful crime that Germany has committed was premeditated.

Civilization will suffer greatly unless an example is made of Germany because of all it has deliberately done.

The Week

WASHINGTON, January 23, 1919.

THE Peace Congress has begun. That is the paramount fact in the world to-day. Let us gratefully add that it was begun in a manner befitting the august occasion. There had been unwarranted and mischievous delay. There had been potential bickerings. There had been what might be described as jockeying for position. But under the stress of the actual event, all these were, at least for the time, forgotten. A sense of dignity, of international amity, above all of transcendent responsibility, seemed to possess the members of the great conclave. Nothing could have been more fitting than for M. Clemenceau, at the initiative of Messrs. Wilson and Lloyd George, to be chosen President of the Congress, not only because of courtesy and precedent, but also because of the personal significance of the man and the public significance of the nation which he represents. Nothing, either, could on the whole have been more appropriate than the speeches with which that election was tendered and accepted, their very informality investing them with a spontaneous sincerity which might have seemed lacking in more sophisticated words. As to the results for which the world is impatiently waiting, we shall see what we shall see. An attempt was made, it will be recalled, to get the Senate to sign in advance a blank check, for the President to fill out as he pleased; but of course it refused. It will hereafter be seen whether the Senate will sign it after the President has filled it out without consulting that body.

The fact that the result of the Peace Congress will be passed upon by the Senate as newly constituted after March 4, explains, of course, the uncommon zeal with which the Administration forces are trying to bar Commander Newberry from the seat to which he was elected by the State of Michigan, and to put into it instead the Editor of *The Dearlyborn Independent*. Could they succeed in that scheme, they think, an Administration majority might be secured. In that they are, however, planning poor politics. A bare majority in the Senate would not assure them the ratification of a treaty, which requires a two-thirds vote, while for the Democrats to control the Senate by so narrow a majority, while the Republicans had a good working majority in the House, would infallibly provoke all manner of partisan conflicts and deadlocks, to the great embarrassment of the Government. Since the country so emphatically refused to give the President the Democratic majority in both Houses for which he made the most extraordinary political appeal in the history of the nation, it would be by far the best policy for him to acquiesce in that Republican control of both Houses which the voters of the country prescribed.

Each House of Congress, according to the Constitution, shall be the judge of the elections, returns, and qualifications of its own members. Manifestly that was intended to mean the actual house in which the members in question are to sit. It does not mean that a house in one Congress shall pass upon the credentials of members of another Congress. No man in his senses would dream of submitting to the present House of Representatives for scrutiny and approval the credentials

of members who were elected to the next House, who, in ordinary circumstances, would not take their seats until next December. Why, then, should the Senate as it is now constituted assume to pass upon the election and qualifications of a Senator who is not to take his seat until March 4, when the body will be very differently constituted? Why should men who will not sit in the Senate with Mr. Newberry determine his title to his seat? Why should men who will sit with him be denied the right to pass upon his title? The present procedure is a gross violation of the spirit and intent of the Constitution.

By a substantial majority the Senate has decided to condone Mr. La Follette's questionable utterances. That is a result in which we cannot exult and upon which we cannot congratulate the Senate. The spirit displayed by La Follette marked him as egregiously unfit to occupy a seat in the Senate of the United States. But we cannot help wondering to what extent he owes his vindication, if so he esteems it, to the contest in the neighboring State. If the President had not been so uncommonly solicitous to get Edsel's Father elected to the Senate, would the indignation against La Follette have waned, as it seems to have done?

In anticipation of a special session immediately or soon after March 4, interest in the Speakership of the House of Representatives is becoming acute. That office is not as influential now as it was years ago, yet it is so important that the Republican majority cannot afford, from the point of view either of patriotism or of party politics, to choose any man whose Americanism is even suspected of being so much as a fraction below par. There is, we know, a disposition among some to say, "Ah, forget it! The war's over now!" They would release the German spies, pardon the traitors, and treat the loyal and disloyal alike. We warn them that this will not do. The Republican party in the next year's Presidential campaign is going to be judged largely by the acts of the incoming Congress; and its judges in that campaign will comprise nearly two million soldiers back from the war. There could be no surer way to alienate their votes than to give its official honors to men whose support of the war was lukewarm—or worse.

Mr. Taft rightly thinks that some of the new European States will need the protection of the greater Powers, just as Cuba needs ours. But we alone protect Cuba. We have been doing so, both while Cuba was a Spanish province and since it became an autonomous republic, for more than a hundred years. We have been doing it alone. We have repeatedly and most emphatically refused to admit any European Powers to partnership in the protectorate. Now, on the same wise principle, if any new European State needs protection, let it be protected by some European Power or Powers, without dragooning us into partnership in the job.

What is this suggestion, which we are solemnly assured has been made "by the American Peace Commissioners," that all the straits of the world shall be neutralized, "including the Panama Canal, the Strait of Gibraltar, the Dardanelles and the Cattegat"? Is there no judgment in the world to discriminate between a natural arm of the high seas, many

miles in width, lying between the territories of separate sovereign Powers, and a narrow artificial canal constructed through the territory of a single State? We should like to know when, since the days of Canute, or of Eric the Red, the Cat's Throat has not been neutralized, or when the Strait of Gibraltar has been recognized as a territorial water? As we remember it, the entrance to the Cattegat must be thirty-five or forty miles wide, and it must be nearly a dozen miles from Europa Point to the African coast. With territorial waters limited to three miles from shore, how can such expanses of the high seas be unneutral? Why, even The Sound, and the Little Belt, a narrow passage entirely within Danish dominions, were neutralized more than half a century ago. As for such canals as those at Panama, Suez, and Corinth, their status is radically different, and doubtless will remain so; as it should. Doubtless it is good policy to open them freely on equal terms to all well-disposed nations, as of course has been done from the beginning. Beyond that, in the direction of making such internal territorial waterways parts of the high seas, we must not go. Would these crazy internationalists have us "neutralize" the East River and New York Harbor, and the Cape Cod Canal?

Lord Robert Cecil, Mr. Lansing, and Colonel House are said to have agreed upon not a "Treaty" but a "Covenant" for a League of Nations. A Treaty, apparently, may be a mere scrap of paper, while of course a Covenant is an impregnable bond of triple brass.

The claims of Greece in the re-partitioning of Europe and Asia are being strongly urged. There can be no doubt that Mr. Venizelos will present them to the Peace Congress in the most lucid and forcible manner. Neither can there be any doubt that his character, as an earnest of the future Government of Greece, will dispose the Powers to regard his representations in the most favorable manner possible. Apparently the chief clash will be with Bulgarian claims in Thrace, Bulgaria being desirous of retaining a frontage on the Ægean Sea in addition to one on the Black Sea, as also of securing frontages upon the Sea of Marmora and the Adriatic. She will not, of course, get either of the latter, and she does not seem to have any good title to one on the Ægean, the Thracian coast lands being historically, and still predominantly, Greek. We would not, of course, even for her bad behavior, shut Bulgaria in, away from the high seas of the world. But she has an ample frontage assured to her on the Black Sea, and it is certain that the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles will be opened so as to give free passage to and from the Mediterranean, and therefore all oceans; in which respect she will be as well off as the more important country of Roumania. So far as Greek claims to lands on the coast of Asia Minor are concerned, it is to be remembered that they have been occupied by Greeks for thirty centuries; and also that the present nominal holders, the Turks, have no title to consideration.

It is not at all surprising that the German elections were marked with grave disorders, perhaps sufficient to destroy their validity. Under Hohenzollernism the German people have never been taught order and self-control, but rather the contrary. For years past they have been seeking with

might and main to promote disorder and revolutionary lawlessness in other countries. No wonder that their chickens come home to roost.

The butchery of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg was effected in characteristic Prussian fashion. We cannot affect to mourn the loss of those two criminal agitators. The world is better off without them. They have suffered only the fate which they were plotting to deal out to multitudes of their fellow men and women. Yet none of these things palliates the essential Hunnishness of the Berlin tragedy. The whole episode confirms the judgment, long since formed, that the German people are largely imbued with the same bestial and murderous instincts that marked the German soldiery in France and Belgium.

As for the political effect of the tragedy, it can scarcely make matters worse, and may make them less bad. The influence of the two "Red" leaders was altogether evil; they have no successors of equal ability; and the Hunnish-Bolshevik mob, deprived of masterful leaders, is likely to disintegrate. Its members are not of the stuff of which heroes and martyrs are made. We shall be glad to see Bolshevism at Berlin decline, and a decent Government formed as an outcome of this week's elections; partly for the sake of Germany itself, and partly, largely, to facilitate the task of the Allies in dealing with that country.

Even the most thick-headed Boche of them all should understand that it is worse than useless for Germany to try to influence the course of the Peace Congress, and that it is ludicrous for her to say that she will refuse to accept any terms beyond those in our President's Fourteen Commandments. The armistice itself was not committed absolutely to those terms; it could not have been, for nobody was able to say what they meant; and the armistice cannot for a moment be considered binding in all details upon the Peace Congress. The Germans will do well to understand that they have simply got to accept without demur whatever terms the Congress may prescribe.

Almost all Americans returning from German war prisons have grewsome and revolting tales to tell of Hunnish cruelties and crimes. It is well that the American people should hear these things. It would also be well for the undeniable record of them to reach the Peace Congress in Paris.

The accession of Mr. Paderewski to the Polish Premiership is a most interesting and characteristic incident. It disposes of the notion that he has been trying to be made President of the Polish Republic. The fact is that he has preferred and has specially desired the Premiership in order that he may attend the Peace Congress in that capacity, as the Prime Ministers of other countries are doing. Moreover, after peace is made and Poland is securely rehabilitated, he desires and intends to resume his public career as a pianist, which would of course be impossible if he were President. Or would it, we wonder, be impossible; seeing the distinguished illustration of Presidential possibilities that has recently been placed in the vision of the world?

Future Army Legislation

THE individual comings and goings of Congressmen are rarely worthy of national interest or attention. But this cannot be said of the European trip planned by Representative Julius Kahn of California. Mr. Kahn is the ranking minority member of the Committee on Military Affairs, and will become chairman in place of the inefficient and incompetent Dent, when the Republicans organize the House.

Mr. Kahn has planned a thorough, first-hand investigation of the operations of the French system of compulsory training, and purposes to use it as a basis for similar legislation here.

Despite the fact that many Senators will support universal training, Mr. Kahn and his associates on the House Committee must initiate the legislation, and, it is to be feared, supply most of the force to put it through. Little can be expected in the way of initiative from the Senate Committee. Senator Warren, it is assumed with a warranted degree of certainty, will become chairman of the Senate Committee, and unless he makes a complete turn-about, will do nothing that might irritate the White House or the War Department.

Of course Senator Chamberlain, who will revert to his former position of ranking minority member, can be relied upon to make a fight for any reasonable plan, but Chairman Warren will be the final arbiter on any action proposed in the committee.

Although Senator Warren has been servile to the Administration, and as far as the public is informed has added nothing to the impetus of the war machine, we are not inclined to be hypercritical of him or his course. It is simply to be regretted that peculiar circumstances have made him an obstacle to all military reform. As father-in-law of General Pershing it would be manifestly unwise for him to attack the Administration.

Of course Mr. Baker has no plan for compulsory training or for any other military programme of a permanent character. He has recommended that the regular army be kept up to 500,000 men for the present—until peace has been declared. So far Congress has not indicated what action will be taken on this recommendation, but at the rate the troops are being demobilized it is fair to assume that the problem will be left for the next Congress.

A Sneak Order to Shield Sneaks

THE touching solicitude of our pacifist Secretary of War for the comfort of his fellow pacifists, the "conscientious objectors," has recently come to light in connection with the dismissal from the Army of two excellent officers, Major F. S. White and Major G. C. Taussig. The offense of these two fine soldiers was lack of consideration for the delicate sensibilities of drafted men who shirked their duties on the ground that they "conscientiously objected" to fighting for their country.

As late as July 22d last Secretary Baker wrote to the President that "we are now doing all public opinion will stand in the interest of conscientious objectors and others whose views do not happen to coincide with those of the vast majority of their fellow countrymen." This was rather an

under than an over-statement. As a matter of fact, the pacifist Secretary was doing for these cowardly slackers a vast deal more than public opinion would have stood had the facts been known. The Secretary was so keenly conscious of this that he enjoined profound secrecy on the "Commanding Generals of all National Army and National Guard Division Camps" concerning an Order to them addressed October 10th, 1917, on the subject of the objecting sneaks. This order was not only headed "Confidential," but its Fourth and concluding section read as follows: "Under no circumstances are the instructions contained in the foregoing to be given to the newspapers."

A very prudent provision. At the time this order was issued, the opponents of the draft, the opponents of the war and the opponents of everything calculated to make our resistance to the Huns effective were busily at work. Everything possible was being done by pro-Germans to destroy our military morale and to make our efforts to raise an army abortive. In this form of Hun propaganda the "conscientious objectors" played a conspicuous part. Organized efforts were made to encourage them to dodge the draft, and, failing this, to refuse to obey military orders when they were inducted into camp. Conspicuous among this crew was the National Civil Liberties Bureau, of New York, whose object was to advise the objectors on methods of procedure to avoid military service. Two months before Secretary Baker's "Confidential" Order above cited was issued, this pro-German Bureau gave out a confidential pamphlet which might well have been entitled: "The Pro-Hun Slacker's Guide." On it appeared this paragraph:

We see no reason to change our policy of handling this matter quietly, without any publicity. Secretary Baker has and is giving the whole subject personal attention, and nothing would be gained by our going into the press where hostile news notices and damning editorials are certain. We have far more to gain, both for the men themselves and for the cause itself, through Secretary Baker than through the newspapers.

Right they were. They could count on the pacifist Secretary as the Slacker's Friend every time. If this precious gang did not know of the Secretary's "Confidential" Order two months before it was issued, they evidently did know the Secretary's mental attitude on the subject. They knew they had nothing to fear from him. And this he very quickly demonstrated by issuing that order which, "under no circumstances," was to be given to the newspapers.

This order, in connection with the dismissal from the Army of the two gallant soldiers above named, has now been made public. "Under no circumstances" was it given to the newspapers. The newspapers just got it, that's all. No wonder the pacifist Secretary did not want it made public. It directs that the attitude of the objectors is to be "quietly ignored"; that they are to be "treated with kindly consideration"; that they are not to be "treated as violating military laws, thereby subjecting them to penalties of the Articles of War," and so on.

In other words, while real men were being put through trying ordeals to fit them to fight for their country, whose life was then at stake in the worst war known in history, these slackers were to be coddled; to be treated with "kindly consideration"; to be coaxed and isolated into a class of the elect and favored ones, when by rights they should have been kept hot on the jump under the sternest drill sergeants the United States Regular Army traditions could produce.

No wonder the pacifist Secretary wrote to the President that he was "doing all public opinion would stand" with reference to the conscientious objectors. He was. He was doing a great deal more than public opinion would have stood. He knew it. He knew that if this demoralizing Confidential Order of his were made public, a roar of wrath would go up from one end of the country to the other. That is why he clamped it down at the top with a peremptory "Confidential" warning, and why he clamped it down at the bottom with another peremptory warning that "under no circumstances" was it to be given to the newspapers.

And now, under the provisions of this unprecedented mandate, two fine officers have been dismissed from the United States Army! They had the soldier's, and not the Pacifist's, view of the slacker who sneaked behind what he called his "conscience" to conceal his plain disloyalty or cowardice or both. And because they held the soldier's view they are made to suffer for it.

Those Eagle Boats

UNLESS all signs fail, Mr. Henry Ford will have an extremely busy winter. There is the *Dearlyborn Independent*, for which he has promised to write a page a week; there is his election contest, for which he has promised to supply a sprightly story of how he was denied, through the use of "sinister methods," the honor of representing the State of Michigan in the Senate. There is his \$1,000,000 libel suit against the *Chicago Tribune* by which he proposes to establish his right to be considered a loyal American, and there is the little matter of the Senate Investigation of the "Eagle Boats."

We purposely omit from the list of engagements anything connected with the management of the Ford factory because this already has been intrusted to Edsel—our most prominent slacker—at a modest salary, so we are told, of \$150,000.

We shall watch with keen interest the progress of the *Independent*. We fear, however, that we shall not have occasion to watch for long the election suit, because as far as it is possible to ascertain, few take it seriously. On this point we cannot fail to commend the statement of Senator Reed of Missouri, who has told friends that he does not purpose "to engage in any second-story work to put Ford in the Senate." This statement summarizes the opinion of the better class of Senators.

In fact the one Ford venture in which we are deeply interested, just at present, is the investigation of the "Eagle Boat" contract, which was ordered by the Senate at the instance of Senator Lodge. Until the investigation committee has all the evidence in it would be highly improper to pass judgment on the contract, but if a fraction of the original charges are sustained we very much fear that Mr. Ford will require more than one page of the *Independent* to explain to his readers his position in the matter. Possibly he had something of this sort in mind when he started the paper. Possibly not. We do not pretend to know. He hasn't taken us into his confidence lately.

When Mr. Ford first accepted Government contracts the public was led to believe that he was doing a patriotic service and had absolutely refused to consider profits. We didn't believe it at the time and said so. It now transpires, if the

charges are true, that he not only demanded profits, but very gross profits on boats that would not float. They appear to have been designed as *sub-marines*—rather than submarine chasers.

Too Many Generals

SECRETARY BAKER'S plea to Congress to create the rank of permanent general for Peyton C. March and Tasker M. Bliss is beyond all understanding. Let it be understood that there is not the slightest intention of criticising the two major-generals. They are both excellent officers. It is not a question of personality but of service. If any other officers of similar experience and service had been singled out for the honors, the objection would have been precisely the same. The truth of the matter is that while both of them may have rendered distinguished services, neither has fought in this war, and heretofore the highest honor that America held for soldiers has been reserved for her fighting men.

If General March and General Bliss have rendered services to the country that merit an honor which only four other Americans—except Pershing—have had bestowed upon them then surely Mr. Baker should give us the facts. As far as the public is informed there is nothing whatsoever in the records of either officer that justifies the proposed promotions.

If Mr. Baker is determined to honor some one, it is manifest that the rewards earned by officers in the face of the enemy should be given them without further delay. He could do no better than to vacate the absurd order, issued when the armistice was signed, which barred all promotions in the army. Hundreds of officers whom General Pershing had picked for promotions were denied them without cause or reason.

Consider the meaning of a full generalship. It is the highest honor that can be given an American officer. It ranks with the honors that France bestowed upon Foch, the greatest strategist of the time, and that Great Britain gave Haig, who held the Germans in check during the blackest days of the war. If Bliss and March are to be classed with these leaders then they have been curiously misjudged up to the present time, because no one knows the story except Mr. Baker.

With the exception of a short tour of duty in France—far from the front—as chief of American Artillery when America had no artillery, General March spent the period of the war at Washington. He has undoubtedly done well as Chief of Staff, but in justice to others it must be remembered that the worst period of disorganization had passed when he took the post.

It has not occurred to Great Britain or France to honor their chiefs of staff as Mr. Baker seeks to honor March.

Dear old General Bliss, who preceded General March as Chief of Staff, would never have been removed from the post, would never have been superseded, if he had been competent. His lack of decision was notorious. He was sent to Versailles and did excellent work of a military-diplomatic nature. As in the case of their chiefs of staff, neither England or France offered their Versailles representatives the same honors that their field commanders received.

Consider the subject historically. Washington was a full general of the Continental Army. When he became President the rank ceased to exist, and when he was recalled from retirement to command the army during the French crisis

Congress appointed him lieutenant general. The Fathers of the Republic were indeed jealous of their honors.

Winfield Scott, who directed a brilliant campaign in Mexico, was made a lieutenant general. Grant was a full general and so was Sherman, but Sheridan waited twenty-two years, until he was on his death bed, before Congress saw fit to give him the supreme honor. He was buried in the uniform of a lieutenant general.

Does Mr. Baker believe that March and Bliss deserve to be placed on a pedestal with Washington, Grant, Sherman and Sheridan? If so, let him tell us why.

Penalizing Efficiency

LUCKY ALEXANDER! He cut the knot of Gordias a long, long time ago, when efficiency was at a premium, and thus not only escaped penalty, but won much credit. If he had done it in our time, he would have got a rating and a slating, and perhaps have been sent to take charge of a training camp in Kansas. Such wrath fills the celestial minds of the Gods of Red Tape as It Was.

This is what happened: Early in the war, when the Government—the nation—was in agonizing need of munitions and supplies of many kinds at the earliest possible moment, patriotic and efficient men rushed to the rescue. Instead of spending days and weeks in drawing up elaborate and multitudinous contracts, sub-contracts and cédulas, to wend their devious and time-devouring way through the deliberate and dilatory mazes of the Circumlocution Office, they made in a few minutes brief and explicit though quite informal orders for the needed supplies, and got them ready for use in less time than it would have taken to draft the contracts in the good old way. That was applauded to the echo by the nation, and commended and boasted of by the Government, at the time, as the proper way to meet the emergency, and we were proudly told that American energy knew how to do things, when it once got started.

And now? We are authoritatively assured by officials of the Treasury Department that this was all wrong, very wrong. Of course it was tremendously effective, and it won the war for us. But it was quite irregular, of course. The contracts were not drawn up with the conventional expanse of periphrasis, they were not sealed with red sealing wax of the proper tint, and they were not bound, wrapped, and tied with the prescribed number of yards, ells and inches of red tape. Therefore they cannot be officially recognized for liquidatory adjustment. No doubt they are all right. The goods were furnished and were quite satisfactory, and there was no suspicion of graft or profiteering. But there were no “whereases” and there was not so much as a scrap of red tape, and those lacks are fatal. The Treasury cannot act upon such informal contracts; indeed, it cannot recognize them as contracts at all. How can there, how could there, be a contract without red tape? So the foolish business men who supplied the vital needs of the Government in so prompt, efficient, and acceptable—but alas! so informal—a manner, must wait for settlement until some Court of Claims decision or some special act of Congress shall give them relief, “far on, in summers that we shall not see.”

We are not inclined to dispute the strict legality, or in-

deed the legal compulsion, under which the Treasury acts. We would not remove a single needed safeguard against dishonesty and graft in government contracting. But we cannot help wondering what would have happened, what would have been said, what would have been thought, if, when men were perishing for lack of clothing, some clothing manufacturer had said, “I can supply the clothes needed at once, but I cannot do so on a mere telegraphic order. The men must wait a few weeks until proper contracts can be drawn up in legal form and my attorney can examine them and see that they are quite correct in all details.” We used to read in our school-books of a King of Spain who fell into a fire and came near being burned to death because none of the bystanders was of sufficiently noble rank to be entitled to touch the royal person. But we never believed that if even the humblest of them had dragged the king out of the fire, he would have been sent to the rack or stake for *lèse majesté*. It seems to us that it will be a gross reflection upon the efficiency as well as the equity of government if some way is not quickly found of settling honest though informal accounts at least as expeditiously as those whose profiteering is reinforced by innumerable wrappings of red tape.

According to the Paris correspondent of the London *Morning Post*, the “freedom of the seas” is no longer a controversial subject and is not likely to be so much as mentioned at the Peace Congress. Yet it was one of the Fourteen Commandments, and it was so important that the League of Nations itself was merely supplementary and adjuvant to it.

Ode

ON THE INTIMATIONS OF ACCORDING GERMANY A SEAT IN THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

We want a just and lasting peace.
Setzen Sie sich, Mein Herr!
A world where war shall ever cease.
So, setzen Sie sich, Mein Herr!

Women and children you killed at sea.
Upon its freedom we both agree.
So, setzen Sie sich, Mein Herr!

Your Kaiser gone, you have no will
To conquer France and take your fill.
So, setzen Sie sich, Mein Herr!

Of course you bribed and stole and lied,
But humanity is now your guide,
So, setzen Sie sich, Mein Herr!

Below the belt you struck your blows,
But now a sense of justice flows,
So, setzen Sie sich, Mein Herr!

The lands of France your guns laid waste,
But now your soul is pure and chaste,
So, setzen Sie sich, Mein Herr!

For forty years you hatched your scheme,
But now your heart beats to my theme,
So, setzen Sie sich, Mein Herr!

Now let us make an *Ausgleich* strong,
Whose aims shall be to put down wrong,
So, setzen Sie sich, Mein Herr!

Where you will find your place in the sun,
Setzen Sie sich, Mein Herr!
And I the world will justly run,
So, setzen Sie sich, Mein Herr!

—Anon.

Letters From Our Readers

A REMINISCENCE OF NOVEMBER 11TH

SIR,—The enclosed letter written by my son, Jesse Firse, has just been received.

He is a First Lieutenant (colored) in the 366th Infantry, Company L, 92d Division.

JESSE FIRSE.

Cleveland, Ohio.

November 11th.

MY DEAREST MOTHER AND DAD:

Well, folks, it's all over but the flowers. Yesterday it was war, hard, grueling, hideous. Today it is peace.

This morning I formed my platoon in line in the woods behind the line. They didn't know why. They were just a bunch of tired, hard-bitten, mud-spattered, rough-and-tumble soldiers standing stoically at attention, equally ready to go over the top, rebuild a shell-torn road, or march to a rest billet. At 10:45 I gave the command; "Unload Rifles!" They didn't know why and didn't particularly care. Then—"Unload Pistols." And while they still stood rigid and motionless as graven images, I read the order declaring armistice and cessation of hostilities effective at 11 o'clock. The perfect discipline of these veteran soldiers held them still motionless, but I could see their eyes begin to shine and their muscles to quiver as the import of this miraculous message began to dawn on them.

The tension was fast straining their nerves to the breaking-point, so I dismissed them. You should have seen them! They yelled till they were hoarse. Some sang. Others, war-hardened veterans, who had faced the death hail of a machine-gun with a laugh, men who had gone through the horrors of artillery bombardments and had seen their fellows mangled and torn without a flinch, broke down and cried like babies.

And only yesterday we started a drive! This one, while not as extensive as the other one, was, for its size, just as hard and just as bloody. I was in a town close up behind the lines in command of a detail whose important duty it was to supply ammunition to the front. From sunrise until dark that town was subjected to a constant intensive bombardment by the German artillery. It is hard to describe the awful inferno of a bombardment—the shriek of the shells, the rending crashes sounding so close together as to be almost one continuous roar, the swirling clouds of black, acrid smoke and debris, whole buildings churned to powder by a single shell, gas . . . gosh, Dante had a whole lot to learn!

From sunrise till night, when I was relieved, they poured everything they had into us, from the vicious little Austrian "88's" to the gigantic 38 centimenters, slightly smaller than the famous "42." One of the latter struck within 50 yards of me. A group of men standing near where it fell were wiped out—atomized, with the exception of one head which plopped down in the mud beside me and lay staring at me with glazing eyes.

There was a white artilleryman standing beside me. When we heard the shell coming, we both hit the dirt together, but when I got up he didn't. The back of his head was bashed in. I've got a fragment that ripped my helmet across the crown like a can-opener. It didn't even part my hair.

Through all this, my boys worked steadily and willingly, rushing ammunition up into those gas-drenched woods to the boys on the line who were catching it a blame sight worse than we were.

Tonight something seems wrong. The silence is almost uncanny. Not a shot—not even a single shell. Very faintly we can hear the mellow tones of the church bell in the little French town on the hill far to our rear. All day long it has been singing its song of joy and thanksgiving. It seems symbolical of the heart of France, which, today, is ringing.

I don't know when I'm coming home, but when I do, I want a big roast turkey, golden brown, new spuds swimming in butter, and cranberry sauce.

Love,

JESSE.

IDEALISM AND AUTOCRACY

SIR,—I see that the newspapers are throwing their slurs at Col. George Harvey. As I am almost a stranger to your writings, I do not care what particular offense they charge you with, but I suppose, like myself, you have been guilty of what many Southern newspapers call the "treasonable act of criticising President Wilson's Fourteen Points"; if so, we are fellows in misfortune.

As to President Wilson's Fourteen Points, I cannot say that I agree or disagree with him, as I must confess I do not know of what he is talking, as his Fourteen Points are full of what a lawyer calls "latent ambiguities"; that is, they may mean anything or everything, just as you choose to interpret them. They lack what is most essential in every public statement coming

from a statesman: clearness and conciseness. Talleyrand once said: "Language was given to man to conceal thought," and this seems to be the use made of it in this celebrated speech. I know, and have given in the *Manufacturers' Record* of December 5, 1918, page 87, a history of the doctrine of the Freedom of the Seas, as interpreted by the greatest judicial tribunal of the world, the United States Supreme Court, and there is no necessity of any misunderstanding of what England and the United States have understood by the freedom of the seas.

I have observed that there is a tendency among the newspapers that support the President to resent any attempt to place any restrictions on the President in his dealings with international questions, and to assert that they should be left to him alone, some going the length of saying that he is a "superman." Now, I am a Democrat, and have always been a Democrat, but I am not a damned fool, and have openly challenged the placing of uncontrolled power in the hands of the Chief Executive of this nation; and it matters not to me whether his name is Woodrow Wilson or anything else, for, after giving him credit for all the virtues and wisdom that his friends claim for him, he is yet only a man, and if history teaches us any lesson at all, it is that no man can be trusted with uncontrolled power. As to the superman, I once stated in the *Manufacturers' Record*, in discussing a similar question, that "throughout the history of the world there has been only one superman, and the mob nailed him to a cross; and one superwoman, and she was burned at the stake," and her spirit today inspires our boys over there. I have in the *Manufacturers' Record* (November 7 and 14th) stated that President Wilson in some of his acts toward Mexico and Germany and the Allies arrogated to himself powers not conferred upon him by the Constitution and not authorized by International law, and I challenged the American bar to refute me: that challenge has not been answered. I have never challenged the President's honesty and patriotism, but I have and do challenge his right to set aside international law and the Constitution in order that he might try an experiment in idealism.

The President is an idealist, and that is why I fear him, for if you have not forgotten your history, you will recall to mind that the most dangerous of men have been idealists who have found themselves possessed of uncontrolled power. Such men will wreck the universe rather than give up their ideal. Am I not right?

CHARLES E. CHIDSEY,
Justice of the Peace.

Pascagoula, Miss.

MAKING PEACE CAUTIOUSLY

SIR,—Whether the Peace Conference shall confine itself to the formulation of Peace, as Senator Knox in his recent very able speech desires it to do, or shall go beyond that immediate and difficult duty and undertake to formulate, in addition, a scheme for the much-discussed League of Nations, its work is bound to be of supreme and lasting importance to the world at large: since this is so, it is absolutely necessary that haste should be made slowly, and provisions made for world-wide innovations considered with the utmost care, lest, in the stress of excitement under which all mankind is laboring, more harm than good shall result.

The Conferees should not, like the Sons of Levi, take too much upon them, and in the strong reaction against the *status quo ante bellum*, go too far in an opposite direction.

There is no opportunity in a short communication like this to discuss the wisdom of such a League. The arguments are, of course, not all on one side: the destruction of a certain amount of national individuality, at the very time when the tendency toward Union and Consolidation of the last few centuries is forsaken for a tendency toward disintegration, and the principle of "Self Determination" invoked to make parts of Europe look like a crazy quilt, as they did in my childhood, presents a curious spectacle. It seems to me that as human nature—race nature—cannot be materially changed overnight, any successful attempt to alter radically the general status should be preceded by a period of education for the rising generation—there is much to learn, much to unlearn.

As to Germany, Mr. Otto Kahn has aptly said that the Germans of today have been so poisoned in their childhood and youth by false doctrines that they resemble men who have been drugged. It is of prime importance that this poisoning should cease, and Young Germany be properly taught, and that they should not be so poisoned in future either by Autocratic or Bolshevik philosophy. "Kultur" must go.

I venture to hope for your powerful support along the lines I have indicated.

LUCIUS S. LANDRETH.

Philadelphia, Pa.

NO MONUMENT, PLEASE—AS YET

SIR,—I am delighted to know that the WEEKLY will continue for another year at least. Keep it just as it is, without advertisements. We do not care what the price of subscription may be, just so there is an efficient medium through which this Nation may receive the wonderful illumination that your analytical, courageous, far-seeing and deep-seeing mind is able to throw upon the difficult problems of reconstruction of the world's economic and political conditions.

The Nation needs you. It will not be necessary to commandeer your intellect; but if it were, I should be in favor of demanding the full measure of that which you are so well fitted to give.

You could not be cajoled, intimidated, or kept silent. Your courage in a great crisis, when the press and public speakers were cowed into an almost or quite abject stillness with regard to Administrative inefficiency and corruption, has been as sublime as your talents have been great.

I have no intention of flattering you, and I am not doing so. I am merely recording facts that are known to millions, and are beyond dispute.

The defeat of the President and the repudiation of the party which he has kept hog-tied for the past four years, was due almost exclusively to your writings and the speeches of that other great American, Theodore Roosevelt. With regard to the present peace negotiations, the people of this country are finding their voice through you and through Lodge and Knox in the Senate. I believe that this is the voice to which the Allies will give as great, if not greater, heed than to our accredited official representatives.

When monuments are erected to heroes there are those on this side of the great water who should be recognized equally with the brave fellows that went over the top.

WILLIS L. MOORE.

Rockville, Md.

OUTRAGEOUS AND ABSURD

SIR,—In the destruction of the U. S. S. *San Diego* off Fire Island last July, Liberty Bonds exceeding \$100,000 in value belonging to the crew went down with the ship. Volumes of correspondence have been exchanged with the Treasury Department and others, with a view to having these bonds replaced, and certain persons have offered the Government at their own expense a surety bond to that end.

In spite of the utmost efforts of all concerned, and of the fact that the U. S. S. *San Diego*, lying in fifteen fathoms of water, has been declared a total loss by the Navy Department, it is now held by the Comptroller of the Treasury "that the destruction of said bonds has not been established by clear and unequivocal proof, as required by Section 3702 of the Revised Statutes".

"Fight or buy bonds—the Navy does both", has been the slogan of the Navy in all our Liberty Loan drives. That our sailor men, some of whom are still paying instalments on their bonds now at the bottom of the ocean, should suffer this treatment at the hands of an otherwise appreciative nation, is inconceivable. Is there no known instrument with which to cut the red tape that makes such an atrocity possible?

PHILIP DE RONDE

New York City.

OUR CRIMES

SIR,—Of course I want to renew the WEEKLY. You are bad, you are prejudiced, you are capricious, you are intemperate, you are disrespectful, your baleful influence extends in families where innocent children are growing up. You speak disrespectfully, not only of the Equator but with the deadly parallel. But you are confoundingly entertaining, delightfully malicious. You aim to be READ. Your cartoon, "He Kept Us Out of War," alone is worth the fine that ought to be imposed on an irresponsible journalist. I disagree with you and abuse you on nearly every page, but you are deucedly amusing, and that is the acme of journalism—is it not?

ALBERT BUSHNEIL HART.

Cambridge, Mass.

WE ARE NO SUPERMAN

SIR,—We are rejoiced to know that the WEEKLY will continue. Every week we rush out and buy a copy because we can't wait for the speedy mails to bring our subscription number. It would be immense to have a publication of the same quality and character devoted to American art and literature. Won't you do it? It is putting it up to you, but then, you know, you are a superman—although we hate to use that word since the Teuton made it disreputable. Anyway, to a brave heart nothing is impossible.

MARY STUART MIELATZ.

New York City.

Some Features of THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW FOR FEBRUARY

The Genesis of the Fourteen Commandments

Editorial

Germany's Pose for an Advantageous Peace

*David Jayne Hill
Former Ambassador to Germany*

The British Labor Outlook

Sydney Brooks

Russia Looks to America

Oliver M. Sayler

Immigration in Reconstruction

Frances A. Kellor

The Strategy on the Western Front—I.

*Lt. Col. H. H. Sargent, U. S. A.
Military Strategist, General Staff*

The Curse of Spain

*Vincente Blasco Ibanez
Author of "The Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse"*

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Erving Winslow

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VOL. 2

WEEK ENDING FEB. 1, 1919

NO. 5

For Speaker: A Pro-German or an American?

THE magnitude of the Republican victory at the polls in November, 1918, can be measured by a comparison of the total number of votes cast for candidates for Congress, to wit:

	1916		1918
Republicans....	7,303,679	Republicans....	6,622,734
Democrats.....	6,587,619	Democrats.....	5,275,165

Plurality..... 716,060 Plurality..... 1,347,569
Net Republican gain, 631,509 = 84%.

The results in the Second Congressional District of Illinois were as follows:

	1916		1918
Republicans.....	44,159	Republican.....	29,099
Democrat.....	22,722	Democrat.....	17,895

Plurality..... 21,437 Plurality..... 11,204
Net Republican loss, 10,233 = 47%.

Here is an amazing divergence. If the Republican loss sustained in this district had been paralleled, or even approached, throughout the Union, the Democrats would have carried the House of Representatives by an overwhelming majority.

How is the great discrepancy to be accounted for?

The issue was plain. It was *Americanism*, pure and simple; pro-Ally; anti-German; personified by Theodore Roosevelt and driven home by Will H. Hays. There was no temporizing, no backing and filling, no compromising, no catering. Those who were not with the country in stern determination to win the war were held openly to be against it. The votes of those who stood ready at the last moment, at the behest of the President, even to parley with the accursed enemy for a no less accursed peace, were neither sought nor welcomed.

The call was to Patriotism against Pacifism; and few today, we venture to say, until they shall have scrutinized the results noted above, appreciate the magnificence of America's response.

How did it happen, again we ask, that the Republicans of the Second District of Illinois fell out of line and turned away their heads?

Because their candidate was James R. Mann.

That is the answer. Their candidate? Technically, yes, in consequence of his grip upon the party machinery; reality, no; he was the candidate of the anti-British and the pro-Germans, of the whole crowd of Hun sympathizers who disgraced their city, of the Pacifists and, as since we have learned, of the profiteering Packers. All these supported him, you may be sure, with their ballots, their influence and their ill-gotten gains, but even so the loyal Republicans cut his majority in half, while that of the party elsewhere throughout the country was nearly doubled.

No doubt the heterogeneous groups which united in support of Mr. Mann felt that their course was justifiable even when their country was at war. He had been faithful to their anti-Ally and anti-American policies.

"In this war," he declared in Congress as late as 1916, "I am neutral. I think we ought to maintain peace *at all hazards*."

"I have much more fear of war with England than I have of war with Germany," he added in the same speech, thus indicating his expectation, if not his willingness, that this country align itself against the forces of civilization with the nation that had wantonly murdered scores of American citizens on the *Lusitania*.

He never missed an opportunity to excoriate Great Britain for infringing upon America's trading privileges and never seized an opportunity to assail Germany for taking American lives.

He voted for the McLemore resolution, of course.

He opposed preparedness until it was too late to get ready and led the fight against the increases in naval and army appropriations proposed in 1915. "It would be foolish," he said, "for any country to spend all its resources in preparing for war and *neglect other things which are much more important*."

But it is not necessary to review Mr. Mann's detestable record in detail. The whole country is familiar with it. Everybody knows that he played up to the Pacifists and the pro-Germans till he dared go no further. In almost any other district he would have been defeated for re-election.

No Republican member of the incoming Congress so completely embodies antagonism to all that Roosevelt and Gardner fought for and all that Roosevelt and Hays finally

achieved at the polls. Nothing conceivable could more decisively, more shamefully, belie the pronouncements of all Republican leaders in the recent campaign, than the election of Mr. Mann as Speaker.

The Republican party is facing the first test of its sincerity. Does it propose meekly, carelessly, without regard to consequences or good faith, to betray both itself and the country? Are its leaders content to sit supinely by in fear of being charged with "interference"? What, in God's name, are leaders for, except to interfere when calamity and disgrace threaten their organization? And there is not a leader of the Republican party—not one—who does not know that every word we have said is true.

Now what are they going to do about it? Are they going to acquiesce in the election of a pro-German as Speaker or are they going to demand an AMERICAN?

What would Roosevelt say?

It is a circumstance worthy of passing mention that the *Washington Star* takes seriously the suggestion of Mr. Taft as a candidate upon, of course, a league-to-enforce-peace platform.

Time to Call a Halt

I DO not hesitate to say that I think the world to-day, trembling under the menace of Bolshevism, owes a large part of that growing menace to the policies and utterances of the Chief Executive of the United States.

These are the carefully considered words of a United States Senator. They were uttered on the floor of our National Senate by one of the leaders of that great body on whose decision will depend our acceptance or rejection of the treaty of peace now in process of evolution at Paris where the Chief Magistrate who is the object of this formidable accusation is our self-appointed representative and arbiter. Senator Harding, of Ohio, was the speaker. He represents one of the greatest States in the union. From his first appearance in the Senate his views on all matters under deliberation have carried exceptional weight. He is recognized as one of the Senate's ablest men. Of the Senate Republicans his name leads all others in that body as a possible candidate for the Presidency of the United States on the Republican ticket.

Coming from such a source and uttered in the course of a carefully prepared speech from such a forum, the words of the Ohio Senator are words of grave import. They are startling, even—startling in the extreme. They charge President Wilson with responsibility for direct encouragement of a destructive force now fully recognized as one of the gravest perils facing the world. Senator Harding is not the man to frame lightly an accusation so formidable. Nor did he frame it lightly. The facts on which he based it are only too abundant. Two weeks ago we spread before our readers the record of the President's tour in Italy and the ferment of Socialistic enthusiasm which everywhere attended him and which seemed to find fresh stimulus in his every utterance. His appeal then—flagrant as was the impropriety—was over

the heads of the constituted authorities to the prejudices and to the only too plainly Bolshevik-tainted passions of the populace. We quoted from dispatches to the *World*, one of Mr. Wilson's staunchest thick-and-thin supporters, which showed that the President was regarded by Bolshevik agitators in Italy, eager to unite the soldiers and radical Socialist element, as an asset of the highest value. The danger of misinterpretation of the American people's attitude, which the President's vague idealism preachments only too plainly invited, was pointed out. We called the attention of our representatives at Washington to the menace. We said then, as we say now:

There must be no misrepresentation of this Republic—not for a day, not for an hour.

It is time for vigilance, no less than tolerance.

America is no Bolshevist.

Senator Harding's grave words have come none too soon. The Senate of the United States can not too soon nor too emphatically serve notice on Mr. Wilson, and on the world, that not for an instant will it tolerate any terms of world readjustment which involve compromise with the unspeakable herds of murderers, thieves, and madmen who have reduced Russia to a shambles and a swine-wallow, and who would spread the blight from their own borders over those of the rest of the world. We recognize no creed in this country which exalts the loafer over the toiler, or puts the ignorant and the shiftless on a par with the educated and the ambitious. And precisely that creed is the basic article of faith with Bolshevism and all its Socialistic kith and kin, however they may be disguised under varying euphemisms of designation.

The President's vague idealisms about "reconstruction of the world's psychology," about the "creation of a new world atmosphere," and what not, have opened the way for an utter misrepresentation of America's thought and convictions. Perhaps they have opened the way to misconceptions of what really were in his own mind. His rhetorical rhapsodies have more than once recoiled upon him in that way. His fatal gift of phrase-mongering has repeatedly led him into false and contradictory positions out of which he had to flounder the best way he could. His soaring oratorical flights into the realms of his beloved doctrinaire "idealisms" may have misrepresented his real sentiments in this instance. Maybe they did and maybe they did not. That is his affair. But they misrepresented, totally and radically misrepresented the American people and that is very decidedly the American people's affair. Senator Harding came to the opinion we expressed a fortnight ago that it was high time the representatives of the people took cognizance of the false light in which we are being made to appear. His arraignment of Mr. Wilson was severe. But it was none too severe. It was merited. Furthermore it is being echoed abroad in terms which show only too plainly how our position has been compromised in the opinion of the most intelligent of our associate nations in the Peace Conference. Mr. Wilson's astonishing proposition that we meet and grasp the blood-dripping hands of the Trotzy-Lenine assassins and bandits in some sort of a sub-Peace Conference near Constantinople has raised a storm of protest in all the best vehicles of public opinion in France. The only papers which support it are those which are ex-

ponents of radical Socialism. Some of the French writers have verged on bitterness. Maurice de Waleffe says:

Before America entered the war, President Wilson appealed to France and England to agree to arbitration with the European ogre, which we then called pan-Germanism and now is called Bolshevism. France and England refused, and Mr. Wilson had eventually to recognize, since he entered the war on their side, that they were right. Unhappily those honorable scruples of his cost us two years of torture and the lives of millions of men. The lesson was so cruel that one would have thought it would have been better understood.

In *La Victoire*, *Gustave Hervé* writes:

The sermons Wilson has addressed to the different Russian parties are the same he addressed with evangelical patience to the belligerents in the great war for two years before deciding to take part in the quarrel. If Lenine refuses the conciliation offered he will put himself in a bad position, and then without scruples the good judge of international peace will draw his powerful sword and annihilate the demon who has refused his olive branch. This method has the great drawback of prolonging the suffering of the patient. What blood and suffering might have been saved if Wilson had not waited nearly three years before taking the side of the victims in the war against their executioners!

The *Echo de Paris* characterizes the proposition as "insan." *L'Action Française* calls it "ridiculous." The *Gaulois* says it is "perilous," and so on through all the French comment save that from Socialist sources. There and there only the President's benevolent attitude toward the Bolshevik butchers is eulogised.

Rumor attributes the origin of the plan to Lloyd George. Why England wished Mr. Wilson to pull her chestnuts out of the fire is open to anyone's guess. But Mr. Wilson pulled them. Prediction of the official announcement is unmistakable. It smells of the long-familiar type-writer leagues away. It lacks absolutely nothing to confirm identification save perchance a "may I not" and an "acid test" here and there. It is President Wilson's own document and worthy of him at his visionary worst. Take for instance this astonishing clause:

The associated Powers recognize the revolution without reservation, and will in no way and in no circumstances aid or give countenance to any attempt at counter revolution. It is not their wish or purpose to favor or assist any one of the organized groups now contending for the leadership and guidance of Russia as against the others.

What revolution is recognized "without reservation?" Is it the revolution which overthrew the Czar, or the Hun-financed, Hun-inspired Lenine-Trotsky revolution which overthrew an embryo orderly Government and made of Russia a traitor to her allies and the theatre of wholesale murder, arson and brigandage? Is it any one of half a dozen other revolutions of which this was either the parent stem or the provocative cause? And what counter-revolution is it that will not be tolerated? Is it a counter-revolution that would restore decency under a sane Democracy and overthrow the red ruin of the prevailing anarchy, or does it mean merely a monarchical counter-revolution? There is nothing to show what it means. It is as vague and befogged as the Fourteen Commandments themselves. It puts the unspeakable Bolshevik assassins and brigands on the same moral level with decent supporters of law and order. It asks the fathers and sons of those wantonly tortured and murdered to clasp in cordial grip the hands of those who did the torturing and murdering. It is an insult to every decent Russian on the face of the earth, and as such has been repudiated and excoriated by decent, law-abiding Russians everywhere.

And this is the first achievement to date of the "reconstructed world psychology"! Senator Harding's words were not one whit too strong. The world today *does* owe a very large part of the growing menace of Bolshevism to the utterances of the Chief Executive of the United States.

The strangest thing about the engrafting of prohibition upon our fundamental law is that so few persons comprehended what it meant until it was accomplished. It is more than doubtful if the measure could be either passed through Congress or ratified if it were to come up now when people have waked up. But there it is in the Constitution and less than 6% of the voters of the country can keep it there for all time. And one has only to imagine what the exercise of "concurrent power" of enforcement may involve to realize that it is full of dynamite.

Catering to Bolshevism

IF we were minded to apply so informal a phrase to so grave a matter, we should say that the President has "seen" Mr. Lloyd George's Russian plan, and "gone him one better." For of course the scheme of overtures for a settlement of Russian affairs, which the Peace Congress adopted last week and which has been attributed directly to President Wilson, was not originally his, but the British Prime Minister's. We commented the other day upon Mr. Lloyd George's suggestion that the Allies should enter into negotiations with all the Russian factions, the Bolsheviks included, on condition that they would "be good", and the emphasis with which the French Foreign Minister rejected the idea of dealing with organized crime. Apparently the President has taken up that very suggestion, and has prevailed upon the "Big Five" in the Congress to adopt it.

We must, of course, hope that the experiment will result favorably, however much the character of the experiment may affront our judgment. As we remember it, some of those who are now applauding the scheme, bearing the President's cachet, as the quintessence of pure wisdom and eternal righteousness, were foremost in denouncing it, under Mr. George's sign-manual, as a villainous attempt at compromise with sin. Being given ourselves to more restrained and moderate judgment, pro or con, we must content ourselves with expressing some doubt not merely of the success of the scheme, but still more of the propriety of thus recognizing Lenine and Trotsky as even a potentially legitimate government and as worthy to be parties to negotiation with self-respecting states.

It certainly seems strange that a statesman and diplomat who could so keenly discern the difference between rival governments in Mexico, so as to refuse to have any dealings with one of them, should be unable to discriminate among the four or five in Russia. It seems strange that anyone of high ethical ideals in diplomacy should perceive no difference between a government which scrupulously observes and maintains the obligations which it inherited from its predecessor, and one which cynically repudiates them and flaunts its repudiation in the face of an outraged world. It seems strange that serious diplomats should be equally ready to

negotiate with those who regard treaties as binding and those who esteem them as mere "scraps of paper."

It is not on irresponsible hearsay that men condemn the Bolshevik cabal as unfit to deal with. Such word has come from the (reputedly) highest authority of information. From no less august a source than Mr. George Creel's Committee on Public Information have come detailed and circumstantial reports, reinforced with documents in facsimile, alleging that the Bolshevik régime was conceived in Germany, that it has been fostered and promoted by Germany, and that its leaders were traitors, who sold their country for German gold. In the face of such testimony from one of his most trusted lieutenants, the President can yet advocate a project for dealing with these men.

Nor has the condemnation of the Bolsheviki been confined to Mr. Creel's exposure. A greater authority than he has still more circumstantially condemned not their origin but their practises. Let us recall the testimony of Mr. Lansing, the Secretary of State, the President's colleague at Paris, and the American Vice-President of the Peace Congress. About four months ago he said, officially:

This Government is in receipt of information from reliable sources revealing that the peaceable citizens of Moscow, Petrograd, and other cities are suffering from an openly avowed reign of mass terrorism and are subjected to wholesale executions. Thousands of persons have been shot without even a trial. . . . Every night scores of Russian citizens are recklessly put to death. . . . This Government feels that it cannot be silent or refrain from expressing its horror at this existing state of terrorism. Furthermore, it believes . . . that all civilized nations should register their abhorrence of such barbarism.

And now this same Mr. Lansing, at the dictates of the President, expresses the horror of this Government at that state of terrorism by courteously inviting the arch-criminals to sit with him at table and to enter into friendly and confident relations with us as our peers; and calls upon all civilized nations to register their abhorrence of barbarism by doing diplomatic business with the barbarians. It remains, we should say, only for Mr. Lansing, or the President, to denounce as enemies of humanity those upright and honorable Russian statesmen, such as Prince Lvoff and Mr. Sazonoff, who indignantly refuse to sit at table with assassins and who denounce this catering to Bolshevism as giving a new impulse to anarchy and as endangering not only Russia but the whole world.

While refusing to listen to "authentic revolutionaries" like Bourtzeff and Savinkoff and men like Sazonoff and Lvoff, "the Conference," cries the Débats, "remains deaf to the protests of these men. It abandons itself to its dreams. And yet it calls itself practical." This, of course, might be read as a fling at President Wilson, but is possibly no nearer the truth than the cynical suggestion that Wilson's contribution to the Prince's Island plan was the selection of the island.—*Paris dispatch to the Times.*

Which reminds us of "The Genesis of the Fourteen Commandments," a truly enlightening document in the current *North American Review*.

According to the Echo de Paris today, President Wilson is likely to be offered the presidency of the Commission of the League of Nations. (By the Commission of the League of Nations is probably meant the permanent executive body for the conduct of the proposed league's affairs.)—*Paris dispatch to the World.*

What did we tell you? O, you Creel!

The Morawetz Plan

WE may, with Thomas Jefferson, "hold these truths to be self-evident": that the greatest economic problem to be solved by this nation in its post-bellum readjustments is that involving the control and the prosperous and efficient operation of the railroads, and that whatever the ultimate solution may be, it should not and indeed cannot be a mere return to the former state of affairs. Such a return is not desired by anybody who is thoughtfully interested in the subject. Neither, we are convinced, is there any general desire for a continuance beyond the period already prescribed of the temporary war measure of complete government control and operation.

There must, then, be devised some new arrangement under which the roads shall be freed from the embarrassments, the hamperings, and the burdens which they so grievously suffered before they were taken over by the Government, and which were, in fact, because of their impairment of the roads' efficiency, largely what made it necessary for the Government to take them over. It must also be an arrangement which will assure to the roads and to the public those advantages which have accrued from government control. To doubt that such a system can be devised would be to cast an intolerable imputation upon American business sense. There is indeed reason to think that in its essential and fundamental principles such a system has already been devised, in the plan which has been put forward by Mr. Victor Morawetz, and which is now, we understand, being carefully considered by the United States Senate. This is a plan which has been formed by discarding at a stroke the delusions and the tinkering which have so much and so vainly been applied to the problem, and by recognizing the fundamental facts of the situation.

Three major requirements may be cited, as essential to that efficiency of the railroads which not alone their own prosperity, but also the economic, commercial, and social welfare of the nation, demands. These are:

Capital; for extensions and improvements, in permanent way and in fixed and movable equipment, to make their facilities and capacity for service adequate to the demands which are made upon them.

Consolidation of lines, terminals, etc., for the avoidance of costly duplication and useless competition, though without the evils of unchecked monopoly.

Relief from the oppression of arbitrary and irrespon-

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sible regulations and rate-fixing by both State and Federal authorities.

How great the need of capital is, the Government has testified in its request for stupendous appropriations of billions for that purpose. But it is quite certain that the roads, restored to private control, could not command that capital in the money market without a satisfactory assurance of their profitable operation; and it is equally certain that they cannot have that assurance under the present system of government rate-fixing without some compensating provision. Experience has shown the vanity of trusting for salvation to any such "glittering generalities" as "reasonable rates" or "adequate rates", or to any artificial formula; while appeal to the courts has resulted chiefly in an exhibition of the perseverance of the saints, and of the unfitness of such tribunals for such functions.

It is also quite certain that the power of the Federal Government to prescribe rates cannot be denied or abolished. It is provided in the Constitution. It is permanent and absolute. Of that there can be no question. But we are not, therefore, to assume that the Constitution embodies an evil principle, albeit from this principle has proceeded something much like ruin for the railroads. The evil is not in the provision of rate-fixing, but in the failure to provide a counterbalance, a compensatory measure. It is the evil which always arises from an attempt to divorce authority from responsibility. It would be manifestly intolerable—the nation would revolt against it—to make the Government responsible for the receipt of a profitable income by the roads without giving it authority to fix the rates from which that income was derived. It should as clearly be perceived that it is grossly unjust to give the Government that authority without at the same time and in equal measure imposing upon it that responsibility.

So Mr. Morawetz proposes that the Government shall continue to exercise the power to fix rates, but that it shall at the same time be made responsible for the reasonableness and adequacy of those rates by its guaranteeing a fixed minimum rate of dividends on the capital stock of the roads. This would completely assure the solvency and prosperity of the roads, and would therefore enable them readily to secure the additional capital needed for their efficient development and equipment. Of course such an arrangement would require the safeguard of Government supervision and control of the administration of the roads, to a greater extent in some directions than was exercised before the war, and for that reason Mr. Morawetz suggests the formation of an expert Federal Railway Board, somewhat corresponding with the Federal Reserve Board, to have plenary and exclusive power of regulation of the dozen or more Federal corporations which should be formed to take over, by systems and by regions the existing railroad lines of the country. It follows, of course, that State control of railroads and their rates would cease.

Through this grouping of all the railroads of the country into a dozen or so well-balanced systems, there would be found all the advantages of coöperation and consolidation without the evils of uncontrolled monopoly; resulting in economy of operation without impairment indeed,

with actual improvement of service. Obviously, the incentive or the temptation to hostile competition between roads would be abolished. The Government guarantee of minimum dividends would be absolute and irrevocable, since it would be embodied in debentures and stock issued by the Federal corporations in amounts sufficient to take up the bonds and stock of existing companies and to provide for future capital requirements.

There remains the question of the bearing of this scheme upon that of actual Government ownership of the roads, which some are advocating. Mr. Morawetz meets that fairly and frankly by providing that the Government shall have the right at any time to purchase the stock of the corporations at a fixed price per share. This would be done without delay and without litigation. Under the present law the acquisition of the roads by the Government, which is so jauntily and glibly advocated, would necessarily involve immensely expensive and protracted condemnation proceedings, and mischievous financial disturbance. Under Mr. Morawetz's plan, such cost and delay would be avoided. If the system worked well without such recourse, there would be no demand for Government ownership, but all would be satisfied with Government control. If not, the change to Government ownership could be effected at any moment, with a practical nullity of delay and expense, and with indubitable equity to all concerned.

The plan deserves the most careful consideration of Congress, and, we have no doubt, will receive it. It also deserves the thoughtful and, we believe, the favorable consideration of railroad owners and of the general public whose interests are served by the roads; to whom we cordially commend it.

President Wilson's influence is purely personal, scarcely including the rest of the commission. There is a grave question as to what will happen after he returns to the United States, unless the basic work is completed then.—*Paris dispatch to the World*.

The poor manikins!

The Third Commandment

THE meaning of the Third of the Fourteen Commandments is at last disclosed. It will be recalled that there has been some uncertainty as to "the application on it." It commands "The removal so far as possible, of all economic barriers, and the establishment of an equality of trade conditions." That, men thought, squinted toward free trade; an interpretation which was—before election—almost passionately disclaimed. That disclaimer left the commandment quite incomprehensible, until the other day. Then order dawned out of chaos, and the purport of the commandment stood revealed.

It is, in brief, the subjection of national and even local industries to international and therefore alien control. The conditions and terms of employment in every workshop and factory in America are to be prescribed by England and France and Japan. The hours and wages of American workingmen, and their right to organize themselves into labor unions, are to be fixed not by themselves, nor by any

authority in the United States, but by an alien body to whose decrees we must submit under penalty of becoming commercial outlaws. "Equality of trade conditions" means equality of wages and of hours of labor in Pittsburg and in London, in Massachusetts and in Japan.

Lest we be suspected by the pardonably incredulous reader of drawing the long bow, let us note the exact words of Mr. Barnes, a member of the British Ministry, to the Associated Press, in outlining the proposals which he laid before the Peace Congress on Saturday; and which that body took up for consideration in advance of such subordinate and comparatively negligible matters as responsibility for the war and punishment for its crimes, and reparation for wanton war damage. His programme, he said, called for the establishment of an international labor commission, responsible to the League of Nations, "for the settlement of labor problems." Some of those problems would, indeed, be settled by the Peace Congress itself; such as "the right of people to form themselves into trade unions." That is to say, the right of American citizens to organize themselves into labor unions is to be determined by this international conclave at the Quai d'Orsay; and if the Peace Congress should decide that there must be no more trade unions, the American Federation of Labor must instantly disband.

Other questions, however, are to be remitted by the Peace Congress to the international commission which it is to create. "The matter of the hours of labor and similar problems would come before the international labor commission. In case of non-fulfilment of labor agreements, the League of Nations would be called in to settle the matter. If any nation refused to 'play the game' she might be brought to reason by depriving her of trade privileges with sister states." Of course, if that means anything more than Jaberwocky, it means that a body composed chiefly of Europeans and Asiatics is to determine whether American railroad hands are to work eight hours or eight and a half hours a day. It means that if John Smith fails to keep his agreement with his employees, or if they break faith with him, the League of Nations is to intervene. And if American employers and employees do not submit to such alien dictation, America is to be boycotted and excluded from the markets of the world.

It is true that Mr. Barnes added this proviso: that the international labor commission should not deal with "purely internal problems of the nations," and that "capital and labor will still work out their local differences as before." Then, in the name of "locus a non lucendo," what is all this sublimated tommyrot about? The industries of a nation are either "internal problems" or not. If they are not internal, then they will be subject to the alien meddling and dictation which we have described. If they are purely internal, then there is no more occasion for this "international labor commission" than for the proverbial pocket in a shroud.

The explanation which is offered is this: That the international commission, responsible to the League of Nations, will be concerned only with operations and products of industry related to foreign trade. That is to say, in manufacturing goods for our own domestic consumption, we can have what wages and hours and so forth that we please. But

we must be ready to make affidavit that all goods intended for export have been produced in strict compliance with the rules and regulations made and provided by the international commission. If John Smith and his workmen disagree over the making of goods which are to be used in Podunk, they may fight it out like Kilkenny cats; but if their dispute is over the making of pocket handkerchiefs for export to Borrioboola Gha, the League of Nations will intervene, and will bar the American flag from the marts of all the world until such time as Smith yields to his workmen's demands for an extra half-hour on Saturdays during the baseball season.

It is over such March Hare madness that the Peace Congress spends its time, when martyred humanity is pleading for peace and when every hour's delay makes the cost and the difficulty of peace-making the greater. By comparison, Nero was quite profitably and practically employed during the burning of Rome.

Significant in this connection is the fact that the new Democratic Party, which I joined at its foundation, secured no fewer than seventy-seven seats, thus holding the balance of power between the Socialists and the more conservative parties, preventing a purely Socialist Government.—*Count von Bernstorff*.

Significant, indeed!

The Sinn Fein Comedy

OUR old friend Ben Trovato used to tell of the boast of an Irish Revolutionist of former days:

"We've half a million brave lads, all armed and drilled, ready to drive the bloody Saxons into the sea!"

"Then why don't you do it?"

"Faith, the police won't let us!"

To-day, so far as all indications are concerned, the police *will* let them, and yet they don't do it. They have gathered in the historic Dublin Mansion House. Almost within the shadow of hated Dublin Castle they have met. They have refused to sit in the Imperial British Parliament, to which they were elected. Instead, they have organized themselves and some others into an Irish Parliament. They have proclaimed the independence of Ireland. They have raised the Sinn Fein flag in place of the Union Jack. They have drafted the outline of a Constitution for the Irish Republic. They have, in brief, done pretty much everything they could think of to rouse the police, the R. I. C., the British army itself, against them for sedition, if not for high treason. They have done so when the waning of the great war releases British troops for service, if needed, elsewhere than on the Continent. And yet Dublin Castle and Westminster itself give no sign. Apparently the Lord Lieutenant, the Chief Secretary, and all the rest of the Sassenachs are not yet aware that Ireland has seceded from the United Kingdom.

Is that astounding inertia of the powers that be, we wonder, the cause of the languishing of the revolution? Just because the police now will let them do whatever they please, short of breaking heads on College Green, is that the reason why the Sinn Fein Republic delays forcible expulsion of the last representative of the imperial Government? The question is to be asked in all seriousness. We can imagine that an attempt by Dublin Castle forcibly to prevent the assembling of the Sinn Fein Parliament, or after its meeting to

apprehend those who took part in it, would have raised a tremendous pother, in which the Irish separatists would have appeared to their sympathizers as the victims of brutal oppression. But for the Government to take no notice of their doings, and to let them go on playing at secession to their hearts' content, quite unmolested—why that (if an English phrase may be adopted for an Irish application) "isn't cricket"! It was another betrayal of faith, second only in heinousness to that of Limerick, for them to refrain from coercion. How can the most fervid Sinn Feiner inveigh against the tyranny of the Saxon, when the Saxon declines to tyrannize?

It may well be that this is the shrewdest policy that the British Government could possibly adopt. Thus far, at any rate, it seems to be working splendidly. Of course, there is a question as to how far it can be carried, and how long the Sinn Fein flag can be kept flying. Also, we may wonder, with a certain avidity of anticipation, how the thing will end, and with what grace Dublin Castle will reassert itself—if it does? But we need not worry over these things. Sufficient unto the day is the paradox thereof. To-day the world enjoys the double paradox of Irish resistance to tyranny languishing because there is no tyranny to resist, and of Saxon despotism over Ireland maintaining itself against a revolution simply by refraining from being despotic. Napper Tandy can no longer lament that "they're hanging men and women for wearing of the green"; in which case it seems scarcely worth while to wear the green.

Whatever comes of it, we shall hope for its settlement by the powers-that-be within the limits of the United Kingdom, without dragging in poor old Uncle Sam. We notice that the new kingdom of the Hedjaz wants us to establish a protectorate over it; one or two German Bolshevik republics have asked the same, and there seems to be an inclination to have us undertake every little odd job in all the world. Of course, we don't want to shirk any duty to humanity. But we do hope that some way will be found out of this latest and most extraordinary Irish dilemma, without our having to intervene, first to "sic" the police upon the Irish revolutionists and then to deplore the brutality of the Sassenach hirelings. We really have some fish of our own to fry.

An Eye-Witness of "Kultur"

MR. GRANT SQUIRES of New York did the country a genuine service the other day when he gave the Senate Propaganda Committee the benefit of some of his observations in Belgium during the early period of the war. As a representative of the relief committee Mr. Squires was peculiarly qualified to see and to know precisely what the Huns did during that period of unrestrained barbarism. The fact that he remained silent during the last three years and that he recounted his experiences, with evident horror, only when requested to do so, tends to add weight to his words.

It is of particular importance that our memories be refreshed on certain phases of German Kultur just at this time when mealy pacifists and adroit German agents are attempting, with no small degree of success, to make the country forget the horrors perpetrated by the Huns.

Mr. Squires gave no hearsay evidence. He told only what he had seen. He was in Belgium as a disinterested worker and not for the purpose of collecting information concerning the activities of the German degenerates. He testifies as follows:

I saw cities leveled to the ground, civilian populations driven out of their homes with the butts of rifles, old men and women brained because they did not work fast enough to suit their new rulers in the baking of bread. I saw places where babies were crucified on the doors of houses.

I have seen mothers bring to me their babies to give them food, which I could not give them, because it was not possible to carry it around in quantities to feed a thousand or two thousand in a town. I have seen the insults of the German soldiery, mostly drunkards, visited on women whom they met in the streets.

It is to be regretted that the testimony cannot be printed in full, but the following colloquy between Senator Nelson and Mr. Squires is indicative of his general observations:

Senator Nelson—And they crucified children?

Mr. Squires—I have had places pointed out to me by fathers who had been crazed by the sight of their children hanging on door bells the night before. One man took me up to a door and showed me the nail points in the door where his little baby had been nailed the night before because the baby got in the way of the German guard of four or five men and in some way hindered their passage; one of the men snatched up the baby and held it up against the door, probably in their drunkenness, nailed it up against the door, and it was dead in five minutes, I suppose.

Senator King—You did not see the child?

Mr. Squires—No. The child was not permitted to remain there more than a minute or two after the soldiers went on. I know it is very difficult to believe these stories, gentlemen, and that is one reason why I hesitate to tell them—because I am met by the perfectly respectful questioning attitude of Senator King—if that is your name, Sir; but I have seen all that I have told you myself.

Senator Nelson—Are there many of those towns and villages in Belgium that have been razed to the ground?

Mr. Squires—Not so many completely razed. Many of them have been partially razed, notably Louvain. Louvain was destroyed to a degree for an offense committed, I am told, by the daughter of the Mayor of the city, who was entertaining the first incoming general officers of the German Army that were occupying Louvain. I verified this as far as possible when the events were only a few days old by speaking with some who were present.

It seems the incoming generals were being entertained by the Burgomaster in his home. He called upon his daughter to bring in some cigars and light wine for the guests. While she was bringing in the cigars and wine one of the officers offered her an insult, which she did not note at the time or make any reference to, but during the evening word of it came to the brother of the young woman, whereupon, with less consideration than he should have had for his father's guest, he went in and shot the man dead in the presence of the other German officers. Whereupon they left the office of the Mayor, and the next day the section of the town where the Mayor's office was, and where the family resided, was burned—about one-third of the city, including the university and the Town Hall. The handsome section of Louvain was destroyed that day. There has been no other explanation given for the destruction; it was the penalty for the offense committed against those visiting German officers.

Senator Nelson—My recollection is that they afterward killed the woman in the case.

Mr. Squires—I do not know.

It would be well if the testimony of Mr. Squires and others could be stamped in bold characters on the walls of the Conference Room in Paris. We might then hope for the consummation of a peace based upon the immutable laws of justice and security.

WASHINGTON, Jan. 24.—Latest reports received at the State Department concerning the activities of Pancho Villa indicate that the Mexican bandit has embraced the Bolshevik doctrine.

—The Sun.

Clever chap! Looking for recognition, to a certainty.



The Wrong Man



the Wrong Horse

The Week

WASHINGTON, January 30, 1919.

FIVE major resolutions were adopted by the Peace Congress at its second open session. Of these, two were pertinent and practical, two were semi-pertinent and semi-practical, and one was questionable.

We could not too highly and strongly commend the appointment of a commission to determine the responsibility of the authors of the war, and the punishment to be imposed for the crimes which were committed. That is one of the primary, essential, and fundamental things which the Peace Congress was summoned to do. It is one of the very first things which should be done. Particularly commendable is it that the resolution calls for determination of the degree of criminal responsibility which attaches not merely to Germany as a nation but to "individuals, however highly placed." That means William Hohenzollern, Tirpitz, and other miscreants of that kidney. It would be a mockery of justice to make peace without providing for the punishment of the criminals of the war; while to let the Hohenzollern go unscathed on the ground that he acted not as an individual, but as the sovereign head of a state, would be to kowtow to the damnable old doctrine of "divine right" in its most offensive and criminal form.

Equally praiseworthy is the appointment of a commission on reparation, with its triple task; to determine what indemnity the criminal belligerents ought to pay, how much they can pay, and how they should be made to pay it. The theoretical answers to these questions must be, of course, that they should pay every cent of loss which any country has suffered and every cent of expense to which any has been put, because of them; that they can pay at least at the rate at which they have been spending money for their own war expenses; and that they should be made to pay in whatever form and time will enable us to exact the largest possible amount from them.

Far more than any League of Nations, immeasurably more, it would make for peace to send William Hohenzollern and his aids to the scaffold, and to make the German people hewers of wood and drawers of water for the next generation. There would be a lesson of justice and of righteousness that all the world would heed.

The commission on the international control of ports, waterways and railroads may in some measure be pertinent and practical; though we are by no means persuaded that it is of sufficient importance to warrant the taking up of time and attention in the presence of so much graver issues. The disposition of the Dardanelles and Bosphorus and of the Kiel Canal will doubtless be determined in the peace treaty, and would be without the appointment of any such commission. If it be intended to consider the surrender of the Panama Canal and the harbor of New York to international control, we should advise the commission to go a-fishing instead. It would be more profitable.

Much the same is to be said of the commission on labor legislation. It is possible that conditions of labor might be ameliorated by some sort of international action, in some small degree. That the really important issues could thus

be effectively dealt with we do not for a moment believe; and we do not think that the things which could be done are pertinent to the making of a peace treaty, or are of sufficient importance to justify their taking up the time of the Peace Congress. We cannot, of course, suspect that the subject has been injected into the Congress as a bit of camouflage, to ingratiate the workingmen of the world with the idea that the Peace Congress is planning to do something for them, for that would be altogether unworthy of so serious and august a body, beside being a very foolish attempt to deceive those who cannot be thus deceived.

The fifth resolution was the first in the order in which they were adopted by the Congress. It is a true saying that the first shall be last. We have already expressed our opinion of the League of Nations scheme, and find nothing in last Saturday's action to alter it in the slightest, unless to strengthen and confirm it. There can, of course, be no objection to the nations entering into a treaty agreement "to promote international obligations and provide safeguards against war." They have done so several times before; notably at The Hague in 1899 and 1907; providing the "permanent organization and secretaries" which are now called for as though they were a brand new invention. We shall not undertake to forecast all the details of the plan which the committee will elaborate, save to this extent: Either it will provide for a mere revamping of the pious aspirations of The Hague treaties, which will no more assure eternal peace than they did, or it will call for an infringement and renunciation of national sovereignty which no independent nation ought to endure and to which the United States will never for a moment consent.

An interesting suggestion concerning pertinence was given to the Congress by President Wilson, which might well be heeded by some members of that body. He was asked to urge the Congress to include woman suffrage in its agenda, and declined, on the proper and praiseworthy ground that this international conference had no business to dictate to the several states what their internal policy should be. That was admirable; worthy of the President at his best. But on that same ground it is difficult to see what business the Congress has to meddle with some questions which have already actually been brought before it.

The British plan for a League of Nations is said to comprise seven principal points, as follows:

1.—*Formation of a Court to settle disputes.* Query: Wherein will that differ from the court already established at The Hague?

2.—*Board to handle world labor questions.* Query: What "world labor questions" are there calling for so portentous treatment?

3.—*Pledge to guide and aid new states.* Query: Does that mean that America must be the protector of the Jugo-Slavs?

4.—*Temporary exclusion of the Central Powers.* Remark: "Thou sayest an undisputed thing in such a solemn way!"

5.—*Public opinion to enforce edicts.* Query: In what way is it to be made any more effective than it already is?

6.—*Cancellation of all incompatible treaties.* Query: Is no nation to have a right to make a treaty with another without the approval of the League?

7.—*Solution of the disarmament problem.* Suggestion: Why not also solve the problems of squaring the circle, perpetual motion, and the fourth dimension?

With these exceptions, the scheme appears to be a pretty good one.

There is doubtless reason for the warning of the Peace Congress to various peoples, not to go grabbing all the territory they think they are entitled to, in advance of decisions of the Congress awarding it to them. At the same time there is some reason for the impatience of some of those peoples with the delay of the Congress in passing upon such matters. Posen and Schleswig present cases in point. They have been German territory. It is expected that they will be awarded to Poland and Denmark, respectively. But in advance of action by the Peace Congress there has been a general election in Germany, and it was also desired to hold one in Poland. Now what should the people of those provinces have done? Voted at the German election as German subjects, with a prospect that presently they would be separated from Germany? Should the Poles of Posen have voted in the German election and have refused to vote in the Polish? The situation is a trying one, and suggests the need of settling the real issues of the war promptly, instead of talking interminably upon all sorts of irrelevant topics.

Every day that passes makes it more certain that a special session of Congress will have to be called immediately after March 4. That will be because it will be physically impossible for the present Congress to dispose satisfactorily of the work which it has on hand within the brief time now left to it. It has before it a large number of measures of the greatest importance, including not only all the appropriation bills, but also the largest tax bill and the largest deficiency loan in our history, the wheat problem, the railroad problem, the shipping problem, the Census bill, and a variety of other matters. These must all be attended to at the earliest possible date, and there is no hope that Congress will be able to do so before March 4, unless by hurrying and slighting them in a manner which would be a monstrous betrayal of national interests. The President is known to be strongly opposed to a special session, yet he may have to endure the reflection that he is himself partly responsible for the need of it. Had he remained in Washington during one of the most important sessions Congress has ever held, he might have been able to urge greater expedition of public business and to get everything finished satisfactorily by March 4. But he preferred to go abroad, and in consequence there will have to be a special session. We do not ourselves regret the necessity, but rather welcome it, for it seems to us that it is eminently desirable for a Congress accurately representing the American people to be in session simultaneously with the Peace Congress and with the appearance of the resulting treaty.

Pending legislation at Washington for the restriction of immigration deserves very careful consideration. There can

be no question that our laws have hitherto been too lax and that they need revision. It might be well absolutely to prohibit immigration from Germany, for a term of years. Huns have given us enough trouble here, and have too much abused our hospitality. Let them stay at home and work like slaves to pay the indemnity which they owe the civilized nations. Prohibition of all immigration, however, would be a very different matter, which should not be adopted rashly. Doubtless the government should have ample power to protect us from being flooded with excessive immigration, but it should also be able to admit such numbers as we may actually need. If it be true that foreign governments are planning to solve their unemployment problems by dumping their surplus labor wholesale upon our shores, and that multitudes of German war prisoners are intending to flock to America as soon as they are released, it ought not to take Congress long to devise and to provide measures for blocking all such games.

There ought to be no hesitation in approving the action which is promised by Representative Gillett, to move for the exclusion of Victor Berger from the House of Representatives. We might overlook the fact that he was under indictment for disloyal acts at the time of his election, for innocent men have at times been indicted and afterward fully acquitted. But this person has since had a particularly free and careful trial, in which every possible opportunity was afforded for him to defend himself against the damning charges which were made against him. But he could not exculpate himself, the charges were fully sustained and proved, and he was found guilty.

Representative Moon, of Tennessee, certainly has the courage of his convictions. In questioning Mr. Reynolds, vice-president of the Postal Telegraph Cable Company, at a committee hearing, he intimated by query that he had been "treasonable." Mr. Reynolds, of course, resented this; whereupon Mr. Moon sought to vindicate his aspersion with, "Well, you were disloyal to Mr. Burleson!" Apparently the Lunar Version of the Constitution reads: *Treason against the United States shall consist in refusing to lick the boots of the Politicalmaster-General.*

No more contemptible, ungrateful, and dishonest act was ever committed by any body calling itself a government than that of the Bolsheviks in repudiating the ante-war debt of Russia to France. It would be dishonest to repudiate a debt contracted for war purposes. It was simply infamous to deal thus with one which was contracted for railroad building and other industrial and commercial development in Russia, and which was owing not to great capitalists, but to the peasants and working folk of France. If Lenine and Trotzky had never committed any other crimes, that one act would be enough to rule them and their "government" out of consideration by honest men.

A "Non-Partisan League" in North Dakota is seeking to establish a comprehensive system of State Socialism in that progressive commonwealth. Evidently it doesn't want the Federal government to get ahead of it.

We Defend Josephus

WE have no sympathy with the assaults upon Josephus Daniels because he advocated building "incomparably the greatest navy in the world." Especially do we deplore the particularly bitter attack of the *Washington Post* upon Josephus in this connection. In this, to be sure, the *Post* merely follows the traditional policy of Washington newspapers. They always stand by the President. If they have occasion to castigate the Chief Magistrate they invariably do it over somebody else's shoulders. The *Post* in larping Josephus on this occasion is only true to form. This loyalty to the Washington tradition is particularly noticeable in the case of the *Post*. It has no reason for partiality to President Wilson. On the contrary, were it capable of small resentments, it might even hold the President in especial disesteem. It might reciprocate the disesteem which the President has for the *Post*, which, by Presidential order, is rigorously excluded from all access to the White House.

So, while we admit that the *Post* is in a way magnanimous in making the Secretary of the Navy suffer vicariously for the sins of his Master, we none the less feel that an injustice is done to Mr. Daniels. When he threatened Great Britain with a bigger navy than her own unless she obeyed the Fourteen Commandments with respect to international disarmament and the precious League of Nations reverie, he was only doing as he was told. He said distinctly that he demanded the big navy as the result of conversations he had had with the President before the latter left his post of duty to go on his foreign travels. The President, Mr. Daniels said, was in full accord with the big navy idea, or, shall we say, threat? And if that assertion were not sufficient evidence of Mr. Daniels's individual non-responsibility for the bigger-navy-than-yours menace to Great Britain, we have the further authority of a wireless telegram which the President permitted to be sent from the *George Washington* while en route to France. That telegram is as follows:

It is said that President Wilson holds that all the Powers must make sacrifices if they sincerely desire a just peace. The nations must follow the policy of "giving in," in the interests of such a peace. Should the present world policy of competitive armaments be continued, the United States could do no more than hold its share.

Now this in itself ought to be conclusive as exonerating Josephus. It contains the germ of the threat which Josephus, obeying orders in his own way, translated into terms, cruder perhaps, but much franker. In fact Josephus, when he appeared before the House Naval Affairs Committee, carried his frankness to a point all but pathetic in its artlessness. In the course of his remarks he almost reached the limit of touching simplicity when he made this statement:

It is the most powerful argument in the hands of the President towards securing a limitation of armaments to permit him to go to the Peace Conference with the assurance that the United States is prepared to build a navy bigger than any in the world unless the nations agree to limit naval armaments.

A shade of doubt as to the diplomatic tactfulness of this observation seems to have crossed Josephus' mind after he had thought it over a little. At all events, he requested that it be excluded from the printed record. But after all it did not much matter. It authoritatively "spilled the beans," to be sure, but they had been spilled anyway so far as the world

at large was concerned. The bigger navy threat was in itself so raw and crude a bluff that it imposed upon nobody. Naturally it caused some anger in Great Britain on the score of its preposterous offensiveness, coming, as it did, just when England and London was giving President Wilson a reception that both in its elaborate formalities and spontaneous popular warmth surpassed any similar demonstration over a foreign visitor ever known before.

But why blame Josephus for it? If President Wilson chooses to entrust matters requiring delicate diplomatic handling to a rough-and-ready old tar like Josephus, let the President take the blame when the old salt makes a hash of it, as he naturally would. Josephus was simply obeying the orders of his superior officer. He obeyed them literally and according to his deadlights. He even put the required Presidential string on the demand for the biggest navy in the world. He attached the proviso that the President could at any time arrest the letting of additional navy contracts if armaments were limited by the Peace Conference. This served two purposes. It put additional strength into the disarmament club the President could swing at the Conference, and, above all, it practically confirmed and reaffirmed the broad general principle, so long tacitly accepted at Washington, that all Government authority, Legislative as well as Executive, is and of right ought to be solely in the hands of the President.

We can not stand silent while the fine record Secretary Daniels made during the war is smirched, as it has been smirched, by attacks growing out of this really harmless, even if intricately asinine, bluff about the big navy. With a patriotism and a self-knowledge to the highest degree commendable, Secretary Daniels entirely effaced himself during the war. He let those who knew their business do the work. He was contented with the mere absorption of the glory. And glory there was and to spare. The record of our Navy during the war is up to the highest standards and traditions of that splendid branch of our armed service. And during all that trying time Josephus Daniels was Secretary of the Navy, winning the everlasting gratitude and the deserved applause of his countrymen by scrupulously refraining from having anything to do with the control of the Navy's affairs.

And now he is being assailed because he again effaced himself and obeyed literally the orders of his superior officers!

With due respect to all officialdom, and especially all bureaucrats, have we not had more than enough of this sort of thing? What is there sacred about the persons or the offices of Albert Sidney Burleson and John Skelton Williams? Is it too much to expect that in the fulness of time some real American Democrat will appear at Washington with an oratorical club heavy enough to subdue these upstarts?—*The World*.

Tut, tut, Mr. Cobb! You may yet be recalled to Paris to shake the hand that shook the hand of John L. Sullivan.

The opposition to Mr. Mann has exerted itself strongly in the last three weeks, following the publicity given to the gift of beefsteaks and a horse to Mr. Mann by packing interests. These disclosures of themselves did not make Mr. Mann unavailable, for nobody charged that the gifts affected Mr. Mann's official judgment or integrity.—*The Sun*.

We would not stress the point, but is it not axiomatic that acceptance of gifts implies at least congenial association?

General Crowder Reprimanded

BARRING only the shameful treatment of Leonard Wood, no conspiracy hatched at the War Department has been quite so petty in its inception or so contemptible in its inception as the attempt made to smirch the service record of Major General Enoch Crowder.

All the circumstances leading up to General Crowder's reprimand need not be recounted at this time. They are too small to be of any value whatsoever—except possibly to instance the kind of elements which compose any politics.

A year ago, when the war machine was wabbling from bad to worse, General Crowder realized that the country would be impotent in the war until the nation's man power was mobilized to the limit for industrial and military purposes. Thereupon he prepared and submitted to the War Department the most comprehensive military and industrial draft plan that was ever outlined in this or any other country.

The plan has never been published. It probably never will be published unless Congress demands it. The American Federation of Labor exerted tremendous power to stop its execution and the War Department refused to approve it. Labor was against it because it would destroy labor's license to maintain exorbitant wages. The War Department opposed it because the mismanaged jumble which Mr. Baker called a war machine, at that time, could not digest it.

But the demand for a universal draft became so great that General Crowder was called before the Senate Committee, and he then exposed the inexorable and immediate need for enlarged man power, although Mr. Baker and General March, as their testimony showed, took an opposite view of the situation. But General Crowder's advice was followed, eventually, and the great army which shattered the Huns' morale became a reality. The men were called months and months after General Crowder urged that they be called and in not nearly so great number, but nevertheless his foresight availed, at least to a degree. None who has the slightest conception of military affairs now doubts that the spectacle of millions about to be trained in America, already listed for service, exerted a tremendous influence on the German yellow streak.

General Crowder's patriotism was his undoing. The War Department—Mr. Baker and General March—could no more abide his "activities" than those of General Wood. But thus far he had done nothing that could be used as an excuse for "discipline."

Realizing that men over 31 years of age should not be taken directly from civil life and submitted to the kind of rigorous physical work that younger men could stand, lest their unaccustomed constitutions be undermined, General Crowder prepared a set of suggestions for older men to the end that they might prepare themselves gradually before entering the army.

Officers in his department caused to be circulated a few simple suggestions concerning physical exercises and mode of life that might be followed during the weeks or months preceding their induction into the service. The suggestions were so simple and were so full of common sense that they were gladly availed of by men who expected to be taken into the new armies. General Crowder's idea was not the result of

guess work—nor was it any vagarious notion. He realized too well the necessity of "hardening" men up gradually. He had received enough reports of physical breakdowns of younger men when subjected overnight to the inelastic army training.

General March ordered General Crowder to his office and severely reprimanded him for having encroached on the precincts of the general staff. The Provost Marshal General, in the opinion of General March, had committed a most severe offense against any discipline. It would be useless here to enter into a discussion of any law or any regulation to put aside the absurd position taken by the Chief of Staff. Of course, the Provost Marshal and none other was responsible for the men until they were actually sworn into the service. The Chief of Staff had no more authority over them than a messenger boy.

The reprimand was stamped on General Crowder's record. We do not know where the Secretary of War was at that time or what he was doing, but we do know that he did not as much as raise a hand to end the disgraceful performance.

General Crowder accepted the reprimand like the good soldier that he is. But a few of his intimates heard the facts, and they were horrified that at the end of 40 years of honorable service, this officer who had prepared, perfected and executed the mechanism for a draft which had done more than any other single thing in our history to make a great army possible, had been so treated.

They were reminded of the fact that during the blackest days of the war it was General Crowder who never erred, but quietly and efficiently consummated his great task while confusion was universal throughout the other parts of the War Department.

An appeal has been made to General March to wipe the blemish from the record. He has refused. The reprimand will become indelible. It will operate against General Crowder's promotion and at the end of the war he will revert to his rank as a brigadier.

Is it any wonder that General Crowder contemplates retiring from the army altogether, while General March is contemplating the prospect of being made a full permanent general, a rank held only by Washington, Grant, Sherman, and on his deathbed by Sheridan?

Lest we forget, it may be salutary to ponder again what our late Secretary of the Treasury said in the midst of the war as to Germany's plan to conquer the entire world, including this country, and to levy a tribute upon us alone of not less than \$125,000,000,000. Said Secretary McAdoo on June 4, 1917 (we quote from the *New York Times*):

Do you know what would happen if Germany should be victorious, as she would be if she could bring France and England to their knees? She would take the entire British and French fleets, release her own great fleet, which has been tied up in the Baltic during the war, and combining these with the most destructive submarine fleet on earth—because she has it—she would come here and put the iron heel of conqueror upon your shores. We should have to fall back to the interior, and there is no telling how long it would take to expel the enemy, if we ever did. If we couldn't do it promptly, do you know what would happen to America? We should have to make the most humiliating terms that any great nation ever made to get peace. We should have to pay an indemnity that would represent probably half the wealth of America, which is \$250,000,000,000, and you would have taxation upon your shoulders, to meet that indemnity, for a century to come.

The Western Way

WITH obviously scant regard for certain professional emanations and enunciations in the capitals of Europe, the sound common sense of the American people continues to furnish evidence that "America is not Bolshevik."

The State of Washington, the unfortunate scene of some of the most notable performances of the I. W. W.'s, and by some supposed to be in the front rank of radical commonwealths, has just placed itself on record as anti-Bolshevist to the limit. Some time ago the legislature of that State passed a measure known as the "criminal syndicalism bill," a measure which provides drastic penalties for the promotion of syndicalism, which it defines as consisting of doctrines advocating crime, sabotage, violence, or other unlawful methods of terrorism as a means of accomplishing industrial or political reform. The Democratic Governor of the State, Ernest Lister, at the instance of certain labor leaders, vetoed the bill.

No sooner has the legislature met this month than the measure was revived and passed over the Governor's veto by overwhelming majorities; in the House by a vote of 85 to 6, in the Senate by a vote of 37 to 5. By the terms of this measure the advocacy of syndicalism, either written or spoken, by an organization or an individual, assistance in the forming of such an organization, or attendance at a meeting of such organization, is made punishable by ten years' imprisonment, or a fine of \$5,000, or both. A like penalty is to be visited on those participating in any way at any such meeting of two or more persons, and only less drastic penalties are imposed on any person who lends, rents, or donates any hall, premises or place for such meetings. The chief opposition came from certain labor organizations and, of course, the I. W. W.'s, but how futile this opposition was is abundantly shown by the strength of the votes by which the Governor's veto was overruled. Thus the "wild and wooly West" is the first to register its affirmation that "America is no Bolshevik."

But the State of Washington is not alone in registering this affirmation. From Butte, Montana, reputed to be a hotbed of radicalism, socialistic labor unions and anarchical propaganda, comes word that the Butte Carpenters' Union has formally withdrawn from association with the Trades and Labor Assembly, giving as its reason for such action its conviction that this central body "is now controlled by radicals with Bolsheviki tendencies."

Keeping Faith

(From the New York Telegram)

The only fear is that in the multiplicity of matters to come up the main points (1), punishment of Germany and (2), restoration of France and Belgium, may be set back or at least minimized.

We must keep faith with our dead. This fact, which must never be lost sight of, is well put by Colonel Harvey in his WEEKLY.

Referring to the late Colonel Roosevelt, Mr. Harvey writes:

"With the poet of Flanders fields, his spirit may well cry to those who so long and so passionately loved his leadership:

"To you from falling hands we throw the torch;
Be yours to hold it high.

"In his own farewell words, publicly uttered only a few hours before his death, he said: 'There must be no sagging back in the fight for Americanism merely because the war is over.' We respond, with all reverence, with all possible sense of loss, but with all the indomitable resolution which he so superbly personified: There must be no sagging back in the fight for Americanism, not even because Theodore Roosevelt is dead.

"Remember that we keep faith with our dead.

"If ye break faith with us who die

"We shall not sleep, though poppies grow

"In Flanders fields."

It won't hurt any of us for a while to forget the grossly material, and solemnly keep faith.

"Through a slaughter house to an open grave," are the classic words of Henry Watterson, which we hereby commend to the thoughtful consideration of the leaders of the Republican party.

For Speaker: Beefsteak Jim?

The Fields of the Marne

(From "Yanks, a Book of A. E. F. Verse")

The fields of the Marne are growing green,
The river murmurs on and on;
No more the hail of mitrailleuse,
The cannon from the hills are gone.

The herder leads the sheep afield,
Where grasses grow o'er broken blade;
And toil-worn women till the soil
O'er human mold, in sunny glade.

The splintered shell and bayonet
Are lost in crumbling village wall;
No sniper scans the rim of hills;
No sentry hears the night bird call.

From blood-wet soil and sunken trench,
The flowers bloom in summer light;
And farther down the vale beyond,
The peasant smiles are sad, yet bright.

The wounded Marne is growing green,
The gash of Hun no longer smarts;
Democracy is born again,
But what about the troubled hearts?

—Frank Carbaugh, Sgt., Inf.

(Written while lying wounded in hospital, died August, 1918)

Letters From Our Readers

MISTREATING OUR WOUNDED SOLDIERS

SIR,—I have for some time intended to take up with you the awful conditions under which our wounded soldiers are being returned to their homes, but have deferred doing so, thinking that the Government would, without being prodded, realize the entire inadequacy of its facilities and would make an effort to better them; but as the Government does not seem to be conscious of the awful conditions, I am writing this letter to you, asking that you get after them with a view to bettering the conditions under which these wounded heroes are being sent home.

My wife has been interested in the Red Cross work, and it was while helping her at the Union Station Canteen that I have seen the things which cause me to write this letter.

In the first place, it appears that when the trainloads of wounded soldiers leave New York City, they are furnished with a so-called "twenty-four-hour ration," which, according to every officer with whom I have talked, is promptly thrown out of the window, due to the fact that there are no refrigerator facilities provided, with the result that the food would spoil if the officers in charge attempted to keep it. The soldiers are absolutely dependent upon the Red Cross Canteens on their trip from New York to San Francisco for the feeding of the patients, and that this condition should exist is about as ridiculous as any that I can imagine.

Please get this point: that the Government makes such an unintelligent effort to feed these returning wounded soldiers that not an ounce of the food that the Government furnishes is used. I suppose that Mr. Baker in his fatuous ignorance thinks that everything possible is being done for the comfort of these returned wounded soldiers of ours, when, as a matter of fact, the very hogs or cattle in a shipment from Wyoming to the Omaha market are very much better cared for than are these men who have left their blood, and, in many cases, parts of their bodies, in France in the great fight.

Trainloads of soldiers come through Omaha with wounded soldiers sleeping on the floors of the cars, and the officers in charge sleeping on chairs put together to form a bed.

The soldiers would actually starve were it not for the Red Cross Canteen service, which is advised of the arrival of these trainloads of wounded men and which meets the trains with good food and presents for the men.

You can imagine the feelings of the soldiers who have been fighting in dirt and filth for months to be met upon their return to their own country with such a display of indifference or inefficiency.

Our wounded men will be coming back for months, and I think it is high time that you take up your well-known gad and prod somebody in Washington into consciousness of the awful failure that the Government is making in caring for wounded men.

J. T. STEWART, 2ND.

Omaha, Neb.

AN IMPUDENT BURLESONIAN FRAUD

SIR,—I wonder if your attention has been called to an impudent fraud which is being perpetrated on the public in connection with the burlesonized telegraph service? If not, you may be disposed to publish the following facts in the only journal in the country which is exclusively devoted to the principle of self-determination for the American people.

Last night I handed in a night letter at a Western-Union-burleson office in Washington. As I had recently enjoyed the experience of having two prepaid telegrams out of six delivered to the addressee, I drew the receiving-clerk's attention to the fact that my address was given, and begged him to notify me if my night letter was not delivered, whereupon the following conversation ensued:

The Clerk: "That will be all right; we are not telegraphing the night letters to New York; we are sending them by mail. Thirty-five cents, please."

Myself: "You are going to send this telegram *by mail* and deliver it as mail?"

The Clerk: "That's so."

Myself: "And can you tell me why I should pay you thirty-five cents to deliver a letter when I can put a three-cent stamp on it and get the same result?"

The Clerk: "Well, that's the way it's being done these days."

Is it not a clear case of fraud—such as would land the poor, ordinary citizen in the penitentiary for obtaining money under false pretences—to take money in payment for a telegraphic service which, in fact, is not rendered?

A. I.

Washington, D. C.

ABSENTEE EXECUTIVES

SIR,—Your correspondent, Mr. O. C. Moore, has suggested a possible violation of law by President Wilson, and has written and quoted, in a very clear and interesting manner, in reference to Absentee Executives and the Law. There seems no question, from his letter, of the fact that the chief executive officer of Oklahoma may exercise no function of his office out of that State. Mr. Moore has doubtless informed himself of some of the differing conditions existing in other States. In the course of ordinary reference to law reports, it may be found that it has been declared that the Governor of Massachusetts has power to disapprove a measure, though he is at the time absent from the State and the Lieutenant-Governor is temporarily acting. (Opinion of Justices, 135 Mass. 594.)

In Louisiana it was held that an absence of twenty-one days at a short distance from the State did not vacate the office of the Governor, and the court held:

"The inability to discharge the duties of the office, *as well as the absence from the State*, spoken of in the article, are such as would affect injuriously the public interest." . . . "If the interests of the State should suffer in consequence of his prolonged absence, he would be amenable to public sentiment and to the control of the impeaching power of the State" (26 La. Ann 568, 21 Am. Decisions 551).

Perhaps neither you nor Mr. Moore would express a positive opinion that the absence of President Wilson in Europe is illegal, or that his acts, while there, are necessarily unofficial. Till you have reached such an opinion, there seems to be some danger of your impressing on your readers a belief which you do not yourselves hold.

JOHN L. HARRIS.

Rome, Georgia.

"A CHILD OF BATTLE"

SIR,—Noticing Mr. Theo. E. Knowlton's letter in your last issue reminded me that it was I who suggested his writing you in encouraging vein. Your WEEKLY has been one of the bright spots in life to us both during the recent trying period of American history. It should live. There is a sore need of a periodical on this side of the water to play the part in politics so effectively assumed by London *Punch* on the other.

The spice of your satire, the frankness of attack in your defense of principle, and, above all, the consistent attitude you have adopted and maintained against censorship for political reasons, places you seemingly under obligation to your country to render her this great service, which none can do so well as yourself.

I see no reason for change of name. The WAR WEEKLY designated the source of its conception and birth; a child of battle, militant it would remain, an open, fearless fighter for ideals without thought of expediency. Thank God you will still find some millions of people in this good country who are looking for that sort of literature!

KENDALL EMERSON.
(Major M. C., U. S. Army).

Washington, D. C.

THE CHRISTENING IS OVER

SIR,—I have read the WEEKLY since it began as an infant industry, with much pleasure and profit. We have had some notable and famous weeklies published in this country, but the promise is that the WEEKLY will eclipse them all; indeed, a most bright future.

This WEEKLY has had, all the while, the three cardinal virtues of informing, instructive, and corrective written thought, broadness, fairness and truthfulness.

I am very much gratified that its publication is continuing. There is so much necessary work for it to do. I note that its name is changed. I have not known of any publication which carries so thoroughly the impress of the Editor's personality, hence "May I not suggest that it be named 'Harvey's Weekly'?"

JOHN L. BRIDGERS.

Tarboro, N. C.

SHABBY TREATMENT

SIR,—My second son has just reached home after being discharged from the Naval Aviation Service of the U. S. When he volunteered he was sent from Oklahoma City to Seattle, Wash., for training, and sent from there to New Orleans to be discharged. When he received his discharge he was told that he would have to pay his way home, which he did out of the small sum which had been paid by the Government. He was not given any uniform or clothing of any kind by the Government, and when he got home he was about out of such things, as he only

took with him the suit he had on, thinking of course he would be supplied when he reached Seattle.

I hope the Government is not treating all its soldiers thus. But we are glad he got home alive, as his older brother is buried in France, and this seems more than his mother can bear up under. Canada, I see, is giving her soldiers three months' extra pay. Certainly the United States is as able as Canada.

Walters, Okla.

I. K. REVELLE.

CHRIST AND MR. WILSON

SIR,—I have the "price," but not the inclination to squander it upon the purchase of the last number of your alleged journal; but I just read a very humorous and pithy editorial apropos of your spleen toward the President published in the Scripps paper of this city, *Dallas Dispatch*. I had not quite understood your attitude until this editorial reminded me of the time the President said in so many words that he could endure your claimed good will toward him, but did not want you to make it public. Naturally, after this hard throw-down it would take a man with some mental courage to admit that the President might be right, now and then. I have sometimes thought that if Christ came back to earth at this particular time and agreed with the President, which I am sure He would do, you would make a rush for the box office to be sure of getting a ticket for the execution ceremonies. In reality, I don't think quite that hard of you, for that would show the same sort of spirit with which you seem to be animated.

However, I do not grow very angry at you any more, for I remember what another Colonel (Henry Watterson) said when speaking of another saviour, to wit, he advised his readers not to flatter him by giving him any attention, for he would soon degenerate into a common scold. And they did not, and he did. Henry is not so slow himself; and I consider him a man with fully as good a mental equipment as that possessed by your own good self, but who does not take himself as seriously, besides has the saving grace of humor.

I have always considered the venomous attacks against Mr. Wilson published in your would-be leaders of public opinion, accompanied by those obscene cartoons, as bordering very closely upon disloyalty; but no doubt Mr. Wilson considered you as being in the same class as our own "William" and did not care to dignify either one of you by too much attention. Wise man.

The purpose of this letter is to let you know how one loyal American feels toward your exhibitions of personal spite, party strife, and small-town politics. The reception Mr. Wilson is receiving abroad must be gall and wormwood to you.

Go on and sow for the harvest, and may you reap abundantly, good or evil, according to whether you are right or the majority of the population of the United States is right. In the natural order of things (which, of course, I would not be so unchivalrous as to hope might be soon) you will cease from afflicting a long suffering and bored public.

Dallas, Texas.

C. M. RORR.

SOUND SENSE FROM A VETERAN

SIR,—I received the other day a very interesting letter from a friend of mine who served as an officer in the Civil War, and I thought you might be interested in some of the views he expressed, as follows:

"It is constantly astonishing how in this world there is always something popping up to take the joy out of life. No sooner do I, in my mind, begin to get my breath used up in shouting over victory than I begin, like the rest of us, to be disturbed about the flavor of the fruits of victory. Why should we want to meddle about the Peace conditions? We went over to help our friends put out the fire. The fire is out, or anyhow it can easily be controlled by our 'Associates.' Then why on earth not come home and let them make repairs as they want them? And why hold on to all means of transportation and of information after the emergency has passed? The Armistice has surely put the unspeakable Hun within the power of his next door neighbors. And what on earth could be that 'paramount duty' which our Old Man claims drove him over to Versailles? Why should not he stick to the job he is hired for in the shop provided, instead of running up bills against the tax-payer for convoy fleets and triumphal processions?"

New York City.

H. B. JENNINGS.

FOR A MEMORIAL IN FRANCE

SIR,—I am in hearty accord with the sentiments expressed in the article entitled "National Memorials of National Deeds," in the WAR WEEKLY of December 14.

I have a suggestion to offer: Let America gather together the remains of her sons and daughters abroad who have given their lives for their country; then procure in France the necessary territory and build an enclosed cemetery with suitable monu-

ment that will stand for all time as a memorial for those who died for civilization.

Let the fund for this purpose be obtained by the collection of dollars, dimes, and cents, *from the whole people*.

Let the Governors of the various States be responsible for the collection of the fund and let the fund be of such a size as not only to permit of the building of the cemetery, but its maintenance forever.

To bring our dead heroes back after months have passed, and open anew the wounds in the hearts of those here would be a great mistake.

New York City.

A. T. ROSE.

"SKEERED" BUT HOPEFUL

SIR,—I was born on December Twenty-fifth, "of a Wednesday," as the Irishman puts it. I have an old patent-medicine almanac which says that people born there or thereabouts are "brusque and almost rude at times," and on that particular day there or thereabouts have a "warlike disposition." (Were you perchance born "there or thereabouts"?)

So, when I received yesterday the first WEEKLY, I missed the WAR mightily; missed it until I got into it, when I delightedly saw that your "war" is not over; that war and plenty of it will go on in the WEEKLY against humbug and hypocrisy.

So (again), in spite of the predictions of the patent-medicine almanac, I say no more now because I'm frankly "skeered," and I expect to remain "skeered" until after peace is formally proclaimed and until after March Fourth, 1921, when "government of the people, for the people and by the people" will again be resumed in these United States.

Santa Fe, N. M.

G. H. VAN STONE.

ANTISEPTIC

SIR,—It is perhaps very faint praise to say that Harvey's WEEKLY is free from the "Miss Nancy" air and method which seems to be the fashion with most of the present American weeklies, in their treatment of public affairs. Harvey's listens like a review for men, written by a man, instead of a bit from a young ladies' seminary. One of the things this world is suffering from is a great surplus of dreamers who think they are "idealistic," but who are in reality only afflicted with old-fashioned laziness and lack of sound common sense. Against their infection your WEEKLY is a good antiseptic and tonic.

WALTER CAMPBELL TAYLOR.

Brookline, Mass.

YOU MAKE US BLUSH

SIR,—I think more of your WEEKLY than everything else I own, receive, or expect to get on earth or hereafter. For God's sake keep it coming. I never got your last issue, and I enclose a check for a renewal. Whether my subscription has expired or not, date it ahead as much as the enclosed check pays for, and don't omit one single issue when mailing to me. I have every one issued, and would rather see a volume out of any set of books in my library taken away, never to be replaced, than to lose any one of your WEEKLIES.

JOHN H. CALDWELL.

Mammoth Springs, Arkansas.

SPREADING THE GOSPEL

SIR,—It is impossible to overstate the enjoyment and benefit which we have derived from the perusal of the WEEKLY. We are delighted to know that you intend to continue it, even at a great financial sacrifice. We shall try to do our part in spreading the gospel by increasing your subscription list.

Philadelphia.

IRA JEWELL WILLIAMS.

OPPORTUNITY FOR SERVICE

SIR,—I wish to thank you for your decision to continue the WEEKLY. Nothing of the kind has approached it during the last year, and I feel sure that the opportunities for service will be just as great during the coming period of reconstruction.

New Haven, Conn.

LOUIS E. STODDARD.

"A MOLDER OF OPINION"

SIR,—I consider that you selected a Republican Congress this Fall and that your paper is the greatest molder of public opinion in the country.

Washington, D. C.

AGNUS McNABB.

SATISFIED

SIR,—You beat 'em all picking a name. Long live THE WEEKLY!

Carrollton, Mississippi.

J. R. BINGHAM.

THE WEEKLY

BY GEORGE HARVEY

Continuing the North American Review's WAR WEEKLY

Four Dollars a Year.

Ten Cents a Copy.

VOL. 2

WEEK ENDING FEB. 8, 1919

NO. 6



"Water, Water, Everywhere."

—The Ancient Mariner.

An Open Letter

TO the Hon. George E. Chamberlain:

Sir,—We take the liberty of addressing you upon a matter of the utmost importance to our country and our soldiers, first, because you are Chairman of the Military Affairs Committee of the Senate and, secondly, because the people have learned from experience that they must look to you, and not to the War Department, for the truth.

Vicious rumors, as all know, follow invariably upon the conclusion, especially the successful conclusion, of a great war. Our recent experience, as you must be aware, affords no exception. Within a week after the armistice was signed hateful gossip held full sway in Paris and has since, with the return of troops, gained widespread circulation in this country. Until now we have scrupulously refrained from so much as hinting at happenings which bore a semblance of reality but whose mere mention might inflict grievous wrong upon individuals.

We do not speak now of loss of lives through failure to support untrained men sent into battle. General Foch lamented such proceedings at the outset and General Pershing attested the facts in his report. You yourself declared: "God only knows how many lives have been uselessly sacrificed by our unpreparedness." We assume that due inquiry will reveal the extent of and the necessity or lack of necessity for those losses.

But it is not the failure to provide for fighting that we have in mind; it is the fighting itself; the management of it; the orders for it; the cause of it.

Here is an example: The order was issued to cease firing at 11 o'clock on November 11. All officers in command were so informed hours before. Both the British and the French stopped fighting immediately. The Americans continued and necessarily the enemy opposed to them did likewise to the last minute. Not only was our artillery kept in action, but our infantry was sent over the top into a hell of machine-gun fire all that forenoon. Hundreds of lives were wantonly sacrificed to no military purpose whatever.

This is one of the stories we hear and we believe it to be true. The Associated Press reported the American action at the time, but the information attracted no attention because it was taken for granted that the British and the French were also engaged. It seems that they were not.

Why the Americans alone? For what reason? By whose orders? For whose benefit?

Replying to a charge to this effect from Governor Allen of Kansas, the Secretary of War produced figures showing that the percentage of losses "from the time of landing in France till November 7" was not excessive. That was like him.

What about *after* November 7? *What about November 11?* *Why should a single life have been sacrificed, a single shot fired, on that last morning?*

The country, sir, must know; the fathers and mothers of those brave lads who went to certain death must know; you alone have the authority and the courage to get and to give the facts.

The Count and the Colonel

MARK TWAIN used to say that he derived one of his chief enjoyments in life from perusal of the notices which followed the "grossly exaggerated" reports of his death. Others have had similar experiences with consequences less gratifying to their vanity. We recall one in particular of "a venerable editor" whose untimely taking-off was erroneously attributed to the recalcitrancy of a motor-car. The latest and most interesting for the moment at least is that of Colonel Edward Makepeace House, our whispering super-ambassador, now gravely engaged in Paris, with his brother-in-law and son-in-law, in fixing ethical boundaries for cannibal islands.

Who started the rumor that the Colonel had passed unobtrusively away nobody seems to know. Some think it was the jealous creel, but the only evidence to that effect as yet adduced is that it wasn't so; which we regard as hardly sufficient. In any case, the story was published on the Continent and fell under the watchful eyes of Count von Bernstorff, the former German ambassador at Washington, through whom we were accustomed to transmit birthday greetings to the Kaiser while we were still neutral in our thoughts.

The Count was so deeply affected that he summoned the Geneva correspondent of the *Tageblatt* forthwith and paid suitable tribute to the happily undeceased.

"No more honest pacifist ever existed," said Count von Bernstorff. "He was just the man to fight for Wilson's peace programme. He hated war because he considered it contrary to human ideals. He considered the war profiteers a most despicable lot, and never bought any munition stocks.

"He told me repeatedly he had just as energetically protested in London against the British blockade as the U-boat war, and couldn't believe either method would lead to a decision. The result would be nameless hatred, neutralizing all efforts for peace. I, as a German, must admit that House was quite correct in much he said in this respect.

"The war psychosis spoiled many honest people's judgment, but I can't believe that House looked at the peace problem from a different point of view previously. He was too matter-of-fact, too passionless. We may, therefore, assume that he stood for peace, justice and an international league till the last moment.

"The supreme cause of conciliation among nations loses in House its staunchest champion. I deeply deplore that I did not see this dear friend once more, and that he did not live to see the perfection of his grand ideas."

What gratified the former Ambassador most was the Colonel's "earnest collaboration" at the time "when President Wilson proclaimed his programme of peace without victory," and it is upon that meeting of minds, it is understood, that he hopes again to be welcomed in Washington when the tiresome peace settlements shall have been made.

The precise value placed by Colonel House himself upon his dear friend's touching appreciation has not yet spluttered over the Burleson cables, but one gazing upon the symbolic portrayal of the episode elsewhere presented can readily imagine a fervent repetition of the famous Garfield phrase:

"God . . . reigns, and the Government at Washington still lives!"

At Paris, of course, we mean.

When, a few days ago, Mr. Edward L. Doheny, President of the Mexican Petroleum Company, reached the conclusion that his concern required protection, he set sail for Paris to submit his case to the Peace Conference, saying: "British and American mining and petroleum interests will present a united front at the Peace Conference, demanding peace and justice in Mexico." That seemed natural enough, but for some reason or other Acting Secretary of State Polk took offense. "Mr. Doheny," he remarked bitterly, "assured me when he applied for a passport that he was not going to Paris for any purpose other than that of the legitimate business of his oil company. It looks to me as if the State Department had been made a victim of bad faith." But what could the rich man do? The United States would not protect his property, so where could he go except to the hatching League? It may be, too, that he wanted to get closer to certain gentlemen who are better informed than Mr. Polk respecting the amount of his contribution to the Democratic campaign fund. Possibly Mr. Doheny has views of his own as to what constitutes "bad faith."

The German Colonies

FROM one point of view, though not a worthy one, it might be regarded as no business of ours if Great Britain does permit herself to be led into the German trap, in the disposition of the former German colonies. The "internationalizing" plan is commonly described as President Wilson's, presumably because he has made himself the insistent advocate of it, and it may be that he does imagine himself to be its author. He is in fact no more its author than he is the real author of the Fourteen Commandments which bear his name, at least thirteen of which were, at his solicitation, suggested to him by British authorities. The scheme is notoriously of German origin, and is a peculiarly adroit bit of Hunnish propaganda, with the three-fold object of disintegrating the hated British Empire, of creating dissension among the Allies, and of keeping a door open for the return of her lost colonies to Germany.

It might, then, be regarded as no business of ours if Great Britain were inveigled into repeating the disastrous blunder of a hundred and fifty-five years ago. In the Seven Years French and Indian War the British colonies of America conquered for the empire the French colonies of the Northwest. They naturally expected to receive those colonies as their reward. But the London government of the day with stubborn stupidity refused to let them have what they had won, and thus caused a discontent and resentment which went far toward provoking the Revolution of a dozen years later. We do not say that like causes will now produce like results. We do say that the historical example is pertinent and worthy of British consideration. From a more worthy point of view than that which we have suggested, we should regret to see the parallel completed.

We should regret still more to see caused in the Peace Congress the dissension and dissatisfaction which this Hunnish device is calculated to provoke. It would be bad enough to have Australia, New Zealand and South Africa estranged from the United Kingdom. It would be worse to have those great republics feel that the United States had been a party to the imposition of a grievance upon them. They know how jealous we are of our Monroe Doctrine, and how we should resent the interposition of any foreign powers in the control or disposition of territories adjacent to our own. They know what we would surely have said and done if at the end of the Spanish war there had been a proposal for "internationalization" of Cuba and Porto Rico under the auspices of a European League of Nations. They consider that they have the same right to a corresponding Doctrine of their own, and to a similar control of the adjacent territories which they have conquered and upon the disposition of which their own tranquility and security so largely depend.

Nor is the danger merely that those Dominions will be aggrieved and alienated. There are other Powers, outside of the British Empire, which have a peculiar concern in the disposition of conquered territories adjacent to their own. They may be so complacent and altruistic as to accept without demur alien interference with what they regard as their natural rights, but we have our doubts. Moreover, if there should be such superficial acquiescence, the chances against its long enduring would be overwhelming. There are many examples of such international control of territories in the modern history of the world, but we cannot recall one which has not led to friction and disagreement. We certainly know of no reason to expect the experiment now proposed to succeed where so many others failed.

Worst of all, perhaps, at least from a selfish point of view, would it be to have the United States involved in interminable wranglings over the control of alien and distant regions. We have a keen and by no means agreeable recollection of several other occasions in which this country was inveigled into being a party to international control of territory, of every one of which the result was unsatisfactory, unpleasant, and even dangerous in its menace of war. We entered into such a compact with two other powers in Hawaii, and had practically to threaten each of them with war. We did so again in Samoa, and again were brought to the very verge of war. It would be folly to make another such experiment, with a dozen or twenty partners instead of two. The more there were, the greater would be the danger of misunderstanding and bickerings and animosity.

We must gravely doubt the wisdom of any such scheme of international control of territories, or of the mandatory scheme, which has notoriously worked so badly in a number of recent cases. We can have no doubt whatever of the potential mischief of involving the United States in any such mad performance. We could not, of course, be committed to it save with the consent of the Senate, and it is unimaginable that that body should ever so betray the welfare of the nation. But it would be greatly deplorable to have our representatives at the Peace Congress lead the other Powers to suppose that there was a possibility of adoption of the scheme.

The League of the "Big Five"

MR. DAVID LAWRENCE'S exposition in the *Evening Post* of the scheme of a League of Nations is now before us in exquisite clarity and indubitable authenticity, and we are enabled to know what has hitherto been hidden from us by the Presidential veil of publicity-loving secrecy. That it provokes great surprise cannot sincerely be affirmed, though it may be that an emotion of grateful relief will be felt by many, and a certain degree of depression and disappointment by a few.

This revelation is in seven chapters, reverently contenting itself with half the number of the Commandments. The first assures us that the purposes of the League are to be affirmative for good and negative for bad; to which doubtless pretty much everybody will give hearty approval. It is a pious and a noble thing to exhort the world: All men be good, and nobody be bad. And if, according to the second chapter, representatives of the nations are periodically to get together to talk things over, that too is quite commendable. It will give some peripatetic patriots pleasant holidays, and probably will do no harm. There must, of course, be a place of meeting, and the third chapter of the Book of Revelations informs us that it will be at one of four places: Geneva, Gibraltar, Constantinople, or The Hague, with odds in the betting on Gibraltar. To that we must mildly demur. Each one of those four places belongs to somebody, and we really do not know of any spot that is more likely to persist in belonging exclusively to somebody than is the famous Rock. It seems to us that the League should meet on neutral ground, or water. Why not, therefore, put the Ford Peace Ship into commission again, as just about the most neutral—not to say neuter—thing in the world, as the meeting place of the League?

There is, we are further told, to be a permanent secretariat. Of course. The first thing done in organizing anything, whether a League of Nations or a corporation for the extraction of sunbeams from cucumbers, is to appoint a secretary, at a good salary. We have known several concerns, with names four times as long as that of the League of Nations, whose sole reason for existence seemed to be to pay a fat salary to a secretary of elegant leisure. Of course, however, that does not apply to the present project, the Permanent Secretariat of which will doubtless be very busy and very useful; perhaps as busy and as useful as the Secretariat of the League of Nations which has for many years been in being at The Hague, but the existence of which seems now to be forgotten.

In the fifth chapter we begin to get down to brass tacks. Here it is disclosed to us what will happen in case of trouble between two nations. Each, we are solemnly assured, will have the right to choose any one of three methods of settlement: Direct mutual diplomacy; recourse to The Hague tribunal; or special arbitration. Really, there should be a foot note informing us when nations have not had the right to choose one of those methods. As we recall it, they have been enjoying that right and employing those methods for many years. Is a brand new League of Nations necessary for assuring us that hereafter the sun shall rise in the east and set in the west?

But what if some naughty, naughty nation declines to adopt one of these three courses? Why then it will be declared to have broken the rules of the game, and all the others will apply "forceful compulsion" to it. (A choice phrase, that, "forceful compulsion." Did David invent it, or did it proceed from the same source as "watchful waiting"?) That might seem to mean a sort of universal smash. But, no. Each member of the League shall decide for itself what it shall do, whether to fight or to boycott the offender, or to "take no note of him, but let him go, and presently call the rest of the watch together and thank God you are rid of a knave." The infallible efficiency of such "forceful compulsion" is obvious.

In the sixth place, if a nation will have none of the three processes offered, it shall wait at least three months before it begins to fight—three months, that is to say, after various commissions have had an opportunity to examine all the proceedings. What will be done if some wicked nation refuses to wait, goodness only knows; unless the others begin to fight, too, just as in the Dark Ages before the League of Nations was formed. How many commissions there may be, how many proceedings they may examine, and how much time they may take for their work, deponent sayeth not. But if an aggrieved nation was asked to postpone fighting for its rights until three months after twenty successive commissions of deaf, dumb and blind men had investigated and finally passed upon the quadrature of the circle, we really should not have it in our hearts to condemn it for impatience.

Finally, dearly beloved, if a conflict occurs, all the rest of the League, if there is any of it left, will make it its business to localize the ruction as much as it can, perhaps by denying the right of the belligerents to blockade coasts or meddle with commerce excepting in accord with the rules and regulations in such cases made and provided, while itself exercising unbounded power of blockade and other meddling. "Had machinery of this sort existed in 1914," we are reminded, "the whole league would have announced war against Germany, and an unqualified denial of the seas to her would have been invoked." As we recall it, there was a pretty unqualified denial of the seas to Germany, which was made quite effective, not by any League but by a single Power. But why we should be so sure that all the League would have declared war is beyond our understanding if, as revealed in the fifth chapter, each member of the League would have been free to do as it pleased in the matter. Is the Apocalyptic David sure that they would all have elected to fight?

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Such then is the scheme of the League of Nations, which is to prevent war, enforce peace, assure the freedom of the seas, secure the rights of small nations, and do the innumerable other things which have been promised. It may be that the promise will be fulfilled. Yet we fear that many who imagined a great supernational power with irresistible force dealing out righteousness to all the nations, at view of this futile and piffling outcome of their dreams, will wonder if it was really necessary that so vast a mountain should so greatly labor to bring forth so ridiculous a mouse.

Elizabeth Scott Tindale writes to the *Sun*:

What must we think of Brother Wilson, who, casting all prohibition propriety to the four winds, boldly stands before the French people and drinks champagne? Shame! Shame! If the Synod of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church does not summon President Wilson to trial and punishment, then I and thousands of others for whom I speak may lose faith in the blessings of Presbyterianism.

Great Caesar! Have they got Prohibition into the Creed? They will have it in the Bible next. As never, or hardly ever, before, Brother Wilson has our sympathy.

We put no faith at all in reports which apparently emanate from the Senate cloak rooms that President Wilson curtailed his original European itinerary because he had been warned that a republic might be set up in America if he should prolong his stay indefinitely.

The Baker in the Word-Pile

Secretary Baker said today that investigation at Camps Mills, Upton, Merritt and Dix had failed to reveal any cases of overseas units arriving in this country with their pay several months in arrears. Mr. Baker said: "The results of the investigation show that all such organizations were paid in full up to the time of their leaving Europe."—*Associated Press*.

"The impression conveyed and, as we believe, intended to be conveyed, by this cunningly deceitful official declaration," hotly declares the Boston *Transcript*, "is that there is no truth in the reported return to this country of soldiers whose penniless condition is due to their failure to receive the pay due them for periods ranging from one to ten months; no truth in the report that such soldiers have arrived at Camp Devens, New York, Camp Sherman, Camp Funston, and various Army hospitals; no truth in the report that General McCain, General Wood and one or two other courageous divisional commanders have, upon their own personal responsibility, without awaiting any authority from the War Department, ordered these returning heroes to be paid forthwith; no truth in the report that the Red Cross has been lending money to some of the more seriously wounded among these penniless defenders. But all these reports are true, and the condition is even more disgraceful than the reports published describe. Here is the Baker in the word-pile; nothing is said in the official statement above quoted regarding casuals or wounded, and no investigation was made except at the camps mentioned—camps which were doubtless deliberately selected because there were no unpaid soldiers within their confines."

That is to say that, in effect, Mr. Baker lied, as usual, in the same old way. That was to be expected; but what about the four-starred General Peyton C. March?

Field Days in Congress

THE close of last week was marked by outbreaks in both the Senate and the House which promise anything but smooth sledding for any proposed innovations on the broad lines of our established foreign relations which the President may bring back with him from Paris. The irritation at the secrecy which has enveloped Mr. Wilson's negotiations abroad has been rapidly growing. It broke out in the Senate last week in something like an open revolt. Friday, January 31st and Saturday, February 1st, were field days of administration assault in both House and Senate. In the House Mr. Gallivan, Democratic Representative from Massachusetts, returned to his attack of a few days before upon the War Department and upon what he termed the "Leavenworth clique" in the army abroad. He said he had 400 letters from twenty-nine States accusing this alleged malign influence of grave injustices to officers not fortunate enough to belong to the clique or to be in its good graces. He charged that the very form of arrogant militarism which we went abroad to crush in Germany has grown up in certain dominant groups in our own army. During the entire course of his, at times, bitter attack upon the War Department and groups in our army command abroad he was repeatedly cheered, not only by his own Democratic colleagues but by Republicans as well.

In the Senate the attack was upon the President himself, so far as he is responsible for the utter darkness in which he has seen fit to keep the Senate and the country with reference to engagements to which he is reputed to be committing us in the Paris negotiations. The criticism of our possible entanglement with the administration of remote colonies to be taken from the Huns, was bitter in its intensity. Senator Knox opened the discussion. He read into the record excerpts from the news cables of that morning. These cables referred to an agreement whereby the United States would assume part management of German colonies in Africa and Polynesia, involving assistance from American armed forces.

After saying that if this were true no army the United States could raise and no taxes we could levy would be adequate to meet this demand, Senator Knox continued:

I hope these stories are not true. I cannot believe they are true. I cannot believe that without consulting the Congress of the United States, without consulting the members of committees that have charge of these special matters, without consulting the people, the United States can be pledged to any such stupendous and preposterous undertaking.

Senator Knox referred to his resolution of last December, in which he endeavored to get the Senate's assent to the proposition that the business of the Peace Conference was to make peace, and that discussion of collateral matters, such as the League of Nations and other doctrinaire idealisms, be deferred to future meetings. This resolution was buried in the Foreign Relations Committee's private cemetery. All efforts to have it disinterred have failed.

Senator Lodge said that instead of discussing peace the Peace Conference had been debating academic questions, not one of which has been essential to making peace with Germany and ending the war.

Senator Borah said that the whole difficulty lay in the

fact that the President's demand for "open covenants of peace openly arrived at" had been openly ignored. The Senate is totally in the dark. It has been in the dark from the beginning. In that respect it is in the same boat with the entire country. Mr. Wilson's singular obsession for secretiveness, for cloistered seclusion, has apparently taken the form of a fixed delusion that the affairs of the American people are things with which the American people have no right to meddle. They are his own private business. And it suits him to conduct his own private business in absolute secrecy, his only confidant being a gentleman from Texas who is a private citizen with no official connection whatever with the Government.

With this attitude the patience of the Senate, at least, is exhausted. Mr. Wilson, by his all but offensive ignoring of that body, on whose decision hangs the fate of whatever peace arrangements may be reached, created from the beginning, of course, a resentment which, if latent, was none the less there. His persistence in keeping both Congress and the country totally in the dark as to what the American people will be asked to commit themselves has greatly intensified this feeling. We all have been left to the buffetings of gossip and rumors. If Mr. Wilson does not know now that the limit of Senate endurance of this state of affairs is just about reached he is in for an acid test demonstration of the fact that will remove all doubts from his mind.

The Need of the Hour

THAT temporary suspension of many of the prohibitions of the Sherman anti-trust law is the crying need of the hour, and the only antidote for a disastrous reconstruction period, is the conviction of some of the ablest students of business and financial conditions both in and out of the Government. That those uncertainties which dictate to every conservative business man the utmost caution in purchasing raw materials, employing labor and working the two up into finished products, could be largely eliminated by such suspension, is the contention of disinterested men who have given to existing economic condition the most thorough study.

Throughout the period of the war the pooling of resources has not only been permitted but, in many instances, has been made mandatory, under the supervision of specially designated governmental agencies. Without it no such volume of production and no such degree of efficiency as this country was rapidly attaining when the armistice was signed would have been possible. So long as the military necessities of the nation required this course no one criticised it. But can it not be reasonably argued that the economic necessities of the reconstruction period are no less imperative from the standpoint of national welfare?

Statesmen and public speakers constantly deprecate the



"Self-Determination"

"waiting attitude" of business men, and urge manufacturers to carry on their business without "waiting for the bottom to drop out" of the prices of raw material and the wage scale. But the manufacturer cannot escape the realization that if he purchases considerable amounts of raw materials at present prices and pays the prevailing wages to work them up into the finished product, only to find, when he is ready to put his goods on the market, that prices have fallen materially, he will merely have made a loss for his stockholders out of all proportion to whatever benefit he can have conferred upon anyone. That loss he will be compelled to write off by a reduction of his inventories, with, quite possibly, disastrous results to his concern.

But if he and his associates in his line of business were permitted to enter into a combination whereby they bound themselves to a strict limit on their respective production and to the maintenance of prices at a figure commensurate with present costs, such agreement to endure for six months, or possibly a year, all uncertainty and probability of loss would be removed. Normality of prices could be regained by a series of successive steps. Production would steadily continue and the employment of labor would be uninterrupted.

In order to safeguard the consumer against extortion and to insure a gradual progress toward normal prices, however, such combination should be authorized only under strict governmental supervision. And the agency for such supervision, clothed with power to suspend the prohibitions of the Sherman law during the period of reconstruction is, in the estimation of these students of the economic situation, essential to early prosperity. They propose the creation of a federal reconstruction commission, to be constituted by the selection of, for instance, one able member from each of the boards, or commissions, brought into existence by the war, together with several of the ablest business men who can be induced to serve. Legislative provision for such a board, it is urged, should so closely prescribe the type of men to be chosen as to preclude the selection of members for political reasons and to insure not only the greatest business ability and judgment, but eminent respect for the character and advice of the commission. And service on the board should be urged as a patriotic duty.

Through the creation of such an instrumentality, the element of competition could be temporarily suspended in the interest of continuity of industry and periodical stability of prices. And thus the transition from war prices and conditions to peace prices and conditions could be effected gradually, without that prolonged period of uncertainty which now hampers and which, for a considerable period, must menace the earning capacity of labor and capital alike.

It was the current opinion tonight that President Wilson would see the justice of Great Britain's claims. He requested evidences of Australian interest in New Guinea, and these were quickly forthcoming in a telegram recording resolutions by a large number of public bodies in Australia opposing any other solution of the colonial problem. Australia declares she has lost more men in the war than the United States and has had no recompense in the shape of war contracts and that the non-possession of the whole of New Guinea would arouse great bitterness.—*Times dispatch.*

That seems fair enough. We would go even further and throw in the Philippines.

Mr. Baker and His Friends

RECENTLY there were reasons for believing that Mr. Newton D. Baker had so thoroughly discredited himself before the country that the time was rapidly approaching when he might be ignored completely. This assumption was erroneous. During the last few days Mr. Baker has set a new record. Consider his attitude in the cases of Captain Hodgson and in that of Archibald Stevenson.

Under the head of "Few American Courts-Martial Like This," the *Army and Navy Journal* prints the following:

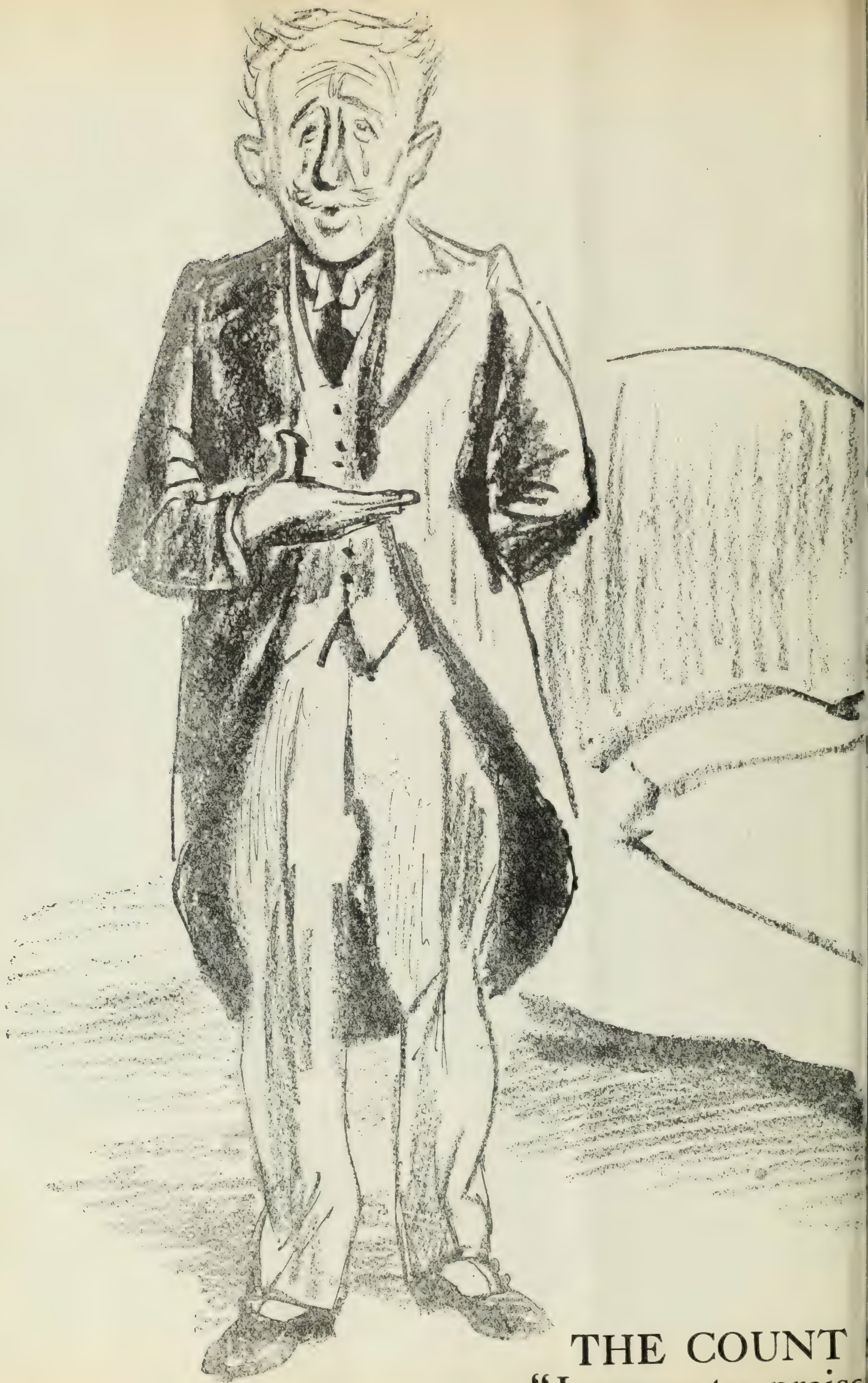
At a court-martial convened at Camp Las Casas, P. R., on Sept. 16, 1918, Capt. Samuel H. Hodgson, M. C., U. S. A., was tried on charges that are most unusual, and with a final outcome of the case that seems equally extraordinary. One charge was that at camp headquarters mess on Aug. 10, 1918, he made statements in the presence of witnesses regarding his friendship for Germans and in admiration of the German people and favoring the cause of Germany, with which this country was at war. Among the remarks he was accused of having made were the following: "All my friends in Mexico are Germans"; "I admire the work of the German spies"; "I admire the patriotism of the German people." At the Union Club, San Juan, P. R., on June 1, it was charged Captain Hodgson when a civilian said to him, "Let us go to Mexico and kill some Huns," replied: "Why not go to the States and kill some Americans?" thereafter remarking that he had found the Germans to be the best citizens in Mexico and that he had many friends among them. Another charge was that on June 1 in the presence of a civilian he said he believed the German policy in Mexico to be the right one, and on the same day said the motion picture, "The Kaiser—The Beast of Berlin," was overdrawn, and that the "Kaiser is a gentleman," or words to that effect. The court found Captain Hodgson guilty of all charges except that in which he was accused of having said, "Why not go to the States and kill some Americans?" and his reference to "The Kaiser—The Beast of Berlin." He was sentenced to be dismissed from the Army and confined at hard labor for two years. The President confirmed only so much of the sentence as provided for dismissal from the Service, and this he commuted to a reprimand to be administered by the commanding general of Camp Las Casas.

The report states that the President acted on the case. If he did so, we sincerely believe that, immersed as he was in grave international questions, he merely signed the order in a perfunctory manner, acting upon such recommendations as were sent to him by his Secretary of War. It is absolutely impossible to believe that the President would have taken such action if he had been familiar with the case, and if he had done so can anyone think of a manly Secretary of War accepting his judgment?

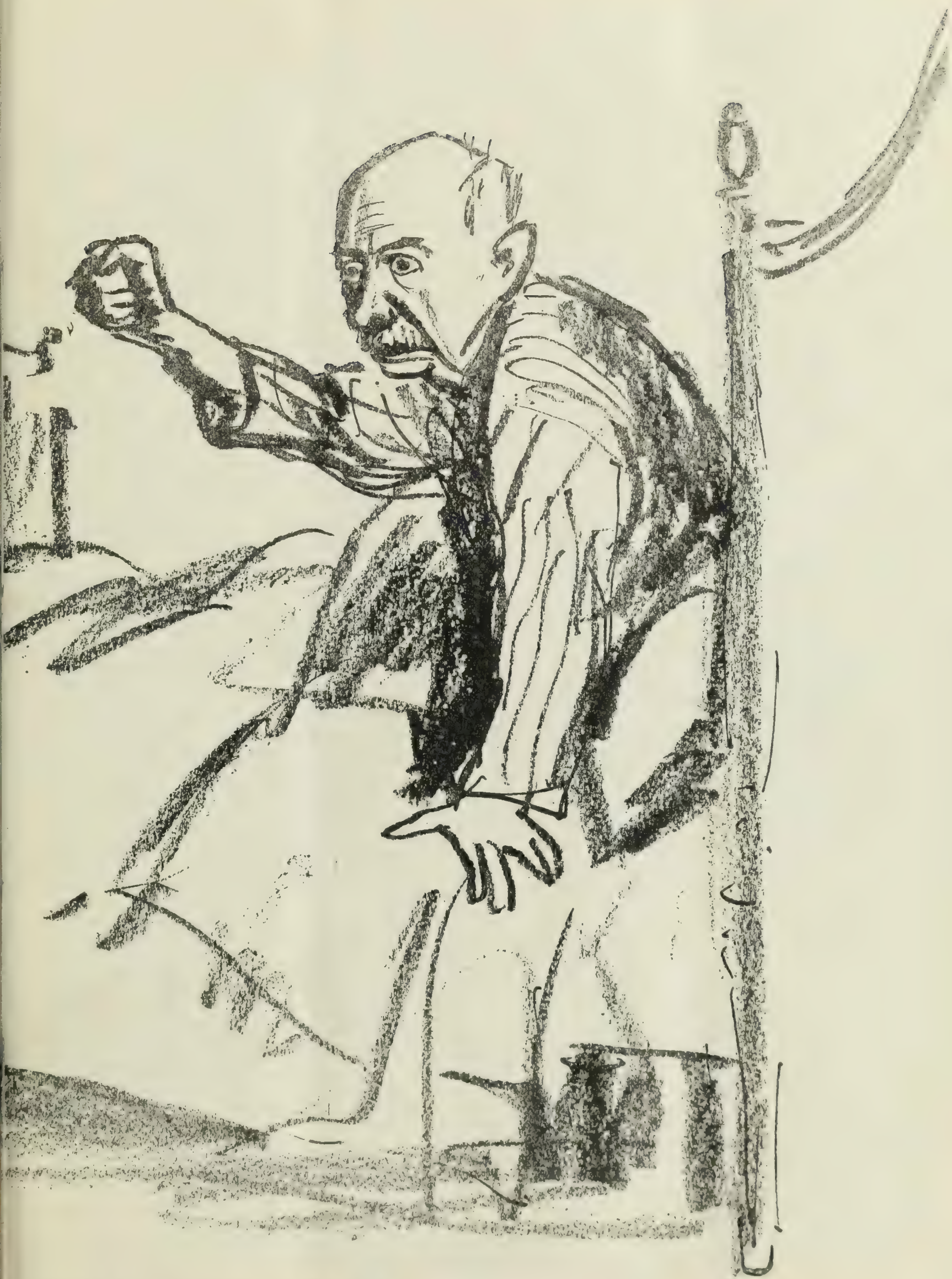
Consider the case of Mr. Archibald Stevenson. He was attached to the Military Intelligence, and in line of duty he laid before the Senate Propaganda Committee a long list of pernicious pacifists and pro-Germans.

Many of Mr. Baker's friends were on the list. They appealed to Mr. Baker. He wrote to the Chairman of the Committee and attempted to discredit Mr. Stevenson on the ground that he was not connected with the War Department, as he claimed to be. Senator Overman could not tolerate the apparent falsehood and on the Senate floor produced correspondence showing that Mr. Baker's statements were false.

But true to form, Mr. Baker had taken steps to protect his precious reputation for veracity. Before he wrote the letter to Senator Overman he had ordered the abolition of the particular branch of the Military Intelligence to which Mr. Stevenson was connected, so that he could not be adjudged guilty of deliberately falsifying an official communication!



THE COUNT
"I come to praise



THE COLONEL
ar, not to bury him!"

The Week

WASHINGTON, *February 6, 1919.*

TWO triumphs for equivocation are to be recorded. The "Big Five" of the Peace Congress are said to have accepted—wherefore the Little Twenty-One will have to accept, willy-nilly—the British League of Nations scheme and the German Colonial Internationalization scheme for which the President stands sponsor and which are commonly but incorrectly ascribed to his authorship. We call them triumphs for equivocation, for surely never did Mr. Facing-Two-Ways devise any policy more deceptive or more calculated to "keep the word of promise to our ear and break it to our hope."

The League of Nations, as we have hitherto pointed out, must be either a strenuous body so transcending nationality as to be impossible of American approval, or a futile thing of pious aspirations and impotent achievement. The expositions of the week, uncontradicted if unverified, distinctly indicate the latter. The example of the American States has frequently been invoked, as that which the League of Nations will follow. But be not deceived. From present appearances, it will be, not this potent Union—which under the Constitution makes us a Nation—but rather that old Confederation, which made the States the object of pity and contempt abroad and the subject of little better than despair at home. It will be a League to Enforce Peace without the power to enforce peace; a League to Prevent War without the power to prevent war; potentially provoking the mocking query: When is a league not a league? and the answer: When it is a League of Nations.

Similarly delusive is the German-born plan for placing the former German colonies and all other conquered territories—excepting, we assume, Alsace-Lorraine—under international control and under "mandatories of the powers." Adopted, it must mean either that the lands in question are really and effectively under the control of the League of Nations through its mandatories, which mandatories will of course be subject to the League's supervision and authority, or that they are in fact annexed by the various Powers and that the ostensible League control is mere camouflage. In the former case, we should look for fifty-seven varieties of trouble at an early date. In the latter case, it would be difficult—in the restrained expression typical of these pages—fittingly to characterize such revolting hypocrisy.

We have spoken of this internationalization scheme as of German origin. That sort of thing has always been a pet device of the Huns. They fooled and bamboozled the United States and Great Britain into joining them in "international trusteeship" of Samoa, nearly forty years ago. The result was years of dishonor, injustice and animosity, which only the providence of God in sending a destructive hurricane prevented from culminating in war between us and Germany. It was Germany, too, that had Austria appointed as the "mandatory of the Powers" to administer Bosnia and Herzegovina, instead of letting those provinces be annexed to Serbia, as they should have been. The result was years of tyranny, oppression and dishonor, culminating in monstrous theft, and ultimately providing the pretext for the present war. Both

those examples are to be earnestly commended to the Peace Congress for consideration before it finally adopts the "internationalization" scheme; and to the United States Senate for consideration if the precious scheme is ever presented to it for ratification.

It is not merely because of these examples, however, that it is to be regarded as a German scheme. Some time ago, there is reason to believe, the notorious Matthias Erzberger, Dr. Dernburg, and other German propagandists, realizing that Germany's colonies were likely to be lost to her, conceived a characteristic scheme for either regaining them or making trouble for the Allies. The plan was to have them taken under a trusteeship by a League of Nations. That would save them from being irrevocably annexed by any Powers. Then Germany, pretending to have become converted, would gain admission to the League; and thus be in a strong position to intrigue for and demand the return of at least some of the colonies to her at some future day when the League should consider the termination of its trusteeship and final disposition of the colonies. This scheme was insidiously put forward and was advocated—naturally, with its final purpose concealed—by German propagandists in England and America. It would be impossible to say whether such propaganda reached statesmen of importance, and inspired—of course, unconsciously and unintentionally—the formulation of the plan which the Supreme Council accepted. But the coincidence of such German propaganda and the putting forward of the plan at the Congress was interesting, to say the least.

The progress of the \$600,000,000 naval appropriation bill presents some phases worthy of the mordent attention of a Swift or a Voltaire. It is gratifying, per se, to have such a grant made for increase of our navy. But the bill contains the extraordinary proviso that at any time before the new ships are contracted for, the President may, in his discretion, suspend operations on them if by that time the United States shall have entered into a league of peace calculated to make a big navy unnecessary. Now it is understood that the President, while urging at Paris the creation of such a league of peace, has been keeping the Burlesoned cables hot with urgings for the immediate passage of this bill. In Paris, at short range, he works for disarmament. In Washington, at long range, he works for enormously increased armaments. Of course, it may be thought—we must not imagine that he cherishes such notions or designs—that this will strengthen his position at Paris, by enabling him to say, substantially: "See what My Congress is doing! Now, if you will agree to a League of Nations, I'll call the whole thing off and stop further naval expansion. But if you don't, we'll build the biggest navy in the world and be able to thrash any one of you!" We don't suppose that the President would actually say such a thing. But the fact is that precisely such a bit of potential bulldozing is literally and obviously embodied in the bill which the docile House of Representatives, at the dictation of the President, reluctantly passed. The Senate is yet to be heard from.

The monstrous stories of wholesale disorder, violence and crime by American soldiers in Paris and elsewhere in France have been promptly and authoritatively contradicted, General

Pershing declaring that the number of such deeds, in proportion to the number of American soldiers there, is "almost negligible." There need be no doubt that he speaks the truth, with full knowledge of the facts. Doubtless there are some misdoings. There are a million of our men over there. Where is there a community of a million people in which there are not some crimes? Moreover, as Kipling says, "Single men in barracks don't grow into plaster saints." We cannot reasonably expect soldiers in a strange land to be any more orderly and virtuous than they were as civilians at home. And we must remember that our men were recruited from all classes, including those disposed to brawling and disregard of law. Taking these pertinent circumstances into consideration, we must regard the deportment of our soldiers as on the whole exceedingly creditable and gratifying.

That is not to say, however, that the stories of their misdeeds were altogether wanton libels. Some of them were undoubtedly due to German propaganda. It is known that many German spies are busily engaged, along the Rhine, in Paris, and almost everywhere, insidiously fomenting suspicion and friction between Americans and French. It will be recalled that only the other day our officers had to issue very strict orders to our troops along the Rhine not to fraternize with German civilians as they had been doing. German spies are causing all sorts of deeds to be done, from petty larceny to murder, in circumstances which cast suspicion of guilt upon Americans; and in other cases are suggesting and falsely testifying that Americans were the culprits. Again, it is notorious that many of the "Apaches" of Paris, who still exist, have procured American uniforms and wear them in order to simulate American soldiers, and thus, as they hope, secure opportunity and immunity. These things explain the deplorable tales which were recently extant.

Embargoes are unpleasant—generally more so subjectively than objectively. Our own country found one so, a hundred and odd years ago when we proclaimed it, against all the world, but chiefly, for obvious reasons, against England. And we are not sure that an embargo on imports is any less odious than one on exports; or any more so. We certainly do not like to have Great Britain impose restrictions upon our trade with her, and we do not suppose Englishmen who want American goods like it, either. Come to think of it, we do not suppose that Englishmen have for the last fifty years been enamored of our protective tariff, which makes them pay good money for the privilege of placing their goods upon our market; but we do not recall that they have regarded it as what the Monroe Doctrine calls the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition. It must be remembered that for four and a half years Great Britain has been subjected to such a strain upon her economic structure as we can scarcely imagine, and that now it is necessary for her to use every legitimate means for the restoration of normal conditions; even, perhaps, to imposing restrictions upon foreign trade. If in so doing she bars American goods from her markets to some extent, it will perhaps be pertinent to remember for how long and to what extent she barred the Hunnish murderers and ravishers from the American shores. But it is a hazardous method at best.

The increasing prevalence of industrial strikes in the United Kingdom is accompanied by increasing evidence of Bolshevik influences in them; which means, of course, ultimately, German influence, since it is to Hunnish deviltries that we owe the rise of Bolshevism. We have no idea that the integrity of British institutions will be endangered. A Bolshevik revolution in that country is simply unthinkable. Yet the fact that the strikes have become so extensive there is an ominous suggestion of what might happen here if there were any trifling with that social pestilence.

It is gratifying to have Mr. Hines, the new Director-General of Railroads, declare himself to be unequivocally opposed to government ownership. Yet we cannot, to our regret, regard his position as altogether logical. He opposes government ownership, yet he favors extension of government control for five years, or else immediate return of the roads to their owners. Surely he must realize that the former would be a long and almost irrevocable step toward the very thing which he deprecates, and that the latter would be an act of gross injustice, calculated to embarrass the roads and to drive them to government ownership as a last desperate recourse.

President Lowell, of Harvard, puts the truth plainly when he says in his annual report that "There seems to be no doubt that our losses in battle were much larger than they need have been if the officers had been more familiar with the conditions they were called upon to meet. . . . Surely it ought to be possible to teach the art of war as other applied sciences or arts are taught." Therefore he earnestly recommends the giving of military instruction and practical training at colleges and universities. Nothing could be more inspiring and auspicious than the utterance of such sentiments by the head of the senior American university. But we are afraid it will cause Dr. Lowell to be condemned as a bloody-minded and murderous imperialist by those gentle souls who think it better that a thousand men should perish on the battlefield because of lack of training, than that one should receive instruction in advance in the art of war.

Here are the gists of two news items, recently appearing side by side:

New York City still shelters 10,000 draft evaders and delinquents. Plans have been made to round them up, and the punishment they will receive will be as severe as though the draft law were still in active operation.

Secretary Baker to-day ordered the release of 113 conscientious objectors, held at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, the remission of the unexecuted portions of their sentences, and their honorable restoration to duty.

How the conscientious objectors of New York must envy the delinquents of Fort Leavenworth!

Mr. London, the Socialist Representative in Congress, says that to enact a law temporarily prohibiting indiscriminate immigration would be to "violate everything that America stands for and has stood for since it began." Apparently Mr. London has never read the ninth section of the first article of the Constitution of the United States.

Hogs and Ships

MR. HURLEY should come home. The reasons that prompted him to go to France have always been clouded in mystery. The same is true, to a degree at least, of his activities while abroad. Before leaving America and after arriving in France, many statements were issued concerning his plans and his progress, but alas, they were not quite convincing. Experience with his press agents has compelled us to discount all the announcements they make. It is hard to forget the mythical fleet they built for us last year.

Possibly he went in pious emulation of his chief. If such was the case a certain amount of admiration must be accorded to him on grounds of loyalty and devotion, which are always to be praised. Rumors floated about that he went over to pawn off on the French the canal boats which were built at great expense and originally misnamed ocean-going cargo carriers. If this were true he little knew the French. Other rumors were to the effect that he had gone to "stabilize" ship construction and to make a deal or two with the British, whereby arrangements could be made to control the amount of new shipping so that the trade routes would not be congested. If this were true he little knew the British or conditions on the Clyde. Then again it was rumored that he planned an international agreement of some kind or other whereby a magic differential would make possible competition between absurdly expensive American ships manned by over-paid sailors and economically built British ships manned by under-paid sailors. If this were true he little knew the immutable laws of economy as evidenced in all commerce. Even the announcement that \$1,000,000,000 is to be wiped off the cost of our shipping will not suffice to effect the differential; not even on paper. While he has been abroad the shipping programme has gone to pot; or should it be said that the truth concerning the results of his handiwork has come to the surface as the inevitable accounting is at hand?

If half the reports concerning conditions at the board, now being circulated in Washington, are true, the tragedy is even greater than we feared it would be. Persons best qualified to know, believe and state quite freely, that the wreck of our aviation programme is not to be compared to the mess which Mr. Hurley and his untrained colleagues have made of the shipping programme. Extravagance was expected, and has been established to a sickening degree.

Closely following the evidence which established a reign of mismanagement and waste come reports of a different character: a much worse character. They have culminated in the Nelson resolution demanding copies of every contract made by the board. We do not know what the contracts will show, but we do know that when Senator Nelson introduced the resolution he acted upon information which satisfied him, at least, that gross favoritism—to use no stronger word—had been shown to certain contractors, who were given the opportunity to make undue profits.

We do not pretend to know all the circumstances surrounding the methods of awarding these contracts. But we do know that men like Senator Nelson who have spent months trying to get at the bottom of the situation found it impossible to account for the great range of prices. May be

the contracts were let in the best of faith on the best possible terms. May be they were not. Nothing except the most searching investigation will establish the truth. Of course we would not for a moment think of, much less consider, a suggestion that Mr. Hurley is personally responsible for any transactions of this nature. It is possible, however, that persons in whom he placed faith may have imposed upon him.

In addition to the charges of contract favoritism there are various and other allegations being talked of in Washington with as much freedom as the details of the aviation scandal were discussed before the investigation was started. The Department of Justice has for months been probing charges of bribery in some transactions. Of course the investigation has been carried on secretly, and it is impossible to present the facts or to forecast what, if any, indictments will follow. It is known, however, that virtually all the books of at least one ship-building firm are in the hands of the Attorney General, and he has repeatedly postponed a decision or action.

The Bureau of Operations, we are told, is virtually bankrupt. The little information that has been allowed to sift from this bureau indicates the existence of a most astounding condition.

So it goes. Chaos and confusion are apparent on all sides. For these reasons Mr. Hurley should come home and try to salvage what remains of the greatest business calamity in the world's history, cleanse the atmosphere of the charges which have been circulated so freely during his absence, or pillory those, if any there be, who have imposed upon him.

But this is not all. Mr. Francis Heney, who, as representative of the Administration, is conducting the packers' investigation in Congress, has repeatedly read into the record statements purporting to connect Mr. Hurley with certain packers. Among other things he has established the fact that Mr. Hurley's closest friend and associate, Thomas F. Logan, was the secret agent of the packers when Mr. Hurley took him abroad to help represent the American Government in a confidential capacity.

It appears that Mr. Logan, presumably a newspaper correspondent with the entrée to government officials, has for several years used his press connections as a cloak while actually representing corporations in Washington. Mr. Logan, we are told, while acting in this peculiar capacity has caused a number of his friends to be placed in most important posts on the Shipping Board, while he has acted as principal adviser and speech writer for the chairman of the board.

Surely Mr. Hurley owes it to the President, to the country and to himself to come home immediately and confound those who, by innuendo and inference, have attacked him during his absence.

It is interesting to observe that men who have been resisting and condemning expansion of American interests throughout the world as wicked "imperialism" are now hot-footed for us to tie ourselves up in various kinds of Leagues of Nations which would compel us to meddle in alien politics and wars in every zone and land.

The task of supplying the eight divisions of the Third American army with Browning machine guns and automatic rifles was begun recently.—*Associated Press*.

Joy, O joy! Now let the war begin!

Poor Costa Rica!

THE action of the sub-committee of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations which reported, after a thorough investigation, that it could find no good reason for refusing to recognize the present government of Costa Rica, surprised no one who has followed the plight of that unhappy country during the last year and a half. It is another Huerta case. Another case of watchful waiting. President Wilson has taken a dislike to President Tinoco and will not recognize him. That is about the sum and substance of the entire matter. And that is about all the sub-committee could find in the case. If the present Congress were Republican there is little doubt that the Committee on Foreign Relations would take the entire question to the floor of the Senate and then thrash it out in detail. But nothing of the sort is anticipated—this month. What may happen after the fourth of March is another story.

Meanwhile, little Costa Rica,—the most respectable of the five republics of Central America,—who followed America into war against Germany and offered all that she had to carry on the fight, must remain as an outlaw, forbidden the right of self determination, until she changes governments or Mr. Wilson changes his mind.

It is reported, and there is little doubt that it is true, that two members of the Senate Committee requested Acting Secretary of State Polk to appeal to the President by cable to offer a compromise of some sort so that the miniature republic might take her place among the family of nations. We doubt very much if the President will heed the appeal, at least not while Tinoco insists upon remaining in the office to which he was elected by the people of Costa Rica.

General Gouraud stated the French position in an address to the American soldiers thus:

"Now when peace is signed you are going home across the sea. The English are going home, too. But France stays where she is.

"Marshal Foch has told you that France is the barrier protecting civilization, and so France and civilization must be protected.

"You gentlemen have seen the character of the Germans along the Rhine. You know there is no democracy in their hearts. You know that their fawning attitude is as false as it can be. And so I say to you, France wants no such people in her republic.

"We don't want to annex Germany up to the Rhine, but we do intend to see that the German military machine stays behind the river. That is what Marshal Foch meant, I believe. If we don't have that protection, France must maintain always an enormous army to guard civilization.

"With our great loss of life in the war that would be a terrible burden for France. We must have a natural barrier or else it would be madness to demobilize our army.

"I hope that Americans will see it in the same way. I hope that the soft words of the Germans will not convince the Americans that the leopard has changed his spots. So far I am unconvinced that the Germans of today are not the Germans of yesterday, the foes of the ideals of America, the ideals of France, the ideals of civilization, the foes of all that is desired in the hearts of mankind."

It could not be put more succinctly.

Heigh-ho-the-Holly! Shall Woodrow Wilson be denied his fling? Certainly not his change of heart—inevitable to his change of condition and scene—now that he stands with kings and queens, as recent pictures reveal him, nothing loath and

no wise ashamed; quite abreast with the best of them, albeit he overdoes it a trifle, because, when he comes to offer himself for a third term, for which these foreign exploitations seem the avant couriers, his hobnobbing with George and Mary and making Rome howl with Victor and Helena will look powerful queer to the gentleman-up-a-tree, not to mention the boys on Bitter Creek and the girls who vote in Hell-for-Sartin!—*Mr. Watterson in the Herald.*

Marse Henry probably overlooked our announcement that Mr. Wilson will not be a candidate for President—of the United States.

According to one Senator it is costing the United States \$300,000 a day for war work which Congress has ordered stopped, and all because the President has been unable to sign the cancelling act. "Travelling is expensive nowadays," comments the *Evening Sun*, which remark may start something.—*The Herald.*

\$300,000 a day! Piffle! A bagatelle!

We do not quite understand why Colonel Harvey refused to send plenipotentiaries to the Paris Conference. Poets will be poets, and the artistic temperament is always difficult to deal with.—*The World.*

And we have never understood why Mr. Frank I. Cobb did not stay there after he had been sent.

Apparently when Admiral Mayo told the House Committee that the League of Nations was a sewing circle he never heard of what happened to Leonard Wood for telling the truth or to Enoch Crowder for doing his duty!

As to "No Indemnities"

WE cannot admit ourselves to be favorably impressed by the logic of the reported renunciation of indemnities by the Powers, save for reparation of unlawful damages. We are told that it is practically agreed that while Germany must be made to pay for the acts she committed in violation of the laws of war, she will not be required to repay any part of the war expenses which she has compelled other nations to incur.

This decision, if it be taken, must be assumed to indicate that it is regarded as wrong to exact such indemnity from a conquered Power. That is to say, it would be a wrong to Germany to exact it of her.

Very well. Then Germany committed a great wrong against France in 1871, in compelling her to pay an enormous indemnity, not to make reparation of damages done in Germany, for there were none, but partly to repay Germany for the expenses which she incurred in a war of her own seeking, and partly just because Germany "needed the money."

Yet we are now told that the Peace Congress will constrain France to waive all demand for the repayment of that indemnity. And this in the face of the President's sententious declaration in his Eighth Commandment, that the "wrong done to France by Prussia in 1871 should be righted." True, the reference is to the wrong done "in the matter of Alsace-Lorraine," which might be taken as excluding the indemnity. But it would be a strange thing to require a thief to surrender the land he had stolen and let him retain the money which he had stolen at the same time; particularly when you are specially condemning the taking of money!

The Facts About Russia

WE are still at war in Russia. Our soldiers are fighting there, are killing and being killed; sometimes advancing and sometimes being driven back. Meantime the Government, in its hesitant policy, fails either to support them with reinforcements or to withdraw them; while an increasing number of people, including Senators of the United States, clamor for immediate retirement and for "letting Russia stew in her own juice." In these circumstances it is well to get a clear understanding of why we and our Allies invaded Russia and why we are still there.

We intervened in Russia because the dominant Bolshevik faction in Russia, controlling the army and navy, began war against us. That faction entered into a compact with our enemy, Germany, under which hundreds of thousands of German troops were released from the Eastern Front to fight against us on the Western Front, under which the Russian Black Sea fleet was handed over to Germany for her to use against us, under which the rich resources of Rumania were betrayed into the hands of Germany, and under which enormous stores of military supplies belonging to us and our Allies, lying at Vladivostok and Archangel, were being stolen by the Bolsheviki and transferred to Germany.

We may add that we or our Allies also intervened for the protection of the Czecho-Slovaks, who were trying to depart from Russia peacefully, as they had a right to do, in order to get back to their own country, and whom the Russian Bolsheviki, at Germany's behest, treacherously and wickedly attacked and strove to exterminate.

These are the reasons for our intervention in Russia. It may be added that the act has been largely successful in executing the purposes for which it was undertaken. It contributed largely to the defeat and surrender of Germany. It saved the gallant Czecho-Slovaks from destruction. It saved from theft or destruction vast stores not only of military supplies but also of food for the starving Russian people. It protected a large part of the Russian domain, with scores of millions of inhabitants, from being overrun, befouled and tyrannized by the Bolshevik terrorists. It was, moreover, gratefully approved and encouraged, as it had indeed been earnestly solicited, by a large part of the Russian people and by their most worthy and authoritative spokesmen.

There was thus ample justifica-

tion for our intervention. There is, we believe, ground for serious question whether it should not have been effected on a larger and stronger scale, so as more promptly and more completely to execute the righteous purposes for which it was undertaken, and we must regret the division and discord of counsels which led to a partial withdrawal and to the deplorable weakening of the whole enterprise.

As for the question of immediate withdrawal of all that remains of our forces there, it may with confidence be said that no rational American or other Ally wants a single man of our forces to remain in Russia a single moment longer than is required by prudence, duty or honor. But neither should any honorable man wish for the scuttling out of one a single moment before the requirements of prudence, duty and honor are fulfilled. We have seen no credible indication that they are yet fulfilled. We have heard no considerable Russian demand or request for our withdrawal, save from that criminal minority faction which compelled our intervention by gratuitously and treacherously beginning war against us. It is not for Bolshevik thieves, traitors and murderers to dictate what we shall do or shall not do.



"If I Must Clasp His Bloody Hand, Mr. President!"

(W. A. Rogers in the New York Herald.)

An Astounding Anomaly

THE question seems absurd: Is the Constitution constitutional? At any rate, it would have seemed and would have been manifestly absurd at any time prior to January 29, 1919. But the achievement of that memorable date provokes the paradoxical question in all seriousness.

The Constitution, we are told in the preamble to that document itself, is a Constitution "for the United States of America." It is for all the States, as a whole, uniformly and impartially. Its provisions are, per se, valid and binding exactly alike in all States. They are thus authoritative regardless of the will or wish of any individual State. Says the Constitution itself, Article VI:

This Constitution . . . shall be the supreme law of the land, . . . anything in the constitution or laws of any state to the contrary notwithstanding.

In accordance with this axiomatic principle, wherever it seems necessary in the body of the instrument for legislative action to be taken for its application and enforcement, Congress is named as the law-making body, and Congress alone; it being the only body qualified to make laws for all the States uniformly. When from time to time Amendments were added to the Constitution which also seemed to need special legislation for their enforcement, the familiar formula was added:

The Congress shall have power to enforce the provisions of this article by appropriate legislation.

Such was the provision made for the enforcement of the Thirteenth, Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments. In the Eighteenth Amendment, the adoption of which was officially proclaimed on January 29, a different formula was adopted. Instead of empowering Congress to enforce the Amendment with appropriate legislation, such adjuvatory power is conferred upon the individual States. These are the words:

The Congress and the several States shall have concurrent power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

What does that mean? It means that this Amendment, which is declared to be "the supreme law of the land"—that is, of the whole United States, impartially—"anything in the Constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding," is not to be enforced at all, but is to remain a dead letter, unless and until the States, acting individually, take measures concurrently with Congress to enforce it. Congress may pass all the laws it pleases, but they will be mere scraps of paper until States concur with them. If some States concur, the Amendment will be enforced in them. If others do not concur, the Amendment will not be enforced in them. Thus we shall have the interesting spectacle of a "supreme law of the land" valid in some States and invalid in others, and the national government quite impotent to enforce it uniformly.

Let us suppose a concrete case, which indeed is at this moment quite likely to be realized: Congress may and probably will enact the needed law defining what is meant by "intoxicating liquors" and including wines and beer in that category. Then New York may decline to concur with that law, and instead may enact a law—which indeed is even now being urged—licensing trade in wines and beer. Then we shall

have the "supreme law of the land, the laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding," absolutely prohibiting the manufacture or sale of wines and beer; and the law of the State of New York permitting such manufacture and sale; and the State law prevailing over the national law. The State will be supported and protected by one article in violating and defying another article of the same Constitution. Indeed, the State will be enabled by one section to annul, so far as it is concerned, another section of the same article of the Constitution.

It is certainly an astounding anomaly for any legal instrument thus to provide for its own defeat; so astounding and anomalous as to give good ground for questioning whether such a monstrosity can be valid. It is sufficient to mark this worse than crazy amendment as the most serious blow at its integrity that the Constitution of the United States has ever suffered.

We unhesitatingly advise anybody who would like to get a clear view of the situation in Russia to read Mr. Oliver M. Sayler's illuminating exposition in the current NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

William Randolph Hearst now sneers at George Harvey in the Chicago *Herald* as "a pearl grey horse." That must be the last straw.—*Butte Miner*.

Pearl grey, eh? Sure it wasn't saffron?

Clemenceau may be able to smooth it over with his own countrymen, but Senator Lodge and Colonel Harvey will never forgive him for announcing that he is first of all for the League of Nations.—*The Evening Post*.

We don't believe he ever did.

To those who are easing Germany's load and showing signs of a compromise with the beast is respectfully suggested another reading of McRae's poem, "In Flanders Fields":—

"If ye break faith with us who die
We shall not sleep, though poppies grow
In Flanders fields."

—*The Herald*.

Why not cable the suggestion?

"And as I am telling reminiscences I should like to tell you of a story I'm told is true, relating to Col. Roosevelt and the Kaiser when both attended the funeral of King Edward. After the ceremony the Kaiser said to Col. Roosevelt: 'Call upon me at 2 o'clock; unfortunately for you, I have just forty-five minutes to give you.'

"'I will be there at 2, your Majesty,' replied Col. Roosevelt, 'but unfortunately for your Majesty, I have but twenty minutes to give you.'"—*James M. Beck*.

Well, sir, we never expected to live to see the day when a member of the Brook Club would make official proclamation of nation-wide, bone-dry prohibition.

SIBERIAN RAILWAY LOSES FORTY MILLIONS A MONTH.—*Herald* headline.

Was McAdoo running that, too?

German papers say that Theodore Roosevelt was the "arch enemy" of Germany.—*Bisbee Review*.

He was, too, God bless him!

Letters From Our Readers

COLONEL HOUSE ON MR WILSON

SIR,—Several months ago as a matter of curiosity and derisive amusement, I did penance for past sins by reading from time to time, as the different chapters appeared in one of our local papers, the *Evening Express*, "The Real Colonel House," written by Arthur D. Howden Smith. In one of the closing chapters I ran across a paragraph which at first seemed amusing in its asininity, but on second reading appeared serious in its insult to the memory of former Presidents, especially to those held most sacred in the hearts of the average citizen: Washington, Lincoln and Roosevelt. I have often wondered why somebody did not lampoon the author and also the object of this remarkable biography, and enjoyed reading the review of the biography by Justice Henshaw in the January issue of *The North American Review*. I am at a loss to understand how Mr. Henshaw skipped the quotation from Colonel House above mentioned, which appeared in the Los Angeles *Evening Express* of May 11 and reads as follows: "Sometimes early in his first term the President was uneasy, for he was and is very humble in his heart. But I always knew that he had had nothing to worry about. I was sure that he would make his predecessors look so small in comparison with him that it would be laughable. He did, too, and before he retires from public life, I look to see this judgment accepted, not only by the great majority of his fellow citizens, but by the world at large."

What is the explanation?

F. W. BLACK.

Los Angeles.

[The explanation is simple. The paragraph appeared exactly as quoted by our correspondent in the serial publication of the famous semi-autobiography in the New York *Evening Post* and other newspapers, but the interesting comparison of President Wilson with his predecessors was cut out of the final publication, leaving the paragraph in the book as follows:

"Sometimes in his first term, the President was uneasy, for he was and is very humble in heart. But I always knew that he had nothing to worry about. I was sure that he would make a lasting impression upon the history of the country and the world. He will, too, and before he retires from public life, I look to see this judgment accepted, not only by the great majority of his fellow-citizens, but by the world at large."

The apparent oversight of Justice Henshaw is thus readily accounted for. Why Colonel House, upon mature consideration, made the excision can only be imagined. Since nothing has happened in the past year to call for a revision of his original judgment, it is probably safe to attribute the elimination to an unfailing tact which forbade hurting the feelings of those who hitherto have thought so well of Washington, Jefferson, Lincoln, Cleveland, Roosevelt and a few others, that they might have difficulty in abruptly visualizing those predecessors of Mr. Wilson as laughably small in comparison.—EDITOR.]

EDMONDS AND WATTERSON

TO THE EDITOR OF THE BOSTON TRANSCRIPT:

I read with much interest the article in the issue of Dec. 31, 1918, entitled, "1914—Tellers of Truth—1918." This article is in line with scores of other articles which have appeared in the *Transcript* in its spirit of superb patriotism, and in its just estimate of great and heroic patriots.

I wish, however, to call attention to one other name which might well be included under "the Press." In that category you rightly place the name of George Harvey. I would like to see placed alongside of Mr. Harvey the name of Richard H. Edmonds, editor of the *Manufacturers' Record*, Baltimore, Md.

It was difficult for Mr. Edmonds to be patient with the United States Government during the long period when France and

Great Britain were fighting our battles as truly as they were fighting their own. He recognized that but for the thin British line and the brave French soldiers, Germany would have destroyed Paris, and probably would have reached London. He also saw that but for the British fleet all our American coast cities would be attacked by German submarines and other German ships of war. Certainly Mr. Edmonds well deserves a place in your list of heroic truth tellers.

ROBERT STUART MACARTHUR,
President, Baptist World Alliance.

Dayton Beach, Fla.

Mr. Edmonds fully deserves all the credit ascribed to him by Dr. MacArthur. And let us not forget that it was Marse Henry Watterson, the noblest Roman of all, who first shouted "To hell with the Hapsburgs and the Hohenzollerns," even though after he retired from active service the *Courier-Journal* did become a lickspittle.—EDITOR.]

THE MEXICAN SERVICE BADGE

SIR,—Just a line from France to let you know how much some of us enjoy your WEEKLY. It is one of the few bright things to look forward to in these dull days of waiting.

Your information is so all-embracing that perhaps you could and would be kind enough to enlighten us on this point:

Throughout the summer of 1918 here in France, the men in the Army who two years before had been called from the National Guard into the Federal Service on the Mexican border wore a Service Ribbon of a different combination of colors from that awarded to the men in the Regular Army who went to Vera Cruz and into Mexico after Villa. As an example: At Chateau-Thierry, shortly after its capture, I passed by the Yankee Division, held there in reserve. About every third man wore this insignia of previous service in the U. S. Army.

On Sept. 17, 1918, Bulletin No. 70 was issued from G. H. Q., A. E. F., which read as follows:

The Mexican Service Badge authorized under the provisions of G. O. No. 155, Series 1917 W. D., and the corresponding ribbon for same as specified in Changes No. 1 to Special Regulations No. 42 dated December 29th, 1911, is the only Mexican Service Ribbon that has been authorized by the War Department.

Other so-called Mexican Service or Border Service Ribbons will not be worn. By Command of General Pershing.

JAMES W. McANDREW,
Chief of Staff.

Was this Border Ribbon voted by Congress? Is this the old fight between the Regular Army and the National Guard?

Surely the men of the Guard who left their homes and business at considerable sacrifice and spent months on the border ready for any emergency are as much entitled to wear a Service Ribbon as the men of the Army whose regular job it was to be stationed there.

GEORGE R. HARDING,
1st Lieut. Air Service, U. S. A.,
A. P. O., No. 702, American E. F.

A SUGGESTION FROM OHIO

SIR,—The undersigned desires to express to you his deep appreciation of your splendid article just published in THE WEEKLY in eulogy of the late Colonel Roosevelt. He believes that he thanks you in the name of many millions who may not thus informally or otherwise directly thank you.

With these millions of good Americans, it seems to the writer that the mind and heart of our nation must be devoted to the discovery of the man most and best fitted to lead us in these present and coming dynamic days. The writer believes there is no man so suited by breadth of mind, sympathy of experience, and sincerity of soul to measure up to the needs of America as the Honorable Albert J. Beveridge, former Senator from Indiana.

We shall anxiously watch your columns for the early expression of your well-considered judgment on this momentous matter.

Columbus, Ohio.

ARTHUR E. WOODEN.

A POSTHUMOUS NOTE

SIR:—I am enclosing herewith a copy of a letter which you should have, written to me on July 3, 1918, by Colonel Roosevelt, in which he says:

"I feel like thanking Heaven that you and Edward Van Valkenberg and George Harvey have the nerve to stand up."

I enclose copy of the letter in full.

New York City.

HENRY A. WISE WOOD.

THE WEEKLY

BY GEORGE HARVEY

Continuing the North American Review's WAR WEEKLY

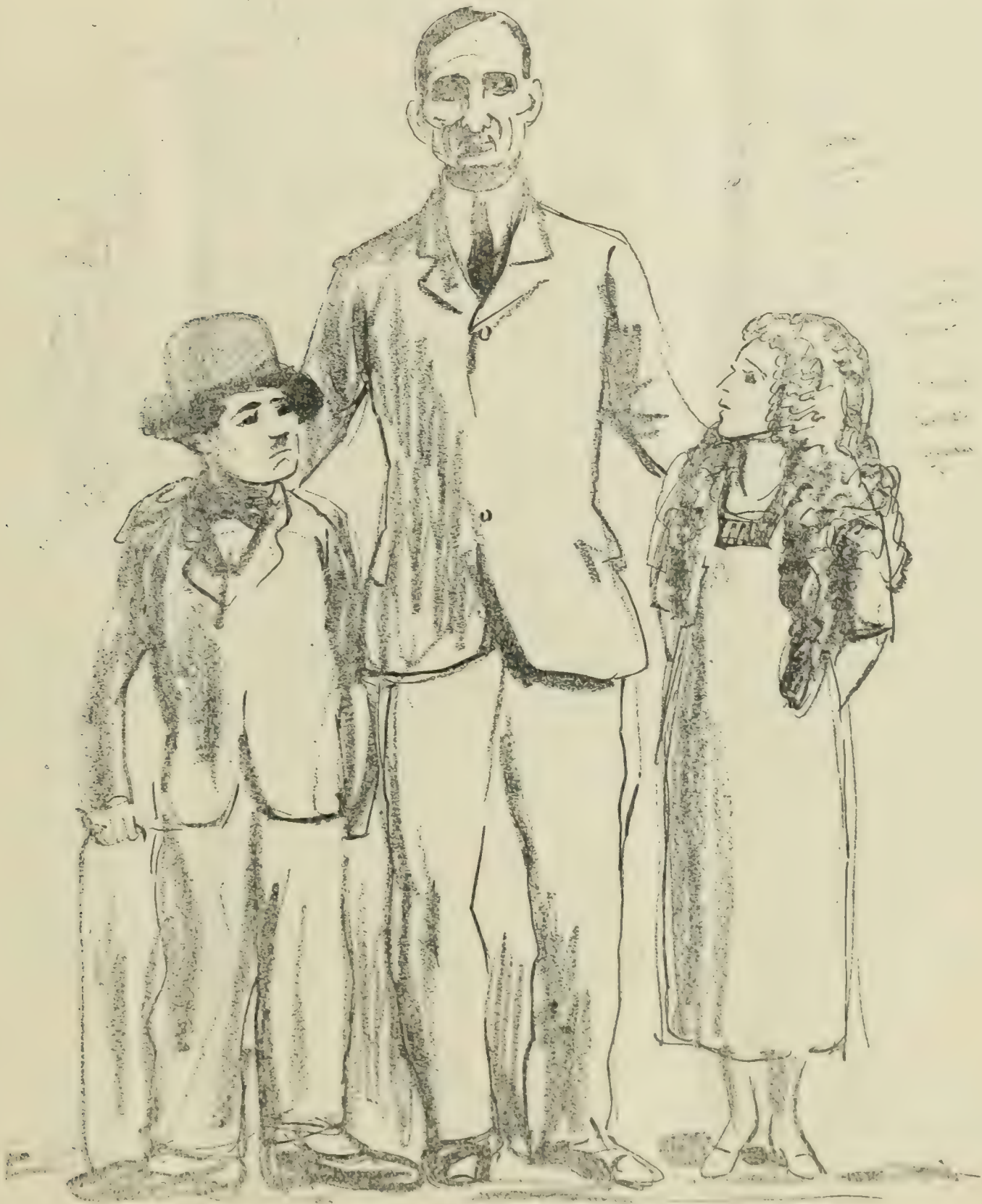
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VOL. 2

WEEK ENDING FEB. 15, 1919

NO. 7



McAdoo in the Movies

The President's Bolshevik Delegate

LENINE and Trotzky or whoever shall appear for those advanced anarchists at the Marmora conference will meet a congenial spirit in the ex-Rev. George D. Herron, whom President Wilson has appointed to represent the United States, along with Mr. William Allen White of Emporia, Kansas.

George was born in Montezuma, Indiana, in 1862, attended a college at Ripon, Wisconsin, received a D. D. degree from Tabor College, began to preach in Lake City, Minnesota, continued as pastor of the First Congregational Church in Burlington and served later as Professor of Applied Christianity in Iowa College. *Who's Who's* record, prepared by himself, informs us that he "resigned owing to opposition of trustees to his teachings." As a matter of fact, he was expelled by both the college and the Congregational Church of Iowa.

The "teachings" which produced this untoward effect conform precisely to the edicts respecting the marital relationship recently imposed by Lenine and Trotzky upon the Russian people. George wears no shackles in Love. A few sentences from his published works will indicate his views, to wit:

People who love each other and who therefore ought to live with each other need no laws to bind them together. The coercive family will pass away with the coercive economic system. Even when love exists on the part of one and not on the part of the other there can be no possible good in the two being kept together by external law.

Love must be set free and liberty trusted if noble and beautiful homes are to spring up to make the earth a garden of truth and gladness. There is a new world coming whose way can be made ready only by those who will throw away their good names and accept, perhaps, everlasting disgrace as the price of their protest.

Lives that are essentially one, cooperative in the love and truth that make oneness, need no law of State or church to bind or to keep them together. Upon such the imposition of force is a destruction and a blasphemy. On the other hand, no law in the universe has a right to keep together those vitally and essentially one. It is only in freedom that love can find its own, or truth blossom in the soul or other than a slave individually unfold.

Civilization with its network of falsehood and suspicion of retribution and revenge is a sort of world conspiracy against the soul's integrity and against individuality. Yet the right of a single soul to fully and freely express itself to live out and show forth all the truth about itself so that it need have within itself no hidden thing, but be naked before the universe and not be ashamed, is infinitely more important than the whole fabric of civilization.

The travail of the soul to become honest is far more vital and revolutionary, more menacing to what we call civilization than any questioning of the marriage system or the question of any institution.

It must be said for George that he practiced what he preached. In 1883 he courted Miss Mary Everhard of Ripon, married her in the regular way and lived with her seventeen years. Then he fell in with Mrs. E. D. Rand, a Wisconsin widow, who had both faith and money. The combination attracted George, but the impressionable widow was getting along in years too rapidly to suit his fancy. Fortunately she had a daughter of about the right age named Carrie and George's heart went out to her. How Carrie felt about it nobody could tell, but the old lady was enchanted and started in forthwith to clear the way for an ideal relationship.

For some reason or other George regarded his legalized

wife as an obstacle and for some other reason or other he did not care personally to undertake the task of removing it. Whereupon the widow approached the wife in a businesslike way and offered to buy George for Carrie. There was some haggling over the price, no two being able to agree as to what he was really worth, but finally the widow fixed the upset at \$50,000 and the wife accepted. She was sick and tired of George anyway. So she got a divorce and the widow took George and Carrie away somewhere and hired a minister to "announce" that they were man and wife. It was not according to Hoyle, but neither was George nor the widow for that matter, and George said he felt just the same as if he had gone through a regular ceremony. Poor Carrie didn't say a word. She stood it as long as she could and then up and died.

Meanwhile, the widow bought some land down in Metuchen, New Jersey, and George started a free-for-all Love Colony for those who had money, but recruits had barely begun to arrive when the neighboring farmers' wives handed pitchforks to the hired men and told them to get busy. George saw them coming and didn't stop running till he got to Italy, where, having left the widow at home, he could develop his socialistic theories in peace and quiet.

He is now a full-blown Internationalist and a budding Bolshevik. We quote from his more recent published utterances:

I am myself but an humble and unimportant follower of the international Socialist movement for the overthrow of the system which at present dooms the peoples of all nations to slavery, misery and hypocrisy.

The church has wrought mainly by brute authority. That which was atheism to Jesus has through the centuries been the orthodoxy of the church. The historic form of Christianity has done its work and now ought to disappear from the service of life. The Socialist will at last crown Jesus with a human glory which shall spiritually transfigure man. It is not Jesus that we ought to follow, but the highest truths of our own souls.

I have no expectation that the present kind of civilization can be amended—it can only be ended. The new system that shall give to every man at first what he is supposed to have earned and afterward what he needs, can no longer be called a party or sectional term. All kinds of socialism mean the organization of a world in which every man shall be born with an equal inheritance.

What shall become of God and gods, of temples, creeds and faiths in the new morning of socialism? It seems to me that the effect of the socialistic idea possessing the world would be to change the entire attitude of human life regarding the future.

Protestantism stands—though it doesn't stand very well today—by keeping man in an attitude of fear toward the unknown.

Can you find me any representative Protestant Christian in the city of New York today who would not think civilization would fall into chaos if men were to take seriously the things that they profess in their churches? Protestant Christianity believes today a thousand times more in the devil than in goodness.

There is not a bit of spiritual difference between the Standard Oil combination and the Presbyterian church, or rather, take the Presbyterian church in which I was born and reared. One demands tribute in the form of cash and the other in the form of enslavement of souls and all the cash it can get besides. But when the socialistic movement comes to something like a really defined conflict with the capitalistic classes it will come as a programme of uncompromising socialism without regard as to whether you or I want it or not.

It is already too late to reform society in America. It is no longer a question whether you will have a socialistic revolution. It is only left to you to decide what kind of a revolution you will have.

So far as we uninspired Americans are concerned, this leaves us about where we were, but the fact remains that, as an official representative of our officially deserted country, George is about to speak for us with the full authority of our President, of himself and of whatever lady friend he has been able to pick up in Florence since or before Carrie passed away.

Why the President selected George to represent himself and the United States at the international conference we can only guess. It can hardly be supposed that Mr. Wilson himself is yet in full accord with his peculiar economic and social theories or that he imagines the country is. The *Sun* suggests but doubts that the appointment is attributable to the President's abiding sense of gratefulness for personal favors rendered, and we are inclined to concur in the misgiving. The two previous biographers and interpreters of Mr. Wilson's mind were Mr. William Bayard Hale and Mr. George Creel, and verily they had their rewards. But the laudations of these two distinguished scholars were noteworthy for their fulsomeness, while George's is marked by obvious restraint. For example, in his book entitled "Woodrow Wilson and the World's Peace," he sternly curbs a natural bent for enthusiastic acclaim and utters these simple but effective words:

Woodrow Wilson has dared to believe divinely; and his faith that a federate world is possible, and the challenge of that faith to the nations, is the most creative collective act since the French Revolution. By his faith he has set a goal from which mankind can never take its eyes; he has sent forth the word that can never return. If the continuation of man upon the earth is inevitable, the final fulfilment of this word is inevitable. By the projection of one man's faith, humanity has been made to turn an unexpected corner, and there to depart irrevocably from the paths of its past ongoing. The horizon of history had highly shifted, the whole prospect of mankind had resplendidly changed, and the rostrum of the American Senate had become as God's burning altar, when, the address of the President concluded, the reverent wonder of the hour went abroad encircling the world as a divine visitation.

Of his comprehension of Mr. Wilson's purposes and methods George speaks more freely. "My understanding of the man I must proclaim," he says, "for I perceive—or certainly seem to perceive—that Woodrow Wilson is not only the greatest statesman that has appeared in the world for many years—great indeed beyond comparison with any save Lincoln—he is also a determined and tremendous radical; he is a redeemer of democracy. He is revolutionary beyond anything his words reveal, beyond anything his contemporaries have discerned." And he continues to proclaim his deductions from a painstaking analysis in this fashion:

More than any other man now living, Woodrow Wilson is likely to receive and to hold the world's attention. Deeply, and with broad and shrewdest kindness, he broods the human problem. He sees far into the future and he has clear ideas as to some of the things to be done. He knows, too, how to dispense with banners and how to accord his most revolutionary measures to the "still small voice."

His largest intentions are hid within himself; he tells as little as possible beforehand; he prefers to let his mind be revealed by results rather than promises.

He knows that in some crises men are too slow and doubtful, too double minded, to respond to the great appeal. They must be started in the new direction with a kind of divine stealth and without being told whither they go.

Such is the quality of the Wilson leadership. It is this spiritual adroitness, this union of extraordinary political idealism with an equal degree of political cunning that is his chief characteristic.

He has indeed been extraordinarily shifty in the accomplish-

ment of the things he believes basic and right; but the shifts he has made have been linked together in a divinely democratic processional.

Underlying all George finds a profound conviction making for the broadest kind of vision. "As compared with Woodrow Wilson," he writes, "there are socialist spokesmen who are Bourbon in their understanding and sympathy. As contrasted with America's President the parliamentary leaders of German socialism are mediaeval reactionaries . . . He stands for a universal politic so new, so revolutionary, so creative of a different world than ours that few have begun to glimpse his vision or to apprehend his purpose. His eyes are fixed upon a goal that is far beyond the present faith of nations."

While America may not know where she is going, George is positive that she is on her way. Her war with Germany was purely incidental. "It is upon a new and vaster crusade," he declares, "that President Wilson is leading his people. From the Atlantic to the Pacific the nation is possessed by the purpose to 'make the world safe for democracy'—to create, in fact, a world State embracing all nations . . . The course of our President has been one of extraordinary consistency and perception. It has been with a leadership unequalled in history, with a wisdom and a continuity that seem almost omniscient, that Woodrow Wilson has guided the nation into an understanding of the meaning of the war and into an acceptance of world responsibility."

There is much more to like effect, but enough has been reproduced, we surmise, to indicate George's mild but frank appreciation of the President, if not indisputably his accuracy as an interpreter of emotions, etc. That Mr. Wilson holds George and his opinions in equally high esteem is evidenced, of course, by the appointment itself. The conclusion, therefore, that the selection by the President of the ex-Rev. George Davis Herron as his personal delegate to the international conference is attributable to mutual admiration, respect and confidence seems to be irresistible. We take for granted that George will take a new lady friend along, and that should make the Bolshevik party complete, although perhaps not wholly agreeable to Premier Borden and the equally distinguished delegates from the other Powers.

To all of which we have only to say that if George is the kind of a Herron Mr. Wilson likes, to follow in the footsteps of Messrs. Hale and Creel, as his personal spokesman, the country perhaps has no ground for complaint; but, good God, think of the United States of America being represented by such a creature at one of the most vital meetings in the history of the world! Ugh!

Harvey's speech is full of holes and bad logic, but that is not the question now. The point of this criticism is that he is a destructive, not a constructive, critic, like, for a shining example, William Howard Taft. Many patriotic Americans differ from the President as to some features of his peace program, but most of us are willing to believe he is doing the best he knows how.—*Utica Dispatch*.

We readily admit that Mr. Taft is making a shining example of himself in leading Mr. Wilson's home band, if that is what you mean. Maybe, too, Mr. Wilson is "doing the best he knows how;" if so, he ought to know better.

McAdoo in the Movies

SO Mr. McAdoo has gone into the movies! That is all right. He couldn't raise a family on what the Government paid him and he got out while the going was good. Some say his political friends told him that he had nothing to gain and possibly much to lose by forcing bonds upon an unresponsive public and piling up railroad deficits for the people to meet. We should call that sound judgment, viewed from any angle. Even though his father-in-law should become the first President of the World, the prestige thus acquired by the family will hardly suffice to overcome all of the obstacles which confront Mr. McAdoo as a candidate for President of the United States. There are both lions and Democrats in his path and, as he himself is wont to observe, Mr. McAdoo is no politician. Moreover, despite his excellent work as Secretary of the Treasurer, he is not regarded universally as a statesman of the first order. Nevertheless our perspicacious neighbor the *Herald* is already picking his prospective Cabinet, to wit:

Secretary of State.....Charles Chaplin
Secretary of Treasury.....Mary Pickford
Secretary of War.....W. S. Hart
Secretary of Navy....."Fatty" (Roscoe) Arbuckle
Secretary of Interior.....Bessie Love
Secretary of Agriculture.....Douglas Fairbanks

It is not bad—that is, as compared with the present aggregation. The elements of popularity are there at any rate, and varied abilities not to be sneezed at. The principals have no occasion to borrow money; they simply reach out and take it at never less than \$100,000 per; and Mr. McAdoo goes in at par. That he will be a valuable acquisition there can be no particle of doubt. He is both versatile and speedy and has a reputation.

Although no announcement to that effect has yet appeared in the *Official Bulletin*, we gather from the public prints of the far West that Mr. Fairbanks is to assume charge of the political department under the general supervision of Secretary Tumulty and Mr. Wilson—not *the* Mr. Wilson, but Mr. Frank R. Wilson, pictorial director of Liberty loan publicity. So at least we read in a Los Angeles paper, which says:

Douglas Fairbanks is going to be the government's "official fool killer" and defend the United States in the movies. He has been asked to take this role by Joseph Tumulty, secretary to the President, and Frank R. Wilson, national director of Liberty loan publicity.

Douglas has consented to appear in a film to be used as propaganda to stem the tide of popular criticism which Tumulty and Wilson admit amounts to a storm of attack against the national administration.

In a telegram to Fairbanks, Wilson says in part: "There are possibilities of a short picture in which you would start out some morning as the official fool killer, and as you hear complaints uttered by various individuals, you turn upon them, giving them a lecture on real Americanism and then wallop them as you did the Kaiser."

Assuming that Mr. Tumulty and Mr. McAdoo are coöperating in this determined effort to "defend the United States," we have to anticipate dire distress for the Republican party and much exploitation of the Candidates of the Movies as opposed to all others even of Democratic persuasion. It impresses us offhand as an exceptionally clever plan. The

films will continue to be under government control until the President proclaims peace, and Heaven only knows when that will be at the rate they are now backing and filling in Paris.

In any event, Mr. McAdoo gets his hundred thousand a year and a look-in for the nomination under auspices far more favorable than could have been devised in Washington—surely no meagre reward for disinterested toil in the service of his country, etc. A happy outcome we call it.

The League as an Issue

The *Syracuse Post-Standard* says:

The American nation * * * elected a Congress the majority leaders of which are unequivocally and resolutely opposed to his league plans.—*Harvey's Weekly*.

In what Congressional district was the league of nations an issue? And who knows what the President's "league plan" is, anyhow?

It may be remarked that our contemporary does not question the accuracy of our assertion. Replying to its own queries, of course nobody knows what the President's plan is; in fact, nothing has appeared yet to indicate that he knows himself. The League was as much an issue in all districts as any of his other proposals which he told the country to repudiate if it dared, with results well remembered. But let our neighbor the *Herald*, a justly renowned political diagnostician, reply further. It says:

Not only did the American nation, with the President's proposals for an omnibus league [of nations] before it, refuse to elect a Congress subservient to his will, but it did elect a Congress the majority leaders of which are unequivocally and resolutely opposed to his league plans.—*Harvey's Weekly*.

For the purpose to which it is put—to contrast the President's political situation with that of Premier Clemenceau—this picture may be fair enough, but does it not lack somewhat in accuracy? The American nation never has had before it, in any concrete form, proposals for "an omnibus league." So far President Wilson has not taken the American people into his confidence with respect to the kind of league of nations he advocates. On this side of the Atlantic he has dealt solely in generalities, with the result that the American delegation at Paris is now wrestling with forty different league-of-nations schemes. The President's nearest approach to commitment to any definite project was in his address to the people of Manchester, England, when he said:—"The United States will join no combination of Powers which is not a combination of all of us."

If by this President Wilson means that the American people will support no league of nations which does not include Germany and Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria and Turkey—and his words as quoted seem to admit of no other interpretation—it is as certain as anything can be that he does not reflect the sentiments of any appreciable number of Americans. If a proposal for an "omnibus" league, including Germany and her allies in its membership, had been before the American nation last November and had been made the dominant issue in the campaign the adverse majority in the new Congress would be much greater than it is.

What think you, Syracuse?

THE WEEKLY

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Through Paltering to Infamy

THE Russian scandal nears its climax. We have intervened, and we have refused to intervene. We have been at war, and we have kept the peace. We have repeatedly pledged ourselves never to abandon the Russian people, and we have left them to "stew in their own juice."

In time the astounding proposition was made that we should enter into conference with all the various Governments and factions which have arisen in that country, good and bad alike. We were to give equal recognition and faith to those who had loyally kept the faith and had striven against fearful odds to maintain legitimacy of government, and to those who had broken faith and had betrayed their country. We were to meet on equal terms those who had been standing with us as faithful allies, and those who had declared and had been waging savage war against us. One voice alone was raised against the monstrous thing, the sane, clear, righteous voice of France; but it was drowned by the infatuated clamor of the others.

Of course the proposal was promptly rejected by every Russian worthy to represent his country. All those who had been accredited to and received by the Powers as ambassadors were vehement against it. The Government at Omsk, which is exercising the legitimate functions of government more extensively and more successfully than any other agency in all the empire, and which has maintained most friendly relations with the Allies, would have nothing to do with it. The Government at Archangel, with which the Allies have been and still are coöperating in warfare against the Bolsheviks, refused to enter the proposed conference.

The one organization which did at last accept the proposition was the one which has the least legal title to existence, the one with which we were and are actually at war, the one which broke faith, repudiated obligations, regarded treaties as "scraps of paper," betrayed Russia to the Huns, and established a reign of terror which for loot, rape and massacre rivalled the horrors of the German ravages in Belgium and France. Nor did even that infamous organization accept the invitation promptly and fairly. It waited until through intrigue and malign propaganda it could accept in circumstances which would make it appear as though it had won a great victory over the Allies, and that they were compelled to comply with its terms and to sue for peace.

The object is of course plain. It is to bolster up the waning power of Lenine and Trotzky and their co-partners in organized crime. It will enable them to vaunt before their deluded followers a great victory over the Allies, and to pose as the only Government in Russia which the Allies recognize as legitimate and with which the Allies enter into negotiation. The effect will be greatly to strengthen the Bolshevik campaign against the Governments at Archangel and at Omsk, and thus to give aid and comfort to our own enemies and the enemies of our Allies. It will also strengthen to an ominous extent the Bolshevik propaganda in other countries, not only in Germany but in England, where the great strikes are recognized to be largely of

Bolshevist incitement, and even in our own land, where Bolshevik conspirators are fomenting State-wide strikes.

Thus having for many months paltered and hesitated and contradicted ourselves, we—and our Allies—reach a climax by yielding to our enemies, and by betraying the people whom we pledged ourselves never to forsake into the hands of those who betrayed them into the hands of the Huns. If there is anybody responsibly connected with it who can regard the performance with satisfaction, we do not envy him his moral perception.

Republicans who are taking for granted that Mr. Mann is beaten for the Speakership are taking foolish chances. The old fox is trading Chairmanships right and left while lulling his opponents to sleep. It would be no joke on the Republican party if it should wake up on the morning of February 28 and discover that it had been caught napping, as the country was caught irretrievably on Prohibition.

Anti-Democratic Bolsheviks

THE most significant feature of the German National Assembly at Weimar is the attitude toward it which has been assumed by the German Bolsheviks, who are commonly called Spartacans or Spartacides. It will be remembered that during the campaign preceding the election for members of that Assembly, they exerted themselves to the utmost to secure a majority of votes. When the election occurred they mustered their full strength at the polls to cast every possible vote, and in places where they knew that there would be large majorities against them they organized or tried to organize riots to prevent their opponents from voting, to break up the election, or to destroy the ballot boxes so that the votes against them could not be counted.

Despite these tactics, the election was held in a generally orderly manner. Nearly the entire German electorate voted, freely, and the votes were honestly counted. It was doubtless on the whole a very fair election, and its results represented the will of the German people. That result was a victory for the Social Democrats and other moderate parties, and an overwhelming defeat for the extremists, alike for the Bolshevik Spartacans at the left and for the Pan-german Junkers at the right.

Immediately the defeated Bolshevik minority declared that it would not abide by that result. It did not impugn the fact, nor pretend that the votes had not been cast as counted and announced. It admitted that the majority of the German people were against Bolshevism. But that did not matter. A single Bolshevik always considers himself a majority. That is the essence of Bolshevism. So it was announced that the result of the election must be annulled, the Assembly must not be held, and another Assembly must be chosen in circumstances which would assure its being under Bolshevik control. Meantime preparations were made to crowd Weimar with Bolshevik ruffians, to prevent by force the Assembly from organizing. These designs were fortunately thwarted by the Provisional Government, and the Assembly was enabled, under the protection of the army,

to meet in peace and to transact the business desired by the German people.

This, we say, is supremely significant, because it so vividly illuminates the character, disposition and purposes of Bolshevism as it exists in Russia, Germany, the United States and elsewhere. Precisely the same tactics were employed in Russia against the National Assembly of that country, but with this difference: that they were successful, and that the Assembly was in consequence prevented from performing its functions. Precisely the same spirit prevails among the Bolsheviks and their sympathizers in this country. They have no regard for the will of the people as expressed through a majority vote at a popular election. No matter how small an element they are, they arrogate to themselves the right to rule. They are essentially undemocratic, as undemocratic as ever was a Kaiser or a Czar.

It is well that this should be kept in mind in dealing with the Bolsheviks, with whom we shall have to concern ourselves here no less than has to be done in Russia and Germany. The Bolshevik propaganda is already extant, and active and aggressive. The other day in Washington, almost within the shadow of the dome of the National Capitol, a great public meeting was held, attended even by members of Congress, at which Bolshevism was extolled and the demand was made that our Constitution and whole system of government should be abolished and replaced with a Bolshevik Soviet regime. We do not, of course, expect such a movement to succeed. But we do fear that it will give us serious trouble. The best way to meet and if possible to avert that trouble requires us to recognize the enemy for what it really is. It is a movement against democracy, against republicanism, against "government of the people by the people and for the people." It is an attempt to substitute for the rule of the majority a rule of an oligarchy, and that an oligarchy composed not of the best but of the worst elements of the community. That is Bolshevism, and it is against it that the world has now to be made "safe for democracy."

The President's Naval Policy

IT is not pleasant to have the President and his policy unfavorably criticised by the representative press of a friendly foreign nation. It is more unpleasant to have this done in circumstances which seem to impugn perhaps not the sincerity, but at least the consistency, of the policy in question. It is most unpleasant to have it done in circumstances which prevent a satisfactory reply, and which practically compel admission of the justice of the criticism.

We pointed out last week the strange and regrettable anomaly which was presented by the President in advocating at Paris, with ostentatious frankness, reduction of armaments, and at the same time in urging at Washington, with a certain degree of secrecy if not of furtiveness, expansion of armaments beyond the dreams of Jingoism. Worse still was the perfectly palpable purpose of the latter propaganda, to wit, to frighten other nations into acceding to his policies. It was impossible that so extraordinary an exhibition should pass unnoticed, and we can indeed only wonder that the

comments upon it in the British press are so moderate and restrained.

Up to a certain point, the facts, of course, are undisputable. They are a part of public and official record. While the President has been advocating reduction of armaments, his supporters in Congress have been seeking the enactment of a bill providing for very great naval expansion, the execution of the measure to be conditioned, however, upon the attitude of other nations toward the President's policies in other matters. If they accede to his policies, the bill is to be a dead letter, and the expansion will not be effected; but if they reject his policies, then our navy is to be expanded until it is the most powerful in the world.

The charge of inconsistency against such a procedure cannot be successfully refuted. Neither can we condemn critics for taking an even more severe view of the secrecy which is maintained concerning the President's command, appeal, request or whatever it was, for the enactment of that extraordinary measure. That he did send a message to the Chairman of the Naval Affairs Committee, intended to promote the passage of the bill, is admitted. Its wording is kept a profound secret, doubtless at the desire of the President himself; since it is inconceivable that the Chairman would keep it secret if the President wished it disclosed.

It is of course quite permissible for such communications to be held confidential. It is permissible for an officer whose "hobby is publicity," and who holds that no public business should be transacted in secret, to conduct important public business behind a veil. On the principle that the end justifies the means, we suppose that it would be legitimate and laudable to conduct secret diplomatic negotiations for the purpose of putting an end to secret diplomacy. The ways of doctrinaire logic are past finding out. But seeing that inquisitiveness is the birthright of humanity, we cannot prevent people from wondering what was in the message which is kept shrouded in such impenetrable mystery, and we cannot blame them greatly if they draw from Mr. Wilson's former utterances on comparable occasions inferences as to what its purport was.

The President has more than once asked for the enactment of certain legislation in order to strengthen his hands in other achievements which he has had in mind. We recall that five years ago he asked, on just such grounds, the enactment of the Panama Canal tolls repealer, saying that unless Congress passed that bill he would not know how to deal with other matters of still greater delicacy and importance. Later, he asked for the passage of the Woman Suffrage resolution, on the ground that it was necessary in order to enable him successfully to prosecute the war. With these and other like examples in mind, it would not seem an inexcusable exaggeration to imagine the President as saying, in effect, to the Chairman of the Naval Affairs Committee that unless the bill in question was enacted, he would be seriously hampered in his efforts to persuade the European Powers to enter a League of Nations; and that unless the United States made a conditional threat of enormous naval expansion, he was afraid that he would not get the other Governments to agree to disarmament.

Such tactics may be permissible and effective in domestic politics, particularly those of the parochial brand. When

they are applied to international affairs of the highest importance we must doubt their propriety, especially in a world-wide campaign for "open covenants openly arrived at." There has been much solicitude expressed by some of his official mouthpieces lest legitimate criticism of and dissent from the President would impair his prestige and discredit him abroad. We beg to suggest that all the criticism and dissent of which the President has been the object could not reflect upon him one-half so unfavorably as just this one act of his own.

A Belated Awakening

THE increasing symptoms of widespread revolt against impending Prohibition are decidedly complex in their significance. From one point of view they are commendable and reassuring. We should have regretted to see the nation supinely acquiesce in the monstrous subversion of personal liberty, and equally of Constitutional principles, that is involved in the measure with which we are threatened. From the vantage ground of its success, there would be only a short step to a régime comparable with that of the legendary "blue laws," in which even the most intimate details of domestic and personal life would become subject to official inquisition and dictation, and in which the national Constitution, instead of serving as a popular Bill of Rights, would become an instrument of oppression and persecution. That American citizens revolt against such an outlook is creditable to them, as an indication that they have not yet been entirely seduced and perverted by Pharisaical doctrinaires.

From another point of view these manifestations of popular sentiment are subject to severe criticism. That is because they are so fatally belated. A year ago, three months ago, they might have been effective. Now they are too late. The Amendment to the Constitution is adopted, practically beyond possibility of repeal. The odious thing is done, and cannot be undone. If nine-tenths of the people of the nation desired and demanded the undoing of it, it could not be undone, save by a forcible revolution such as should be an unthinkable thing in America. There was ample warning. These millions of indignant citizens who are now raging against prohibition at the very time when there is most need of aggressive industry and the best possible morale, knew weeks and months ago just as well as they know today with what they were threatened. Yet they were silent. They sat still while State legislature after State legislature ratified the amendment. They knew that unless those ratifications were halted before the thirty-sixth was achieved, the Amendment would be irretrievably fastened to the Constitution. But they did nothing and said nothing to stop the business. Had they then manifested one-half the opposition which they are now exploiting, they might have prevented ratification. Now it is too late.

The matter presents, however, two salient phases, requiring separate treatment. The protests in question are against the prohibition which is threatened for July 1 next. But that is not Constitutional prohibition, for Constitutional prohibition will not come into force until more than six months later. It was merely through the exercise of the extraordinary war powers granted to him by a subservient

Congress that the President issued the ukase for prohibition on July 1, a ukase which is to be in force only so long as it pleases the President. The supposition has been that he would keep it in force until it was supplanted by Constitutional prohibition, which will become effective in January next—perhaps—and that thus July 1 would see the establishment of perpetual prohibition.

It is obvious, however, that it is in the President's power to terminate the prevalence of that ukase at any time; and indeed to rescind it altogether before the time set for it to become effective. In that case it would never become operative, and there would be no prohibition on July 1. Obvious motives for taking such a step must strongly appeal to the President's mind. The probability is that the treaty of peace will be made and that the war will thus be ended both in theory and in practice before July 1. In that case it would be illogical if nothing worse to continue extraordinary war measures after that date. It would be absurd to enforce measures "for the efficient prosecution of the war" after the war was officially declared to have ended. We submit that the prospect that it will thus be ended before July 1 is sufficiently assured to warrant the immediate rescinding of the prohibition ukase.

There is another reason, to which we have already referred. We are entering upon a crucial period of economic reconstruction, scarcely less crucial than the war itself, in which it is supremely desirable that there shall be no strikes, no social disturbances. It would be nothing short of disastrous to have at such a time a nation-wide strike over an entirely extraneous issue. To avert such a catastrophe would be abundant reason for immediately abolishing the provision for nation-wide prohibition on July 1, and for postponing the date until January next, by which time the processes of industrial reorganization will be sufficiently advanced to enable us far better to endure such disturbances, if they must occur.

Whether they are to occur at all is a question for future determination; which is to be commended to the Government at Washington for careful consideration. Or perhaps we should say that there is thus to be commended to it the matter which may be made the pretext for strikes; for it would be intolerable to have governmental action or non-action influenced by fear of such disturbances. If a thing is right, let the Government stand by it, though all the strikes in the world be threatened; if it be wrong, let it repudiate it, even though there be not a single threat or demand made concerning it. The question before the Government will be, then, whether it is right to impose this sumptuary ordinance upon the nation by Constitutional amendment, and thus to prostitute the organic law of the nation to a purpose for which it was never intended.

It is certain no compulsory arbitration is desired by the representatives of President Wilson.—C. W. Gilbert's dispatch to *The Evening Sun of New York*.

How about the representatives of the United States?

As to the claim of Edsel Ford's father upon the seat in the United States Senate to which Truman H. Newberry was elected last fall: Why not refer it to arbitration by the League of Nations?



Americans in P



on Their Way

The Week

WASHINGTON, *February 13, 1919.*

THE Secretary of War was quoted as saying on Wednesday of last week that he saw no danger of Bolshevism in this country. Doubtless he thought of it as he once did of the war, that it was "three thousand miles away." Yet on Thursday he ordered the sending of a detachment of the army to Seattle, to deal with what was described as "an experiment in Bolshevism."

Thoroughly praiseworthy and inspiring is the action of the Federal authorities in summarily deporting fifty-four alien Bolsheviks of the I. W. W. brand, most of whom had been fomenting the "experiment of Bolshevism" at Seattle. When the scoundrels are dumped upon the shores of Russia or whatever country they came from their mouths will doubtless be in violent eruption against the "bourgeoisie" and "capitalism" of the land whose hospitality they so abominably outraged; in which they will be doing us the only real favor of which they are capable. If they will only give so lurid an account of our "tyranny" as to discourage others of their kidney from coming hither, we shall be so grateful as almost to forgive them for their dirty work while they were here—though we should never forgive them sufficiently to let them invade America again. It is to be hoped that the example set in this case will be invoked and emulated whenever any other aliens get troublesome; the example set by the Federal authorities and that set, also, by the Mayor of Seattle, who seems to be a man of sense and sand.

M. Ferdinand Larnaude, one of the President's colleagues on the Commission on League of Nations, has imparted to the press what is presumably an authentic statement of the plans for a League, up to date. The various items are interesting, but we cannot say that they give a notably favorable impression of the scheme as a whole. There is, we are told, to be an Executive Committee "with full powers," always in session. What these powers are is not stated, though obviously much depends upon it. If the Committee is to have full powers to express pious aspirations, to publish dry-as-dust reports, and to call the whole League together every little while, we see no reason why it should not amuse itself in that fashion. There is also to be a judicial tribunal, before which nations may be ordered to appear by the Executive Committee, to settle their differences. That casts a little light upon the "full powers" of the Executive Committee, and suggests the cheerful prospect that the United States might be "ordered" by an alien body to submit to an alien tribunal some dispute which it did not consider suited to such settlement. That is something concerning which we assume the Senate will have something to say before ratifying any treaty binding us to such a system. The third provision, of a yearly meeting of the League in International Parliament, for the consideration of international legislation, may be passed without serious demur.

The fourth item, however, calls for the maintenance of an international force, both army and navy, of which each

nation is to maintain its quota, holding it within its own borders until it is ordered out by the Executive Committee for active service elsewhere. That turns the spotlight upon the "full powers" of the Executive Committee, and suggests that we are expected to maintain an army and navy, not for our own protection, but for Hessian-like use in any part of the world to which it may be summoned by an alien body. If, for example, Bulgaria and Roumania have a disagreement, and Bulgaria declines to submit to the League's tribunal, the Executive Committee may order the United States to send ships and men to wage war against Bulgaria until she agrees to submit the case to the court. That, too, is a prospect which will certainly be very interesting to our Senators when the treaty containing it comes to them for ratification.

Finally we are told that force is thus to be employed merely to compel nations to go into court. If they go into court and fail to obtain settlement, they may go ahead with war in the old-fashioned way, just as though there had never been any League of Nations at all. Thus we are to go to war to compel them to avoid war, and then are to let them go to war after all. What was it that the fellow in Brobdingnag said about the blessedness of making two wars to rage where only one raged before?

The organizers of the League of Nations will be prudent to leave compulsory arbitration out of their scheme. The United States Senate has repeatedly put itself on record against any such trap, and the people have pretty generally and heartily approved the attitude. Nobody can charge this country with being hostile or indifferent to arbitration. The modern practice of that principle was first suggested by two American statesmen, Hamilton and Franklin; the most important example of it was effected at the instance of this country at Geneva forty-five years ago; and the United States has probably invoked the principle, and loyally acquiesced in the award, more frequently than any other nation. But this country does not purpose to buy a pig in a poke, or to bind itself in advance to do that which, if proper, it would have no hesitation in doing and which if improper it ought not to do at all.

The official communiqué of the Commission on the League of Nations declared that "a general agreement has been reached on the principles which underlie the whole draft. It is therefore to be expected that the remaining articles will be covered quickly." A few hours later the super-official communiqué of Mr. David Lawrence reported that "the most vital clauses have not yet been reached." Coördination of information would seem to be in order. Where's the creel?

The German National Assembly has got to work promptly and in a business-like fashion, and gives promise of presently providing the country with a permanent government of the Social-Democrat persuasion. We are quite willing to wish it success, but we cannot blind ourselves to the essential Hunnishness of the spirit which pervades it. Nothing could

be more characteristic of the Blond Beast than the mixture of whining and threatening with which Herr Ebert opened the conclave. He wept crocodile tears over the hardships which the heartless Allies were imposing upon the mild murderers, chivalric ravishers, and guileless thieves of Germany, and then blusteringly declared that if they didn't stop it, Germany would have nothing more to do with them, but would leave them to conduct their old Peace Congress the best way they could. There spoke the same spirit which the Hohenzollern degenerate manifested in his "ME und Gott" diatribes.

Again, both Herr Ebert and Herr David, the permanent President of the Assembly, tried to claim that under the "self-determination" principle of the President's Fourteen Commandments, the disposition of Alsace-Lorraine should be decided by the people of those provinces in a plebiscite, taken, of course, under German auspices. The fact is, of course, that there is no general "self-determination" rule in the Commandments, while there is an explicit prescription that Alsace-Lorraine shall be restored to France, without any hint of a plebiscite—any more than there was when Germany stole the provinces from France in 1871.

With such characteristic Hunnishness prevailing among them, the delegates at Weimar will do well to attend strictly to their own domestic business and say nothing more about international affairs; which they seem to be incapable of discussing with honesty or decency.

Herr Ebert doubtless thought that he was uttering a frightful threat when he said to the German National Assembly that if the Allies were too severe in the conditions of the armistice, the whole German Government might withdraw from participation in peace-making and throw upon the Allies "all the weight of responsibility for the new world organization." We have not heard, however, that any of the gentlemen at Paris, not even M. Clemenceau, turned pale when they heard of it. Indeed, we have an idea that they are quite prepared to endure with Christian fortitude the weight aforesaid. All the participation in peacemaking that is wanted from Germany is for her to accept the terms which the Allies prescribe. If she does not accept them, so much the worse for her.

M. Clemenceau reconsiders his former exultant statement that the war has been won, and says more accurately that "there is a lull in the storm;" and he is quite right. The gravest menace of the world today is in the futile fiddling of the Peace Congress. Red herrings are being dragged across the trail of justice, the essentials of peace-making are being delayed, the agonizingly urgent work of reconstruction in France and other countries is being blocked, discontent and Bolshevism are being fostered even in our own land, and the Blond Beast beyond the Rhine is being encouraged to lick his bloody chops and snarl at the world with renewed threats of war. The Peace Conference at Paris would do well to heed the example of the gathering at Weimar. The National Assembly of Germany met for the first time on February 6, and on February 10 it had

its second and third readings of the completed draft of the new German Constitution. Are we to reach the humiliating conclusion that an assembly of constructive criminals is more efficient than a gathering of honest men?

The question of the disposal of the former German colonies appears to be in the position of Mohammed's coffin, with odds in the betting that it will presently drop to earth. The mandatory principle, we are told, will find few supporters in the Peace Congress "unless President Wilson returns from America with the consent of the United States to perform her duties as a mandatory Power. If he fails to do so, the conquered territories will revert to the conquerors. "This," adds the scribe, "seems a verdict highly acceptable to the majority." We should hope so. It certainly will be highly acceptable here. If the success of the mandatory system depends upon the willingness of the United States to assume responsibility for the good government of Arabia, Armenia, Constantinople, Princes' Island, and Borrioboola Gha, we should say that its chances are about equal to those of a rather small and fluffy snowball in the southwest corner of Hades.

In considering the merits of the mandatory system, it will be profitable to keep in mind the two conspicuous examples of its practical application which we have seen in our own time. The first was the case of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The great Powers of Europe at the Congress of Berlin gave Austria-Hungary a mandate to administer those provinces. The outcome of it was that after years of tyrannical misgovernment she stole them and annexed them outright, and thus started a train of incidents which in time afforded her and her bigger partner a pretext for beginning the world war. The second was the case of the Congo State. The Powers, America included, gave to the then King of the Belgians a mandate to administer it, with the result of such gross misgovernment that the Powers had to remonstrate with him and threaten him with deposition. If any just-minded and humanely-disposed person sees in those examples anything worthy of present emulation, we cannot envy him his intellectual processes.

The suggestion is made that Great Britain may call on us to pay a trifle of \$150,000,000 or thereabouts for the losses caused to British investors by our impending destruction of distilling and brewing interests. We would make the supplementary suggestion that the claim be referred to the judicial tribunal of the League of Nations. If we decline thus to submit it, the Executive Committee of the League will have full power to commandeer the Swiss navy and the army of San Marino to come over here and wallop us into submission.

But there is a limit to yer yielding, declare those who represent her. France will be rigid and inflexible enough, they say, when it comes to the questions which she does consider vital, the foremost example of which, in her opinion, is the matter of reparation for war damages.—*Paris dispatch in The New York Times.*

Vive la France!

Burleson Beats the World

IT took thirty hours to get a "rush" telegram from Philadelphia to its address in New York. It took twenty-four hours to get telephone connection between Philadelphia and a telephone subscriber in New York whose Manhattan telephone address has been in the local telephone book for ten years. It took twenty-four hours to get a special delivery mail package marked "urgent" from New York to its Philadelphia address, a distance of ninety miles with an hourly train service covering the ground in two hours. Altogether fifty-seven hours—two twenty-four-hour days and nine hours over—were consumed by the Politicalmaster General's combined telegraph, telephone and mail service forces in doing an errand between Philadelphia and New York which a messenger could have done in six hours, with time for a leisurely luncheon in New York before starting back.

We are not calling attention to this speed record of the Politicalmaster General's coördinated telegraphic, telephonic and mail services because it is unusual. The interest in the case lies solely in the fact that it is an interlocking demonstration of Burlesonian efficiency in all of his three systems of service. To be sure it involved the sacrifice of a human life. But that is an irrelevant detail.

A woman in Philadelphia was in imminent danger of death. There was a chance that her life might be saved by a serum in possession of Dr. Silas P. Beebe, 417 Park Avenue, New York. Her physician, at 10 o'clock on a Thursday morning, sent a "rush" message to Dr. Beebe. At the latest the serum should have been delivered early the next morning. It did not come. Dr. Teller, the Philadelphia physician, then tried the Politicalmaster General's telephone service. The urgent nature of the case was explained at the Philadelphia telephone office with an earnest plea for speed. After a long interval the report came back from the New York telephone office that there was no such person as Dr. Beebe among the New York telephone subscribers. Dr. Silas P. Beebe, the only Dr. Beebe in the telephone book, has been a telephone subscriber for ten years. His number, plainly printed in the last telephone directory, is Plaza 9576. Dr. Teller insisted that Dr. Beebe *did* have a telephone. The telephone office insisted that he did *not* have one, and informed Dr. Teller that he, Teller, had the name wrong. This deadlock continued from Friday morning until along in the afternoon of Saturday, when at last the telephonic communication which should have taken fifteen or twenty minutes was established after an interval of over twenty-four hours.

In the meantime things had been moving at breakneck speed in the Politicalmaster General's telegraphic service. The "rush" telegram which Dr. Teller had sent at 10 o'clock on Thursday morning reached Dr. Beebe at 5:20 on Friday afternoon. Owing to the life-and-death nature of the message, the Politicalmaster General undoubtedly had put on extra speed. The telegram was rushed through to its New York address in only a little over thirty hours. As quickly as he could prepare the serum Dr. Beebe personally directed the parcel containing it, marked it "urgent," paid the full postage rates, put on a special delivery stamp, and

with his own hands mailed it at the Grand Central postoffice in New York.

That was at 9 o'clock on Friday night. Eighteen hours afterwards, when telephone connection was at last established, Dr. Beebe was amazed to learn that his parcel had not been delivered in Philadelphia. He at once prepared more serum, and put it into the hands of a messenger with instructions to get to Philadelphia with all speed. The messenger reached the Philadelphia address two hours ahead of the special delivery mail package, marked "urgent," which arrived about twenty-four hours after Dr. Beebe had himself mailed it in a New York post office.

But even the messenger was too late. The woman died an hour before he got there with the life-saving serum.

Now, all things considered, we are disposed to regard this as the Politicalmaster General's supreme achievement. He has been longer in delivering mail matter. He has been far longer in delivering night telegrams by mail. We do not know that there is anything surprising in a 24-hour time allowance in establishing a telephone connection between New York and Philadelphia. But here we have in one instance, and that instance a case of life and death, a demonstration of coördinated, interlocking ineptitude, of sheer helpless incapacity of administration, which we venture to believe not even the Burlesonian record can match. And if it beats Burleson it beats the world.

There was a time when we had the best telephone and telegraph service in the world. Now we can challenge the entire world on having unqualifiedly the worst service in either or both branches. We defiantly take our stand on this one Burleson masterpiece, and invite the whole telephone and telegraph world to bring on their administrative imbeciles and down us if they can.

The Personal Equation

MORE and more the purely personal equation is being exploited. It was only the other day that a Senator of the United States denounced a reputable and eminent citizen as guilty of "treasonable" conduct—in effect, of being a traitor. Pinned down to a more explicit explanation of the monstrous aspersion, he admitted that the citizen's offence had been merely that he was "not loyal to Mr. Burleson." In his conception, then, loyalty consists not in devotion to the Constitution and laws and to the nation, but in personal fidelity—or, rather, subserviency—to some individual member of the Government. To dissent from the views of a President or even a Cabinet officer is treason.

A little later another Senator, one of the most conspicuous members of that body, complained of and denounced his colleagues for "trying to discredit the President." They had been discussing and criticising certain policies to which the President appeared to be endeavoring to commit this country, and their criticisms were entirely impersonal. But the same adulatory spirit that had striven to persuade the Senate to approve in advance anything that the President might say or do, instantly interpreted criticisms of public policy as personal attacks upon the man, and regarded these as therefore little less than high treason and sacrilege. No

matter what vagaries the President might indulge in, there must be no dissent nor criticism, lest the President be thereby personally discredited.

We used to laugh contemptuously at such things when they were done at Berlin under the imperial law against lèse-majesty. We might afford to laugh at them here, at Washington, were it not that they are so offensively repugnant to the American spirit and to the American principle of government that their appearance must be regarded as a noxious and in a measure ominous growth. We do not suppose that the Senators who have been saying these foolish things really wish to invest the President or the Cabinet members with imperial personal privilege. But if not, why do they say such things? It not merely brings ridicule upon themselves and upon the objects of their solicitude, but it gives provocation and even some pretense of pretext to those malign forces which really are striving to undermine and overthrow our institutions.

History is at a loss to determine whether it was in childish thoughtlessness or in sneering arrogance that a young Queen asked, concerning a starving multitude that clamored for bread, "If they have no bread, why don't they eat cake?" But history does record that the inopportune words provoked a revolution and an unspeakable tragedy. It would not be well, and it might in some complication be most mischievous, to give the nation the impression that loyalty and treason were becoming personal factors objectively as well as subjectively.

The American delegates in the Commission on International Labor Legislation wish to insert in the peace treaty clauses compelling an eight-hour day in all countries; excluding from international commerce goods made in private homes, or by persons under sixteen, or by convicts; and requiring equal wages for equal work to women and men alike. Admirable propositions; and about as appropriate in a peace treaty is a prohibition amendment in the Constitution.

The day will come when I ought to speak, and shall.—*William Hohenzollern.*

When? "Der Tag"? Or when the court inquires, "William Hohenzollern, have you anything to say, why the sentence of the court shall not now be imposed upon you?"

Lord Northcliffe's Retirement

The Editor of THE WEEKLY in the Sun.

"The question now is shall I buy the *Times*?"

It must have been the spring of 1904. We had been walking in Hyde Park and were waiting to cross Park lane on the way to the house at which each morning Northcliffe called to see his mother. I looked at him in amazement. Then I realized that the remark was not addressed to me in particular. He was only thinking aloud. The traffic broke and we crossed the street. As we parted at the door of the house I inquired: "Is the *Times* for sale?"

"I don't know," he replied. "Probably not. It makes no difference. That is not the question."

A year later at Broadstairs I recalled the brief conversation. He was still undecided. The real question, I discovered, related to his physical prospects. He had taken up golf systematically and was deriving both benefit and reassurance. I did not see him the following year. In November, 1907, he came to New York and the Pilgrims gave him a dinner. Having been asked to say a few words, I sat next to him at the table. As my turn drew near, he remarked quietly:

"I have bought the *Times*. The fact is not known. Suppose you announce it?"

I did so, and the information was flashed that night to startled England. The consternation it caused is well remembered. I recount this incident merely to indicate the man's extraordinary prevision.

Now what if Northcliffe had not bought the *Times*? Would there be a British Empire now? Would France have been reduced to a mere satrapy? Would our own country today be struggling with the invader instead of with problems of reconstruction? Who can tell? Personally I have never believed for a moment that God would permit the German heel to stamp upon the neck of the world. But I am no less strongly convinced by study and observation at close range, at perhaps the most critical moment, that Northcliffe and the *Times* saved England. Neither, in my judgment, could have done it alone. The complement of the two powers of tradition and personality was essential.

In all Britain only Northcliffe was prepared. Two years, almost to a day, before Germany struck we were playing golf at Deal. I recall the happening with peculiar distinctness. I had never beaten him before. At luncheon, speaking again after his wont as to himself, he said:

"Within three years we shall be at war."

"With Germany?"

"With Germany. She is nearly ready."

"And England?"

"Has only her navy. That is all she will have when the storm breaks. Nothing can be done."

"And the outcome?"

Northcliffe snapped back his chair with a characteristic movement, paced back and forth for a few moments, returned to his place, leaned forward and took a sip of tea and, looking up, said simply without a trace of boastfulness or excitement:

"England always wins."

To the end he never wavered for an instant in this belief. In December, 1915, I found him awaiting me at Claridge's upon my return from the Prime Minister's.

"You found things well?" he inquired.

"Certainly no sign of despair."

"No; on the contrary, satisfaction and smug complacency. Come!"

We were whizzed to the office of Lloyd George, then Minister of Munitions, whom I happened to know. Northcliffe left immediately. I remained perhaps an hour and brought away a message which I was to deliver or not, as my judgment should dictate, to the President. That evening I dined with Northcliffe. After questioning me briefly about my interview, he said:

"We are not winning the war. I do not say we are losing it yet. But we shall be soon if we go on as we are going. The one man in England who may be able to save us you have just left. If he cannot, nobody can. *But he can.* He must be put in full control. It will be a hard job."

It was. It took Northcliffe eleven long months to get Asquith out and Lloyd George in. As to what might have transpired if he had failed, opinions may differ. But the result stands.

Northcliffe, the savior of England, is now paying the penalty of driving a human dynamo to the limit of capacity. But he has not finished. Marvellous as have been his achievements and career, he has only begun. He is still a young man in both body and spirit. As a directive manager of multifarious affairs, he retires, yielding as he should yield to the inevitable reaction from excessive mental and physical strain. But as the most vivid personality developed by the war in civil life he will return stronger than ever. He cannot stop. Northcliffe will die with his boots on.

That is a delightful proposition in the scheme of labor and government control of the railroads which has just been put before Congress, to the effect that if the roads make a profit, the surplus revenue shall be distributed in part to the employees, but if there is a deficit, the nation shall be taxed to meet it. Heads we win, tails you lose.

I believe that America belongs to American citizens, native and naturalized, who are willing to seek redress for their grievances in orderly and Constitutional ways, and I believe that all others should be taught, peacefully if we can and forcibly if we must, that our country is not an international boarding house nor an anarchist café.—*Vive-President Marshall.*

In the absence of the President, the Vice-President should be Acting President.

Letters From Our Readers

NO ATTACK ON ST. ELIZABETH'S

SIR,—The pleasure and profit I have had from every copy of your WEEKLY convince me that you would be the last person to wish any misleading statement or mistaken sentiment in its columns to go unchallenged. Hence this communication.

On page 12 of THE WEEKLY, dated January 4, 1919, under the caption, "A Crying Outrage," you declare that "shell-shocked" soldiers are being sent to "St. Elizabeth's, the Government Hospital for the Insane," and, as a result, are given neither a fair deal nor the proper treatment.

In attacking the army's medical corps for such action, and incidentally describing St. Elizabeth's, you use such phrases and statements as these:

These soldiers are put "where conditions must inevitably aggravate their malady"; "such heartless and unscientific treatment" of men entitled to the best the government can give them; they "are thrown with the hopelessly insane"; anybody "familiar with the distressing scenes and environment of a large public insane asylum like St. Elizabeth's" can not escape the force of your arguments against this policy.

"It means," you conclude, "the condemnation of men who may be but temporarily deranged to the living death of the permanently insane."

It is peculiarly unfortunate, it seems to me, that your article revivifies and appeals to the antiquated idea that the humane and enlightened care of the mentally sick is undertaken with an accompaniment of the jangling chains, dungeon cells and hidden cruelties that featured the punishment of witchcraft centuries ago. That fallacious idea dies hard in the public mind. And repetition of it, aside from the inaccuracy involved, must be, at best, cold comfort to those soldiers' "relatives" in whose behalf you write with a warmth greater, I believe, than it is well-founded.

Of course, I am assuming that you have been victimized in this matter by an informant whose thoughts were colored by resentment or weakened by ignorance. And, in this connection, it may be well to remember that the amateur specialist on nervous and mental diseases has always been a violent critic of the institutions devoted to such work. The reason is obvious: how may an amateur more happily establish his excellence than by discrediting the leaders of the profession which he seeks to reform? Only one class excels him in such denunciation: the disgruntled patients themselves. And of disgruntled patients, hospitals for physical sickness can speak as feelingly as those for mental ailments.

The care of the insane is a matter of such unselfish vigilance, such unrelenting kindness, such study and investigation, and, above all, such intellectual ability, that the carping of an amateur is scarcely more enlightening than the grudge of a patient.

With that explanation, I hasten to say that, in my work as a newspaper writer interested in this very problem of caring for the insane, I have paid many visits to St. Elizabeth's at all hours of the day in all seasons of the year. And I have yet to see, hear, or experience one of the "horrors" you mention.

The "cheerfulness of environment" and the "soothing surroundings," which, you say, St. Elizabeth's does not possess, have impressed me as little short of marvelous every time I have been there. And your deploring the lack of "the acme of tender care" in the hospital has the sound of wasted regret when it is recalled that St. Elizabeth's and its present superintendent are famous throughout the country as pioneers and exemplars of the wonders such tenderness works.

Their fame in this respect is increased in the mind of any fair observer who sees this small town with its handsome buildings and spacious grounds; its flowers and velvety lawns; the chapel, theater, sun parlors, reading rooms, and farm; the planting and harvesting of crops, and the quarters specially designed for the varying classes and conditions of the sick. In many ways the patients are entertained as well as "treated." They are offered the enjoyment of music, the delights of literature, the consolations of religion, and the helpful atmosphere of such kindness as I have never seen equalled, much less surpassed, anywhere else.

All this is not to say that the institution has no "violent" ward, nor to ignore the fact that, as a government hospital, it has its quarters for the "criminal insane." But it is to point out that these wards are located and constructed so as to be isolated from, and no annoyance to, other patients. St. Elizabeth's is not a big building, into which are thrown, helter-skelter, all the patients who are sent there. It is a town in itself, its population more than 5,000, its patients a trifle over 3,000. It covers many square acres. There is no one point at which you may stand and see all of its buildings. One might easily believe it

to be a quiet country town. One could never honestly see it as a place of "horror," or find in it anything to retard the recovery of a soldier or sailor if he has within his physique and brain the possibilities of recovery.

An attack on an institution of this kind is necessarily an attack on the man who governs it. The superintendent of St. Elizabeth's is Dr. William A. White. I doubt that any man has done more, and few as much, to reduce the suffering and increase the comfort of the men who, as you describe them, "have risked their lives in the defense of their flag."

When we entered the war his official position and his membership on the war committee of the National Committee for Mental Hygiene enabled him to take the commanding place in the labor that resulted in: planning and erection of psychiatric units in connection with base hospitals; thorough mental examination of all recruits; selection of neurologists for military service; listing of physicians and all attendants and nurses with experience in institutions for the insane; intensive training of physicians in mental work at Johns Hopkins, Harvard, Ann Arbor and St. Elizabeth's; and thorough coöperation between the government and all the mental specialists of the country for the care of nervous diseases among the fighting forces.

His achievements are too numerous for cataloguing here. His reputation is founded on a versatility so many-sided that it needs no advertising.

To say, seriously and in the far-reaching columns of your WEEKLY, that such a man would admit to St. Elizabeth's patients who could be treated better elsewhere is a criticism as far from fact as it is at variance with the man's personality. His professional standing, the staff with which he has surrounded himself, and the results obtained in treating nervous and mental patients at St. Elizabeth's have established the hospital, here and abroad, as an educative and inspirational institution in the eyes of all those patient, brilliant men who work for the relief of the most terrific suffering known to man.

I feel confident that you will be glad to print this statement, inadequate as it is to do justice to St. Elizabeth's. And I hope and believe the relatives of the men and women treated there will be comforted by reading it.

JAMES HAY, JR.

Asheville, N. C.

[A re-reading of our article in conjunction with Mr. Hay's letter creates the impression that he has confused with it something he has read elsewhere, possibly some of the violent denunciatory speeches subsequently made on this subject in Congress. Our article neither attacked St. Elizabeth's nor the eminent psychiatrist at its head. Indeed, so heartily do we concur with Mr. Hay's estimate of Dr. White that we regard his tribute as in itself sufficient excuse for printing his letter. It cannot be gainsaid, however, that St. Elizabeth's is an insane asylum, and could Mr. Hay have witnessed the mental distress of the soldiers committed to it, because, as the medical department of the army admits, they were suffering from shell-shock, we doubt if he would take issue with our contention that commitment to that institution "must inevitably aggravate their malady." A perfectly normal man, possessed of all his faculties, can hardly contemplate indefinite incarceration in an insane asylum, however beautiful its buildings or attractive its surroundings, without acute mental distress, a distress inevitably increased in the case of a patient suffering from that form of mental disorder known as shell-shock.

We can perceive no basis for Mr. Hay's assumption that Dr. White's reception at St. Elizabeth of patients for whom better provision could have been made elsewhere constitutes a criticism of the physician. With that lamentable lack of preparedness which has characterized every branch of the army administration, other provision had not been made, and it was that which we criticized. Indeed, we are strongly disposed to believe that had Dr. White been consulted in

time, he would earnestly have recommended that a special military hospital for shell-shocked soldiers be provided, or at least a special department of some existing military hospital, where they could have received proper treatment from such specialists and nurses as he would have chosen, without the depressing and therefore deterrent knowledge that they were being confined in an insane asylum.—EDITOR.]

THE WILSON MYTH

SIR,—Now that Colonel Roosevelt has gone to explore the Land of the Great Majority, your torch must burn the brighter. Even though your clientele be esoteric, if we all try to pass on to others something of the insight and spirit of you both we shall be lending our aid in a very salutary way toward pricking the Wilson Myth. In a letter which I received from Colonel Roosevelt two days before his death he said, apropos of a certain editor: "Nobody asked him to attack President Wilson. All that we have asked is that he, and men like him, shall not lie about President Wilson"—words which might profitably be blazoned above every editorial desk in Europe and America.

This Wilson Myth is rough on us as a nation. We have lived under its shadow for some time and have survived, but how long is it wise to keep it up? Just after President Wilson reached France it looked as if no modest American would ever dare show his face in Europe again. We read: "Wilson asserts—," "Wilson insists—," "Wilson demands—," even "Wilson fights—"! As for the great men he met, they "agreed," they "acquiesced," and Wilson was "favorably impressed." We even had the statement that a "special writer"—name omitted by Mr. Creel—said: "We pictured Wilson as akin to Christ not consenting to a Golgotha," whatever might be meant by that. "Americans Dominate Peace Council" was a recent modest little touch. Do the President's sycophantic admirers believe that they are paying him a compliment when they represent him as asserting, demanding, dictating—in other words, as being rude to his hosts? In point of fact, we know he is doing nothing of the sort, and his bitter enemies could hardly show him in a worse light. Of all men on earth he has most need to pray to be delivered from his friends.

This misrepresentation is so evidently designed to stir up ill-feeling between us and our allies or to foster an obnoxious national conceit among ignorant people and the stupid "I-prefer-to-think" gentry, that one wonders that any responsible editors allow themselves to become *particeps criminis*. If our newspapers could be held this side of the Atlantic we might be able to view the passing phase philosophically, but that our allies should feel that we as a nation are pleased at the picture of a Czar President going over there to insist and demand and fight and condescend, is intolerable. Unfortunately the plain people of European countries have very befuddled ideas about our national psychology, having regarded us chiefly as dollar throwers before the war. What can they think when such stuff is published and our editors add no criticism or repudiation? Perhaps they will realize that this editorial silence is intended, mistakenly or otherwise, as a courtesy to the absent. Perhaps they won't. In any case it is a humiliating and dangerous stand, since it bolsters up the Milson Myth, and myths have a disconcerting habit of exploding sooner or later.

A good American dryly remarked the other day that he felt Germany would soon be the only country where a democrat could live comfortably. Certainly the people there have learned that myths explode. However, the Kaiser, who was born to the legend of divine immunity and omniscience, is far more deserving of sympathy than his sycophantic people, who tumbled all over themselves to kowtow before that myth and who would be kowtowing today had they won the war. Not one person in all that seventy millions had the sense or the courage to say to him: "Come down off those stilts!" Kowtowing, sycophancy, adulation, lack of criticism when criticism is the very breath of life and stimulus to action in all truly great men—where are we drifting? And is it not time to call a halt?

New York City.

HARRIET GAYLORD.

"ABSURD?"

SIR,—You may be interested in knowing that I showed the article entitled "A Non-Enforceable Amendment" to one of the most eminent lawyers in the country and that he lay back and laughed for fully ten minutes—all on account of the utter absurdity of your argument.

Since you do not know, it may be well to tell you what the "concurrent" in the amendment means. The word was written in by the lawyers of the Anti-Saloon League; so I rather think they can be trusted to interpret it. The author of a thing generally knows what it means.

It means that the U. S. Congress has the power to pass a law against booze enforceable everywhere in the U. S.—States and territories alike—and that the State legislatures have the right to pass laws supplementing and *strengthening* the national law wherever necessary. No legislature, however, may weaken the national law anywhere.

Wherever possible, the Anti-Saloon League will select the State law for enforcement; but where the State law has not been made stronger than the national, the national law will be the one it will work under.

You must remember that this matter of interpreting laws is a matter of intellect, and that you are a pretty bold man, obscure individual that you are, to pit yourself against William Jennings Bryan, Senator Jones, Richmond Pearson Hobson, Wayne B. Wheeler, Mrs. Bolles, Ex-Governor Whitman, and their like.

Well, we suppose we cannot have every one on our side and, since we must choose, we would rather have your WEEKLY against us, and Congress, the State Legislatures, and the Supreme Court of the U. S. with us. Get the point?

WASHINGTON PIPER.

Temperance Evangel Anti-Saloon League.

New York City.

[As they say in France, where they order this matter better, "Holy name of a Pipe"! We had supposed that the dictionary told the meaning of words, and that the courts interpreted the purport of laws. But we sit corrected. Such things are done, and particularly the Constitution of the United States is expounded, by Anti-Saloon League lawyers. Let it be understood, therefore, that "concurrent" means "not running together; or only one running and the other tied to a post." Dictionary-makers and Constitutional lawyers please take notice.—EDITOR.]

"IDEALISTS" AND IDEALISTS

SIR,—Like another correspondent in this week's WEEKLY, I think more of your paper than of anything else I can buy—and urge everybody else to read. You are fighting a "good fight," and as far as I can see you are fighting it alone. In this connection I want to tell you that the newsdealers complain that they can't keep it in stock—one dealer told me he had to replenish his stock five times in one day. May you live long and prosper!

There is something I wish you would write an article on, and that is the way everybody, including those who do not approve of President Wilson, refers to him as an idealist.

He is far from being an idealist, and the use of this word is absolutely incorrect, and it acts as a boomerang to those who use it. It gives the men who stand for everything that the President does, and there are such, an opportunity to say that unidealistic, commercial men are carping at the President because he is an idealist. An idealist, as I understand it, is a man who has rather glorified principles, which he stands for at any cost to himself. This is a thing that President Wilson has never done as far as I can see. He has wavered on every question, with an ear to the ground as to what the public wanted. A clever politician, but an idealist never. I am an idealist myself, standing for the principles of Theodore Roosevelt, General Wood, the WEEKLY, and I object to having the President called an idealist.

New York City.

A. B. MARTIN.

"SOCIALISTIC FLAPDOODLE"

SIR,—You changed the title of the WAR WEEKLY too soon, for the real war did not begin until the other day, when your President called upon the Herd to overthrow the governing classes.

If Wilson does not get a jolt you will soon think the Kaiser's hellish war was a sort of Beatitude. One little paragraph of that speech is more sinister and more harmful than all the socialistic utterances of the past five years. The Russian crew are tame compared with your President, who each day has access to countless millions for his socialistic flapdoodle.

Revolutions do not begin with the man in the street, but infiltrate from some so-called great man at the top.

Coloney Harvey had it right in the issue of January 18, when he said the constituted authorities of Europe were being ignored while the President tickled the epigastric regions of the Herd.

Well, we have Harvey, and let us hope that not even the First Servant of the Herd can survive his matchless pen.

New York City.

E. SHAUGHNESSY.

WHAT IT MEANS

SIR,—I have read with much interest your valuable WEEKLY, which in my opinion is doing more than any other periodical to reveal to the public the shortcomings and weaknesses of the present Administration.

In several of your recent issues I note the wonder expressed at the meaning of some of the extraordinary events which have occurred both in this country and abroad. To my mind the explanation for them all is both simple and definite, for instead of representing a half dozen or more different and apparently unreconcilable policies, they are in fact all tied up with the President's League of Nations policy.

Two of the Administration's policies of the past which stand out prominently in retrospect are, first, the desire to please labor at all costs of national good or self-respect and, second, the desire to create an American Merchant Marine. Democratic political success demands still further concessions to labor before the 1920 Presidential campaign. Revolutionary and drastic measures alone can save the American Merchant Marine, created as the result of the exigencies of the war, from ultimate complete disaster. A scheme exists which would secure the benefits desired, though to be sure at a dreadful cost to our National Security. This scheme is to be carried through supported by the world-wide desire to avoid future wars.

The scheme, in short, I believe is the creation of a sort of international freight union, not dissimilar to the International Postal Union, which would enable the shipping of goods from any one part of the world to any other comprised within the membership of the league for a definite and determinable freight rate and upon a single through bill of lading. This is the bait for the shipper and business man.

It necessitates primarily the creation of an international standardized and uniform wage-scale for workers at sea, and secondarily the ownership or more less complete Government control of all the means of communication, telephones, telegraphs, wireless and cables, and of transportation, ships and railways operating under direction of the league. The existence of such a scheme is supported by motives likely to appeal to the Administration, and is supported furthermore by recent events since the armistice, namely, pressure on England to force compliance through the threat of a navy second to none, the seizure of the cables, the Administration's five year control of railways, necessary, as Mr. McAdoo tells us, in order that the railways may work in coöperation with Government controlled shipping, and with the desire of the Presidential demands for "an equality of trade conditions among all the nations consenting to the peace and associating themselves for its maintenance," and by the amount of talk emanating from the President's press bureau regarding the "pressure of economic isolation to enforce the mandates of the league."

It is to be presumed, of course, that since the President has taken no one into his confidence, this scheme if it exists will never be brought to light unless he meets with sufficient success to enable him to publish it as "un fait accompli."

HALIBURTON FALES, JR.

New York City.

LIMITING THE SIZE OF ARMIES

SIR,—If the proposed League of Nations should impose a limitation on the size of the armies of the members of the League, in the United States such limitation could be practically nullified.

Our Constitution provides:

A well regulated militia being necessary to the security of a free state, the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed.

Unless our Constitution be amended, the individual States could not be prevented from adopting laws for compulsory military training and for the establishment of militia forces. Each State could thus establish within its borders a large army. If a like policy were carried out by all the States, a formidable force would be created capable of being federalized in case of war. An average of fifty thousand men in each State would give an army of two million four hundred thousand men.

If each State should adopt laws providing for the compulsory military training of all male citizens between the ages of eighteen to twenty-one years, with suitable requirements for reserve training after the period of compulsory training, a competent national force would soon be developed.

No provision of any League of Nations could prevent this in our country as it would conflict with our Constitution.

If such a condition could develop in the United States, why should not other nations, parties to the League of Nations, claim similar rights, and if they do, would not this nullify any provisions limiting the size of armies or reduce such provision to words devoid of any practical meaning?

JACOB H. SHAFFER.

New York City.

CONFIRMED

SIR,—It may interest you to know that one of your readers, and an ardent admirer of yours (especially since 1915), has had the opportunity to observe at first-hand some of the changes in the now "softened (?) attitude of the Hun since the signing of the armistice. He states that much of this propaganda as foreseen by you and commented upon in your articles on "Peace Propaganda" is not only at work, but most apparently so.

My brother, Sergt. W. H. Coit, 6th Regiment, U. S. Marines, has been in Germany with the Army of Occupation since the latter part of November. At various times during the past year I have sent him copies of THE WEEKLY, all of which he greatly appreciated. His allusions to this periodical (which I believe has been the "Roosevelt" of all publications since our belated declaration of war, as the *Review* was prior to it) have been many, and always in accord with your patriotic views. His last comment was:

"Colonel George Harvey would chuckle if he could see how exactly he pictured the German peace propaganda in his recent issue (Oct. 26th). Great stuff!"

With a heartfelt desire to have your WEEKLY with us for many years (at least this next one) to come, I remain,

GEORGE COIT, JR.

OVERSEAS MAIL

SIR,—A neighbor of mine has a son who has been in our army in France for more than six months. The family has sent him regularly every week since he left home not less than two letters. A few days ago they received a cable from him inquiring whether anything was wrong with them; were they dead, and if anything had happened? Because he had heard nothing from home since last October. He was worried over his failure to hear from them and wanted an immediate reply. They replied by cable telling him of their letters and that they were all right at home.

The retention of the Secretary of War would indicate that the President still believes he has in Mr. Baker one of the ablest and most efficient of public officials. The soldiers and sailors and the public generally do not agree with Mr. Wilson.

East Lansdowne.

WM. H. JONES.

APPRECIATION

SIR,—May I add my few words of appreciation to those of the many before me because you have decided to continue THE WEEKLY. I should have felt the loss very, very keenly if you had decided otherwise.

I always have looked towards Colonel Roosevelt and to Colonel Harvey to point out to the American people the errors of the other men in public life. The nation's greatest asset has gone! It's up to Colonel Harvey to keep up the good work now more than ever.

New York City.

O. K. SCHWIND.

WHO CAN SUPPLY THEM?

SIR,—I now need numbers 6, 15, 16, 17 and 21 of your WEEKLY to complete my volume. I leave in two weeks for South America and desire a complete volume to take along, so that I can give the natives a comprehensive idea that all Americans are not asses.

CLARENCE D. RANDELL.

5 Bellevue Street, Weehawken, N. J.

FROM EX-GOVERNOR FORBES

SIR,—Allow me to send you a letter of greeting and congratulation on the very powerful public service your WEEKLY has been performing. I see that it is to be continued, and that you find it needs additional subscribers. I am sending my subscription, and am also subscribing for a number of friends. May the good work continue!

W. CAMERON FORBES.

Boston, Mass.

OUR TRIBUTE TO MR. ROOSEVELT

SIR,—All those of us who know his worth must be deeply grateful for your tribute to Theodore Roosevelt in your last WEEKLY. It was a splendid appreciation of his remarkable personal qualities and of his invaluable services to his country. It was also an exposition of your own manly fairness toward one with whom you had differed at times. I am sure whenever it came to a test of Patriotism you and Roosevelt struck the same clear, strong note.

MARY N. EVERETT.

Pasadena, Cal.

IS HE?

SIR,—I merely write to ask you if he is going to keep them out of war in Europe as he kept us out over here?

Santa Monica, Cal.

H. H. HUGHES.

THE WEEKLY

BY GEORGE HARVEY

Continuing the North American Review's WAR WEEKLY

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WEEK ENDING FEB. 22, 1919

NO. 8

A Washington Monument for France

WHAT more fitting memorial to the gallant sons of America who fought and died abroad could be devised than an exact reproduction of the Washington Monument, to be erected, through voluntary contributions by our whole people, upon the famous battlefield in France?

That is a question which we submit for the consideration of our readers, and we ask for candid responses. Two points arise immediately.

1. Would it be a suitable Memorial?

To that, we surmise there can be but one answer. The Washington Monument is our one great, distinctive, National creation. It is, moreover, our most notable work of art and it is unique.

It typifies in its splendid simplicity the rugged and enduring spirit of America. It stands specifically as a testimonial to the grandeur of character of the Father of the Republic who put aside the proffered crown. It is a constant reminder of the undying gratitude of America to France and of the freshly stirred appreciation by France of the service now rendered in return by America.

Its replica rising high from the historic ground where the blood of the Sons of the Sister Republics mingled in the death struggle for freedom and civilization would strengthen the ever-living ties that bind securely the two great liberty-loving peoples and would be for all time an inspiration to both.

It would be for Americans the loadstone of Europe, drawing them in millions to contemplate with pride their own magnificent tribute to their own honored dead and to deepen in their hearts their love of their own country. Much more might but hardly need be said.

2. Is the project feasible?

Undoubtedly, if earnestly sustained. We have

just obtained from our army engineers an estimate showing that the total cost of the Monument, built of marble corresponding in quality and color to that used in the original, would not exceed \$3,000,000. More than three millions of Americans were engaged in the war. Is it conceivable that they themselves and others for them would fail to produce the equivalent of one dollar for each? We cannot believe it. But even so, it is a large sum.

It goes without saying that this modest journal could not hope, even with the most energetic assistance of its exceptionally devoted constituency, to achieve so great an undertaking. But would not some of our leading patriotic newspapers throughout the country lend their coöperation in the carrying out of a plan designed to make the subscriptions as widespread as possible, approaching in number as closely as possible the twenty millions who comprise the vast army of the Red Cross.

Because the crux of the whole idea is a free-will offering straight from the people of America to the people of France in recognition of the immeasurable service rendered to both by those of our own who were privileged to make the crowning sacrifice. Surely such a token of gratitude and honor from heart to heart of the democratic millions would count for vastly more than the customary perfunctory governmental testimonial. Again we ask:

Could there be imagined a Memorial more fitting or more appealing than a duplicate of the beautiful shaft which rises in its simple glory from the garden of our own National capital?

We should appreciate wholly frank responses from our readers and indications of the attitude of our newspapers.

The Constitution for the League

THE twenty-six articles of the Constitution of the League of Nations fall naturally into three categories.

The first consists of those which may be regarded as matters of course. They provide for things which already exist, and have long existed. It is the veriest truism that diplomatic plenipotentiaries are to enjoy diplomatic privileges and immunities. Nobody disputes that all civilized Governments should "endeavor to secure and maintain fair and humane conditions of labor." It has from time immemorial been true that a menace to the peace of the world is a matter of concern to all nations, and it has been the right, frequently exercised, of nations to call attention to conditions which threaten to precipitate a great war, and to suggest means of averting it.

A second class consists of provisions which in their futility must be regarded as vox et praeterea nihil. Conspicuously is this true of the longest of all the articles, that dealing with the question of the German colonies and other conquered lands—the only one having any relation whatever to the war or its issues. This prolix Nineteenth Hole has a great deal to say about making the welfare of such regions a "trust of civilization" and about the "best method" of doing so. But it is purely advisory. It says that so and so "should" be done, but it does not commit anybody to doing it. So it is solemnly declared that in certain circumstances "it shall be the right" of the delegates of the League "to advise" members of the League to revise treaties, but there is no word of compulsion to assure acceptance of the advice.

The third and most important class consists of provisions to which exception may and doubtless will be taken, as contrary to national interests. We might pass by with a smile the austere recognition of the fact that "the maintenance of peace will require the reduction of national armaments to the lowest point consistent with national safety and the enforcement by common action of international obligations," mindful of the fact that while with one hand he penned that sententious article, with the other the President wrote a secret message to one of his followers in Congress, urging the expansion of the American navy to enormous proportions. It is well that one's left hand should not always know what his right hand is doing. But we can scarcely smile at the proposal that our army and navy shall thus be limited not according to our own estimate of our needs, but at the dictation of an international council. If the Executive Council of the League determines that the United States needs no army or navy at all, we must submit and disband our forces. If it decides that we ought to have an army of a million men to enforce the dictates of that Council, we must submit and raise and maintain such an army. That a free and independent and self-respecting nation should subject itself to such an arrangement, is simply incredible.

Similarly objectionable would be the covenant "to respect and preserve as against external aggressions the territorial integrity and existing political independence of all states members of the League." That would make every state at once the protector and the protectorate of every other

state. Now that is a very fine theory, that the welfare of one is the concern of all, and we are quite willing to concede that there are cases in which there should be such intervention. But recognition of such moral right and duty is a very different thing from a nation's pledging itself to do the thing whenever commanded to do so.

It is all very well to agree that all treaties shall be registered with the Secretary-General of the League, and shall not be valid until so registered. That is of course a matter of indifference to us, since we never make secret treaties, but are practically required by the Constitution to make them public. But we should doubt the propriety of permitting any international body to exercise a censorship over our treaties, and dictate what we shall not make and what we shall abrogate. Again, the members of the League are to "agree that provision shall be made through the instrumentality of the League to secure and maintain freedom of transit and equitable treatment for the commerce of all states members of the League." That clause is so vague that we should expect it to be a cause of illimitable dispute. If it means merely that there shall be freedom of traffic on the high seas, well and good. But if it means abolition of all tariffs on imports and a sort of universal customs union, we dissent.

There are other provisions of the Constitution of the League which are highly controversial, and some which will almost certainly be objectionable to the people of this nation. That the thing in its entirety will be accepted and approved by the United States Senate we do not believe.

It is the most impudently un-American proposal ever submitted to the American people by an American President.

The Coming Dinner Party

IF the engines of the *George Washington* keep pounding and the stokers keep shoveling with might and main, President Wilson will land in Boston next Monday, the 24th, or Tuesday at the latest. As he is scheduled to reach France on his return trip on March 13, he will have to leave on the 4th. This will give him six full days and nights in this country, which for a rapid worker ought to be, as they say down South, "a quite sufficiency."

Whether in the meantime the Senators will heed his gentle hint that they hold their tongues till he shall have had a chance to get in the first word in Massachusetts is problematical at this writing. Mr. Borah shows signs of restiveness and even Mr. Hitchcock, who is trying desperately to be good, allows that the Executive adjuration need not be taken too seriously. As for Mr. Reed, if once he gets started, nothing and nobody can stop him. Mr. Frelinghuysen, too, becomes cantankerous at intervals. Mr. Lodge, we should imagine, would be so appreciative of the high compliment paid to his respected commonwealth that he would hesitate to transgress, first, because the way of the transgressor is hard and, secondly, because the reputed purpose of the President to queer him with his home folks need cause him slight apprehension. Mr. Knox will play Br'er Rabbit almost to a certainty.

Mr. Taft, now the leader of the Wilson Home Guard and Chief Defender of the Dubious Faith, should be at the

dock, and doubtless will be if his speaking engagements permit. If so, he will find himself in the company of the usual bunch of Suffs, determined as ever to advance their cause by making fools of themselves. Mayor Peters will show that the Mayor of Dover has nothing on him by appearing in a silk hat and frock coat, and Governor Coolidge will undoubtedly observe the proprieties.

The party will probably pass through New York City in the still night, in time to reach Washington for the big dinner on Thursday evening, when thirty-eight Senators and Representatives will scrape their soles on the White House mat for the first time in many moons. We learn from the *World* that some of the statesmen are perturbed to know how to behave, i. e., as to whether it would conform to the practices of European courts recently visited to ask a few questions, which is natural enough, although we do not take too literally the assertion of the correspondent that "many of them would like to be footloose." Our own surmise is that Mr. Wilson will soliloquize ingratiatingly in common counsel. Few outsiders except, perhaps, a Bolling or two, will be present.

The common impression is that the intent is to placate refractory Congressmen by permitting them to shake the hand that shook the hands of royalties, but this theory is expanded by the well-informed Senator Simmons, who guesses that what the President says at the dinner will be printed, so that "the masses in this country who, he thinks, are with him, will exert influence to help win over hesitating Senators."

A double purpose is probably the correct dope. It is a truly Wilsonvelian idea, anyway, and should make for about the sullenest dinner party that ever sat down to ice water.

"Noblesse Oblige"

THERE is one thing that Congress ought to do and do at once. As everybody knows, the hold of the *George Washington* contains twenty-four large crates filled with valuable presents showered upon the President during his temporary aberration, or whatever the right word is, abroad. They are of two classes: those bestowed by kings and potentates and those given by the uncrowned. The President is forbidden by the Constitution to accept anything at all, except, of course, a cigar or something like that, from a ruler without the consent of Congress. That consent should be voted without fail before the *George Washington* arrives, to relieve the President of the embarrassment of stepping upon his native soil a confessed law-breaker and defier of the Constitution.

The many gifts from commoners should also receive prompt consideration from the House of Representatives as the originator of appropriations. One of the banes of royal existence is the inflexible rule that for every present accepted one equal at least in value must be returned. It is a custom dating back to Solomon and the Queen of Sheba and is held to this day absolutely inviolable. Prince Henry, for example, when returning from his visit to this country, lamented bitterly that his observance of the rule had eaten up his income for years to come and he should have to appeal for help to his sainted brother.

Mr. Wilson is aware of this usage, of course; it was to tell him of such things that Mr. Henry White was appointed a Peace Commissioner; and we cannot conceive of Mr. White, of all diplomats, failing to perform his duty. A natural observation might be that our ruler, being technically only the Chief Magistrate of a Republic, would be freed from such obligations, but this loop-hole disappeared when, as we are informed by the *London Truth*, Mrs. Wilson politely but firmly refused to curtsy to the Queen, and thereby asserted the prerogatives of royalty, though whether as a descendant of Pochahontas or as the wife of the President we are not informed. In any case, that is the situation, and with the prerogatives go, of course, the obligations, which means that for each present accepted one equal in value must be returned.

Now this is no joke. No doubt the President would prefer to meet the requisite expenditure from his private purse, but according to all accounts the aggregate cost of the twenty-four crates of gifts is so great that this is impossible. Nor, of course, should Mrs. Wilson be called upon to meet such a requirement as a consequence of her spirited maintenance of the dignity of the Indish royalty. Of course, the President might draw upon his special \$100,000,000 fund without rendering an accounting, but he would not like to invite criticism even from the small-minded by treating such a payment as one made in defense of the country. Besides, he may need that money for something else.

Obviously the proper thing, the right thing and the gallant thing for Congress to do is to make a special appropriation to meet this contingency while the President and Mrs. Wilson are upon the high seas and so far away that no suspicion of suggestion or complicity could ever arise. It need not be large; probably a million dollars would be sufficient; although, perhaps, to avert a possibility of further embarrassments during future visitations, it would be well to add "more or less as may be required," and thus dispose of the cherry at one bite.

We can think of nothing that would evidence the genuineness of his welcome home more satisfyingly to Mr. Wilson than this gracious act, and we trust that Congress will proceed forthwith to demonstrate to the world that, however deficient we may be in some respects, nobody can justly accuse us of being mean.

What of Beefsteak Jim?

THE Republican press is strangely indifferent to the contest for the Speakership, and little comes out of Washington to indicate the progress of Mr. Mann's furtive trading campaign. Of the metropolitan journals the *Sun* takes the most positive stand against him, although the independent *Herald* inquires with sharp pertinence:

Mr. Mann is being hailed as the "ideal man" for Speaker by fellow Republicans who in reality are seeking to put him where he will have no chance of being a factor in shaping party policies.

The situation is one not particularly flattering to Mr. Mann. Does it not contain some elements of danger to the Republican party? Admitting for the sake of argument that as Speaker Mr. Mann would have little or no influence upon legislation or party policies, would not his election to the Speakership be con-

strued as an indorsement by the Republican party of Mr. Mann's record on war measures?

Can the Republican party afford to stand before the country as indorser of Mr. Mann's war record?

The semi-Democratic *Times*, following the lead of the Milwaukee *Sentinel*, heartily recommends Mr. Kahn, as well it may, but confessedly to no purpose, since Mr. Kahn is not a candidate and could not, in any event, be spared from the chairmanship of the vitally important Military Affairs Committee. The *Times* "cannot imagine a thoroughgoing American" uttering the sentiments voiced by Mr. Mann, and perceives nothing more clearly, nor, to our mind, more accurately, than "an opportunity for the Republican party to damn itself or save itself," with less even of turpitude than of foolishness.

Mr. Fess, who continues to be an opportunist candidate, has many admirable qualities and excellent ability, but how could the party justify itself at this time in electing as Speaker a man who voted against both the Kahn and the Brandegee amendments to increase the army as late as 1916, against the measure providing for a volunteer reserve army to be under Federal control and against conscription? It certainly could not even make the attempt without belying its professions in the latest campaign.

The true solution lies in the selection for Speaker of Mr. Gillett, whose abilities and experience afford full warrant and whose war record is flawless.

It may be that we are unduly alarmed at the possibility of Mr. Mann slipping in under the blanket of party lethargy, but, to be quite frank, we have taken nothing for granted in politics since Hiram Johnson betrayed Charles E. Hughes. In any case—

Beefsteak Jim must be beaten, gentlemen!

WE are indebted to Captain William Wolff Smith of the Sanitary Corps for the privilege of reading and printing the following communication to the Surgeon-General from the Rev. William Bulloch of Englishtown, N. J.:

In these days when adverse criticism seems to be so common, will you permit me to say a word for the men and women of your department I have met? My son, Private George E. Bulloch, 76th Field Artillery, U. S. Regulars, 3rd Division, was wounded severely in the Argonne, Oct. 15th last. He speaks in the highest terms of praise of the treatment he received in the hospitals in France, as well as in the hospitals here. He was for a short time in the Hospital at Richmond, Va., where he was given every degree of care and consideration, and I myself can only speak in the highest terms of praise regarding the courtesy of the Officer in Command to me personally.

Since Dec. 31st my boy has been at the Base Hospital at Camp Dix. I have visited the hospital four times since then, and from the officers in charge of the Receiving Ward, from the other officers I have met, and from all the nurses and enlisted men I have met, I have been extended every courtesy. This applies also to the Military Police. The professional treatment my boy is receiving is of the best, as is made evident by the marked improvement in his case. And best of all, I have been pleased with the good judgment exercised by the Surgeons in charge in permitting short visits to his home, which is having a wonderful effect in restoring the boyish spirits after the hardships of the war. I have much pleasure in testifying to the courtesy and efficiency of the Service at the Base Hospital at Camp Dix.

It is with the utmost gratification that we pass on this testimonial from Dr. Bulloch, and we have not the slightest doubt that it is fully merited.

France and the League

FRANCE, we are told, regards the Constitution of the League of Nations with grave misgivings. She is willing to accept it as a basis of discussion. But even M. Bourgeois, her foremost advocate of some such organization of the Powers, thinks that something much stronger is needed for the security of France and for the preservation of the peace of the world. He wanted a League with a powerful international force, preferably housed in France, which would be able to suppress another Hunnish outbreak. That was denied him, because it was obvious that the United States could not be a party to such an arrangement.

Now, much as we rejoice in the prevalence of American influence in international affairs, we must recognize the fact that the judgment and desires of France—and of Belgium and Serbia, which M. Bourgeois fittingly brackets with her—should be regarded as paramount, even above our own. Those countries have suffered most in the war. They will be most exposed to the menace of further wars. They are most in need of adequate and instant protection.

Here are the facts: Forty-eight years ago Germany made a wanton and predatory attack upon France, and succeeded in grievously despoiling her. For forty-three years thereafter France guarded herself as best she could against a constantly present and frequently threatened danger of renewal of that attack. She did so with the strongest army and navy that she could maintain, and with such alliances with neighboring and friendly nations as she could conclude. But even with such precautions, the storm eventually broke upon her again, more disastrously than before.

Now it is proposed that she shall forego all those measures of self-defense upon which she has hitherto depended; that she shall reduce her armaments to dimensions prescribed for her by other Powers; that she shall seek no alliances for defense, no balance of power that might make her and her friends able to meet her foes. In return for such self-abnegation, what is offered to her? Membership in a benevolent League of Nations which chiefly contents itself with saying that all men ought to be good and that nobody ought to go to war, but which has at its command not a single regiment nor ship to enforce its will, to protect the innocent or to repel the criminal. It is not to be wondered at that she regards the exchange as inequitable and as perilous to her welfare.

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"The Pied Piper"

—William Allen White.

IN view of the rumor that President Wilson may call off the Marmora Conference altogether because Lenine and Trotzky did not accede instantly to his demands, we shall add nothing now to the sketch already printed of the delegate of his choice, the ex-Rev. George D. Herron; a speaking likeness of the gentleman which appears herewith must suffice for this week.

Mr. Herron's husky colleague from Kansas, Mr. William Allen White, however, seems to merit passing attention. Unable as we were to imagine how that sturdy American could have been inveigled into that particular gallery, we turned for enlightenment to his Notes from Paris as published in the *World*, but have to confess that we are more puzzled than before.

That Mr. White should depict Mr. Wilson as "a shibboleth, a myth, whom the Socialists of Europe have accepted, expecting him to clothe the naked, to feed the hungry and to house the homeless with his League of Nations," is not surprising, perhaps, but to stamp him as "leader of the European Reds" certainly seems a bit brusque. "His picture," Mr. White continues, "is in millions of homes. He is looked upon as a sort of savior of the poor and oppressed. The masses in the Allied countries conjure with his name. In Slavic countries armies are standing up and shooting each other—both sides acclaiming the magic name of Wilson as their justification. The poor feel that if they get the League of Nations all things else will be added unto them. It is tragic"—tragic because of "the pitiful part of the Wilson worship," which can only raise false hopes and make for bitter disappointments.

Mr. White even goes so far as to refer to Mr. Wilson as "the Pied Piper of Hamelin Town" and suggests bluntly that, in certain contingencies, "arrangements be made to pull the coattails of the affable

elderly gentleman with the amicable grin who is touring Europe de luxe, annoying the constituted Governments of Europe with the genial patter of revolution!"

As for himself, he "never supported Mr. Wilson" and sincerely hopes that he "may never have to support the party for which Mr. Wilson stands."

Now we submit that all this was enough to bewilder anybody. Unless Mr. Wilson's nature, never notably forgiving, had undergone a complete transformation, there was simply no accounting for the appointment of Will-



Herron

iam Allen White as a special delegate and colleague of even the stinking Herron. And then we noticed the dates and discovered that Mr. White's principal articles were sent by mail and could not have been brought to the President's attention. The mystery was solved.

Now let us hope that the Marmora Conference will really be called off. In that event, another place may have to be provided for Mr. Herron, but William Allen White will be able to get back into independent journalism, where he belongs.

The League as a "Rider"

SO the scheme for a League of Nations is to be put through with whip and spur, as a "rider" on the Treaty of Peace. That is the announcement which comes from Paris, presumably on official authority. It is not surprising, though it ought to be. We have had such things before. We have had prohibition as a war measure, in time of peace, as a rider to an agricultural appropriation bill. It is a favorite device of a certain type of politician to fasten a measure which never could be enacted by itself upon some other measure which is so important that it simply must be passed. Sometimes the trick works.

Never, we think, has the trick been tried so audaciously and so inexcusably as it is threatened to be in this case. The Treaty of Peace will be practically a necessity. It must be made. There would be inestimable odium incurred in refusal to ratify it, assuming, of course, that its terms were fitting. Everybody wants peace made.

On the other hand, by no means everybody wants such a League of Nations as is proposed. There is grave reason to doubt whether anything like a majority of the people of the nation would vote for it—even with the enticing prospect of having an ex-President of the United States made by it "President of the World." Yet this most dubious and controversial measure is to be inseparably fastened to the other, so that they must both live or die together. The Senate must either ratify the scheme or incur the odium of refusing to ratify the Peace Treaty.

The trick is the more inexcusable when the League scheme is examined and found to have no essential connection whatever with the Peace Treaty. The League could be formed without making peace, and peace could be made without forming a League.

Note what this League scheme involves:

National armaments on land and sea are to be reduced to the lowest point consistent with national safety. But no nation is itself to be the judge of what that point in its case is. An international council is to prescribe for each country how large an army and navy it shall have. True, our Constitution gives to Congress the power to raise armies and build navies; but hereafter, if this scheme is adopted, Congress must submit its army and navy bills each year to a world-authority for its approval.

We are to undertake to protect every other state in the League against external aggression. If Lithuania attacks Esthonia, we must send an army and navy to the rescue, or stand convicted of failure of duty.

If some remote state violates a principle of the League,

the Executive Committee is to recommend us how many troops we are to contribute to the invading army which is to bring it to terms. Of course, we are not bound to furnish them, but if we do not we shall incur much odium.

These are some of the things which we shall be required to assent to and to pledge ourselves to, to avoid the intolerable alternative of rejecting the Treaty of Peace. We can now see why the President has been so insistent that the League of Peace scheme should be conducted *pari passu* with the Treaty of Peace. He has repeatedly emphasized the impossibility of having the League plan adopted before the treaty was made, or postponed until afterward; and the necessity of having them both brought forth and acted upon at the same moment. Never did he deign to give a hint of a reason why that must be so. That did not seem strange, for he has ever been of all men most reluctant to explain or to give reasons for his acts. But now we see both what the reason was and why he did not then disclose it.

The device is so unjustifiable that we cannot help cherishing some faint hope that at the last moment it will be abandoned. We should think that if the Peace Congress realized the disfavor with which the American people would regard such a performance, they would rid the Peace Treaty of its Old Man of the Sea, and afford America an opportunity to act separately upon the two propositions, which logically and morally are entirely separate and distinct.

It would certainly be an extraordinary performance to forbid returning soldiers to wear the chevrons indicative of their service. If there is anything in the world to which a soldier is properly entitled, it is recognition of the service which he has rendered, and about the only way in which this can be readily assured to him is through the wearing of a distinctive badge. It is quite true that for those who have served abroad to wear gold chevrons while those who were not sent over have to be content with silver makes a certain discrimination between the two, which is unwelcome to the latter, who were kept at home through no fault of their own and who were just as loyal and just as ready to go to the front as those who were sent over. But just because some did not have the opportunity of serving at the front is no reason in the world why those who did thus serve should not have full credit for it.

The Legislature of the State of New York is reported to be in the act of passing a bill defining an intoxicating beverage to be one which contains more than three and a half per cent of alcohol. If that is enacted, then any beer or wine not containing more than that amount of alcohol will be legally non-intoxicating, and therefore will not be subject to the ban of the President's prohibition ukase or of the prohibition amendment. Such a law may be rational. We rather think that it is. The man who could get drunk on a pure wine containing only three per cent of alcohol ought to be sequestered as a freak. But suppose the example is followed, and each State declares for itself what liquor shall be considered intoxicating. Suppose that Kentucky should declare that only distilled corn-juice containing more than forty-nine per cent of absolute alcohol should be considered intoxicating. What then?

No American League Army

THERE can be no American army maintained at the command of an alien League. That is a fact which ought to be clearly understood both by foreigners who in good faith desire such an army and do not understand how impossible it is, and still more by Americans who for any purpose are seeking to have it formed through some sophistical huggermugger.

We were told the other day that it was being planned at Paris that we should maintain an army of at least half a million men for the League of Nations to use wherever it pleased, to which it was added that the army could thus be used "after authorization of such action by the United States Senate." Where that preposterous notion arose we do not know. Is it conceivable that there are some persons in the world so ignorant as to imagine that a treaty negotiated by the President and ratified by the Senate could compel us to wage war wherever some League of Nations asked us to? To rational men it is unbelievable that the Senate would ever ratify such a treaty, and it is quite certain that if it did, the thing would not be worth the paper on which it was written. It is not the President, nor the Senate, nor both of them together, but *Congress* that has the sole power to declare war, to raise and support armies, to provide and maintain a navy, and to make rules for the government and regulation of such forces. No treaty can override or annul the Constitution of the United States.

It is an ironical feature of the case that this scheme is advocated by some who have been loudest against great standing armies and strongest against militarism. If it were to be proposed that the United States should maintain a standing army of half a million men for its own security—which is the only reason for its maintaining any army—there would be wild ululations of disapproval and dismay at such monstrous "militarism." We should be told that there was no possible need for such an army; that we were not and never could be in such danger as would warrant it. Yet let it be proposed that we maintain an army to be used anywhere from Kamchatka to Cape Horn, to fight in quarrels to which we were not a party, at the mandate of some foreign Power, and that is applauded as the quintessence of wisdom and benevolence and the very beauty of holiness.

Let it be understood that we sympathize very heartily and very deeply with France in her wish to be secured against another irruption of the Huns. We know how terribly she has suffered in the past from those barbarians, and we realize that while we are three thousand miles away from them, she is doomed to live for all time at their very side. We are with her, heart and soul, in every possible contrivance for protecting her and for making the Blond Beast harmless. We wish that we had rushed to her aid more quickly than we did, and that we could have allied our troops with hers at the first Marne in 1914, instead of waiting until the last Marne in 1918. But not even for France's sake can we consent to abandon the basic principles of our republic. Should we do so, we should destroy our value as an ally and thus defeat the very end for which the thing was done.

If it be said, as some are with reason saying, that without such an army the League of Nations will be worthless, we

shall not dispute the proposition. But that is an argument against the League, and not in favor of an American army of alien-led mercenaries. That consideration is to be commended to those who have insisted that nations shall renounce alliances and balances of power and all other devices for protection, and shall trust for salvation solely in a League of Nations. Before they presented the League in such a capacity, they should have made certain that it could and would be effective.

It would doubtless be a fine thing to have such an international army of a few millions, constantly at the beck and call of a "President of the World." But that the sober sense of the American people will ever countenance our lending ourselves to it, or that their representatives in Congress will ever consent thus to imperil the integrity and repudiate the principles of the republic, is incredible.

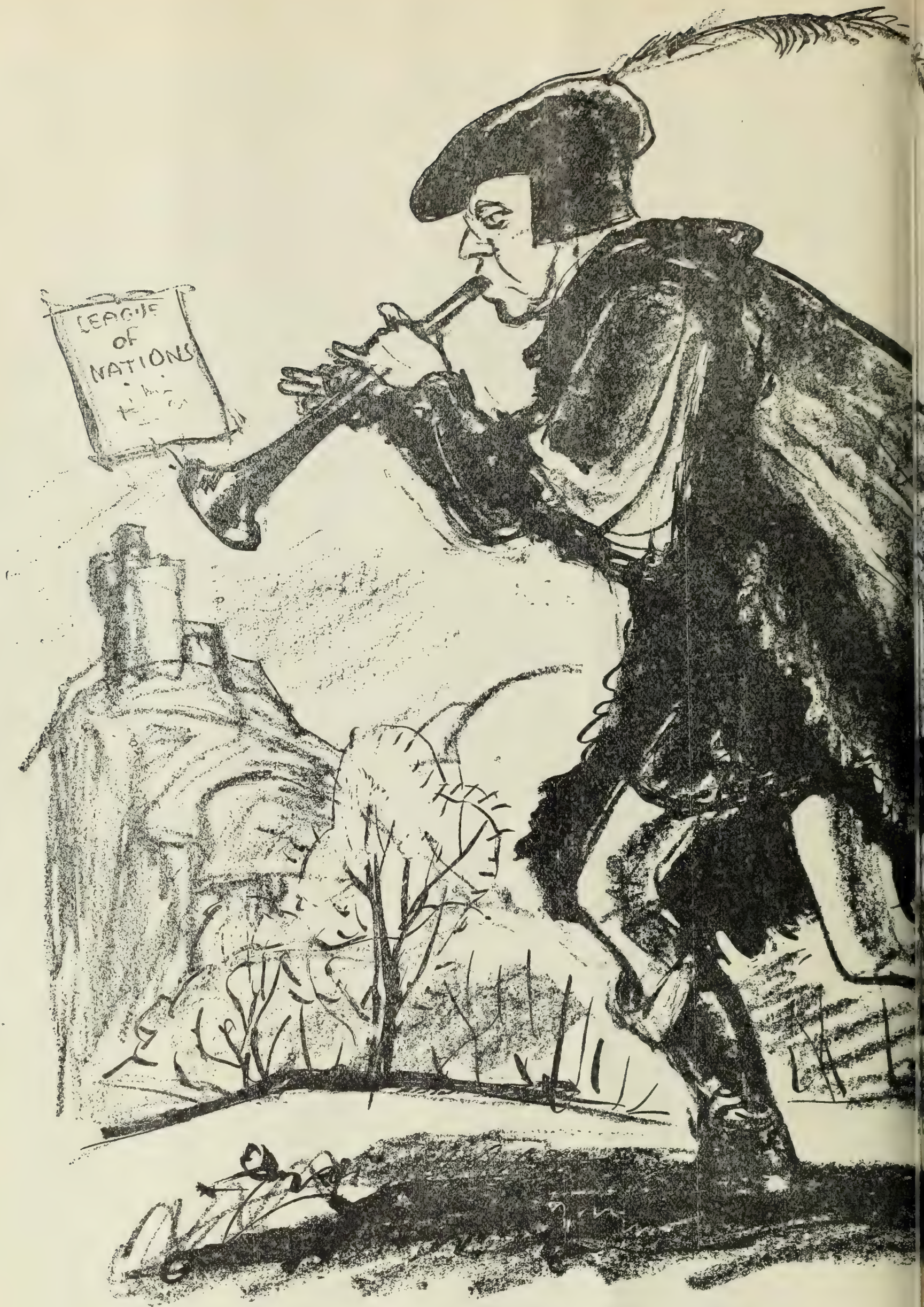
Mars Psycho-Analyzed

WE are, then, to have a psychically aseptic army. Such is the design of the Secretary of War. We assume that there will still be an age-limit for recruits, and such physical requirements as will debar a man with no legs, or one whose stature is less than three feet seven inches. Probably some mere physician will continue to look the rookies over, to make sure that they are not in the last stages of tuberculosis, or deaf, dumb, and blind. These things, however, must drop to a subordinate place.

The temperament's the thing. The mental processes must be considered. The psycho-neuroses are to be taken into account. Freud is to be the supreme authority. The real examination of the prospective soldier is to be conducted by psychologists or psychiatrists. What is to be ascertained is what the man will say if somebody steps on his corns, or what he will think if he sees a Secretary of War stand with his hat on his head and his hands by his sides when the Flag goes by. If according to the micro-psychometer he displays more than thirty-two degrees Fahrenheit of emotion, away with him. We want no such roystering swaggerers in our psychic army.

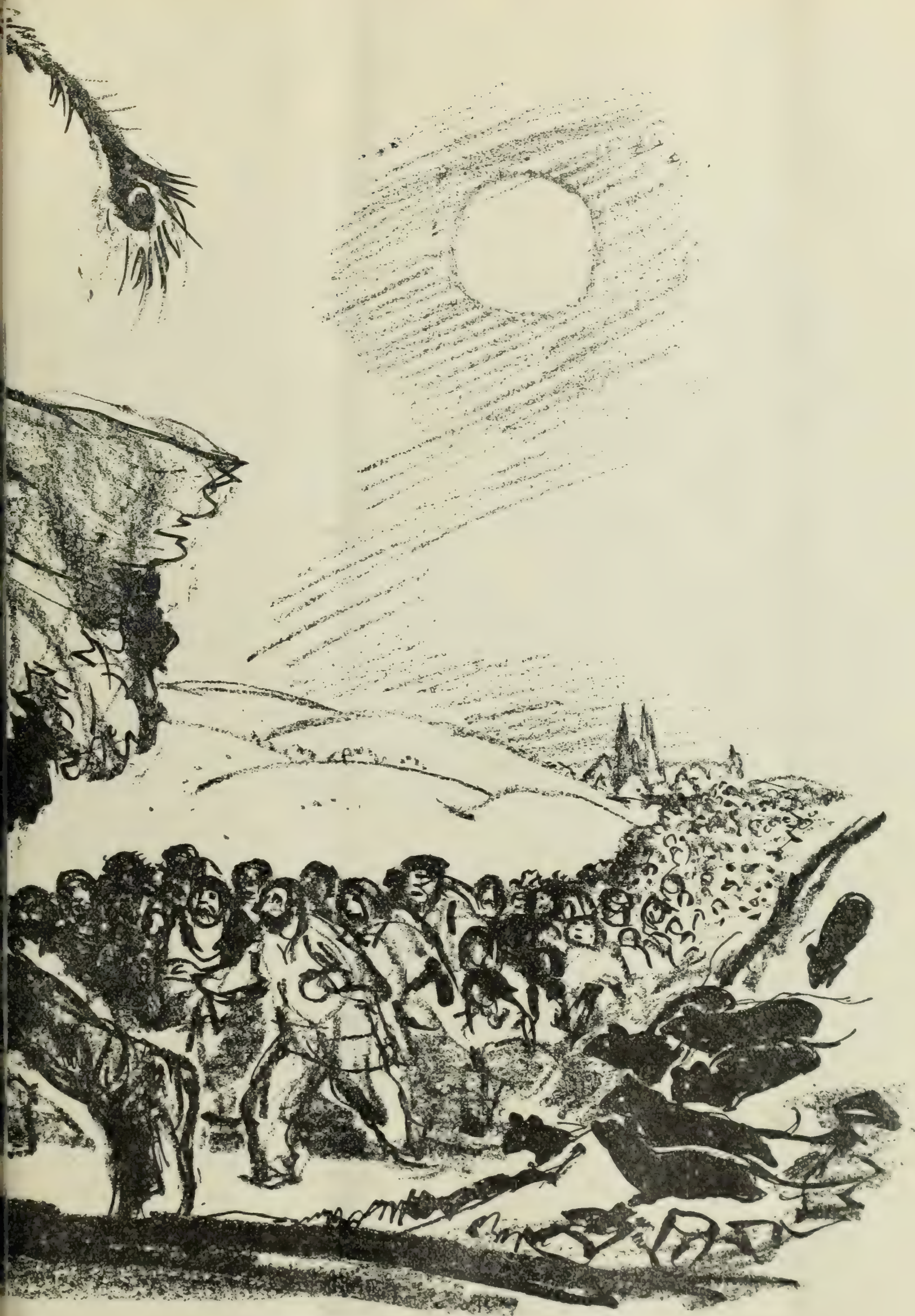
Of course, there were the mule drivers in the Civil War. Some of the unco guid were horrified at their profluent objurgations; to humor—and to enlighten—whom the edict went forth, "Stop cussing!" The cussing accordingly stopped; and so did the mules. But perhaps the present Secretary of War thinks that mule drivers are no longer needed.

If we remember aright, David Farragut once observed to a clergyman who invited him to take a cheering glass, "Bishop, I swear a little, but I don't drink!" How would the micro-psychometer have registered, we wonder, on the old Admiral one August morning at Mobile? Smashed the scale to smithereens! And also there was one George Washington, whose psycho-thingumbobs got very much discumbobulated one day at Harlem Heights, so that he threw down his hat and stamped upon it; and again at Monmouth one hot summer day, when he addressed Charles Lee in Scriptural words in very unscriptural order. It's dollars to the holes in doughnuts that he never would have passed muster with the expert psychiatrists of the War Department.



"The Pied Piper

(See Page 5)



Hamelin Town"

—WILLIAM ALLEN WHITE

(The President's Delegate to Marmora)

The Week

WASHINGTON, February 20, 1919.

“THE True Centre of the Federal Structure, the Real Throne of Administration, and the Frequent Source of Politics,” must now be sought somewhere upon the bounding deep. The President of the United States sailed from France on Saturday last for a brief visit to this country; a part of which he is expected to spend at the legal seat of the National Government.

If he arrives in this country on time, on Monday or Tuesday next, the President will have just a week in which to dispose of the accumulated business of one of the most important sessions of Congress ever held. It will be a task calculated to tax the physical energy of an athlete and the mental capacity of a sage. We must hope, therefore, that he is having a smooth and pleasant passage, during which he will be rested and refreshed after his arduous labors at the Quai d’Orsay. We do not grudge humanity the labors which he has performed in its behalf. But we must insist that his—and incidentally our—own country has the first claim upon his best services. He is not yet “President of the World,” but merely President of the United States.

The President has sent an advance message begging members of Congress not to discuss the Constitution of the League until he has had a chance to elucidate it for them, and he invites the Foreign Affairs committees of the two Houses to dine with him and listen to his words of wisdom soon after his arrival. But not to these official representatives of the nation will his first words be spoken. He will first appeal to the people themselves and seek to secure expressions of public opinion in his favor, backed with which he can go before Congress with more confidence. So he has arranged to make a public address on the League of Nations at Boston immediately upon landing, so that the Senate and House committees will have to be content with second place.

The President, we are informed by Mr. Richard V. Oulahan, a correspondent of the *New York Times*, got on well with everybody at Paris excepting M. Clemenceau and Mr. Hughes, the Prime Ministers, respectively, of France and Australia. With them he had several clashes, the serenity of his temper was strained, and he became exasperated over what he regarded as their unreasonable attitude. At this we are not surprised. Indeed, it would have been surprising if he and they had not radically differed. For M. Clemenceau represents the nation that has twice suffered martyrdom at the hands of the Huns and that must for all time be most in peril of them; and Mr. Hughes represents the nation which from the other side of the world rushed to the rescue of imperilled freedom with a generosity of self-sacrifice never surpassed in history while Mr. Wilson, amid the terrors and portents of Louvain and Ypres and at the Miracle of the Marne went by on the other side saying, “It is no business of ours. We are not concerned in this war. We must not discriminate between Frenchman and Hun. We must be neutral in thought as well as in word and act.” No wonder that the man who stood in security and the man

who stood before the jaws of death and the mouth of Hell could not readily adopt the same point of view. But we do not wonder which of the two takes the more pertinent view of the issues of the war; nor whose judgment should have the more weight.

The Constitution of the League of Nations has overshadowed everything else at the Peace Congress; yet there have been some other things worthy of passing notice. Thus the Commission on International Labor Legislation is reported to be likely to adopt and to report to the Congress for incorporation in the Peace Treaty the British programme, which comprises recognition of the right of picketing in strikes, the fixing of an international standard of working hours, and the abolition of military training in schools. Unless, therefore, we bind ourselves by treaty to these things, we may not make peace with Germany and exact from that criminal country indemnity for the reparation of the wrongs which her victims have suffered.

This inspiring prospect quite reconciles us to the diplomacy of the Anti-Saloon League, which has sent a delegation to Paris to see to it that a clause is inserted in the Peace Treaty requiring all nations to refrain from any trade agreements or other acts which might embarrass this country in the enforcement of its bone-dry Amendment. Such a provision would be quite as appropriate in the Peace Treaty as the Amendment in question is in the Constitution. But why not go further, and have world-wide prohibition made an essential condition of peace?

We are told from Paris, by grace of the Politicalmaster-General’s cable lines, that “in the opinion of American delegates” the League of Nations plan is secure against the charge of unconstitutionality; because if it does require an alliance involving the use of our troops in combination with those of other nations, “there is a precedent for such an alliance in a treaty between the United States and France more than a century ago.” That, of course, is not the ground of alleged unconstitutionality, at all, and has nothing whatever to do with it. But if it were, we should still have to cry with *Celia*, anent this super-sapient “opinion of American delegates,” “O wonderful, wonderful, and most wonderful wonderful! and yet again wonderful, and after that, out of all whooping!” What? Argue that a thing must be constitutional because we did the same thing before we had the Constitution? “Go forth, my son, and see with how little wisdom the world is governed!”

In the same inspired dispatch it is stated that “power is reserved to Congress to carry out the pledge [to furnish mercenaries to the League] in its own way through its control of appropriations and the war-making power;” also, that “the Senate has distinctive powers in its right to approve or disapprove treaties.” True, true, Old True-penny! But be pleased to remember that it is not the “Constitution of the League of Nations” that reserves those powers to Congress and to the Senate, but the Constitution of the United States of America, which is quite a different thing, and, despite the apparent obsessions of some devoted and consecrated souls, a somewhat superior thing, at least so far as America is concerned. But what sort of dip-

lomatic ethics would it be for this country to commit itself to something with the mental reservation that we should fulfil or not fulfil our obligation according to the disposition of the Congress which happened to be sitting at the time?

The President is quoted as doubting that any country will dare to resist the mandates of his League of Nations. Perhaps not; but we hae' oor doots. Queer things happen. We remember a President of the United States who, while he was yet a mere university professor or president, declared that the proposed Federal regulation of child labor under the interstate commerce clause of the Constitution was a striking example of the efforts of Congress to carry its power "beyond the utmost power of reasonable and honest inference," and that such interpretation of the clause in question was "obviously absurd." Yet when he became President and his own party majority in Congress enacted precisely such a measure, he approved it and declared that he signed the bill with "genuine pride." Just suppose that the Rajah of Sarawak, or the Akhoond of Swat, should decline to furnish his quota of men and ships for the coercion of the United States into permitting unlimited immigration of Chinese coolies!

Representative Butler, of Pennsylvania, shrewdly suggested the other day that if the League of Nations scheme is to be adopted, and Great Britain, France, Italy, and Japan are to determine how big a navy the United States may have, it would be well to await their pleasure in the matter before making any naval appropriations or letting any contracts. It would be a little awkward for us to appropriate some hundreds of millions, and to contract for the building of a score of ships, and then have Japan, in the name of the League, say to us: "Your navy is too big already: you mustn't build another boat!"

The current statement, emanating from the Federal Reserve Board, of the cost of the war to the various nations, is presumably accurate, yet in the way it is expressed and exploited it is most misleading. Thus it is stated that the total expenditures of America and the Allies were \$18,375,000,000, of which Great Britain spent \$37,100,000,000, France \$27,000,000,000, the United States \$18,481,000,000, Russia \$18,000,000,000, Italy \$10,000,000,000, and Serbia \$8,000,000,000; wherefore, it is added and proclaimed in headlines, the United States stands third in suffering the costs of the war. Yes; and no; chiefly no. If we compare these expenditures with the respective wealths of the various nations, we find that the war cost Serbia more than 53 per cent of her total wealth, Great Britain more than 50 per cent, Italy about 50 per cent, France 45 per cent, Russia 30 per cent, and the United States less than 10 per cent. The United States, therefore, instead of standing third, is at the very bottom of the list, getting off by far the most cheaply of all.

Now it might be that a nation which had been put to an expense of less than 10 per cent of its assets could afford to say that it would stand the loss and would ask no

indemnity from the Power which had wantonly and wickedly imposed that expense upon it; though we think that it would show a deplorable degree of folly in doing so. But we submit that it would be unpardonable effrontery for it to insist that countries which had suffered the loss of half their national wealth should practise similar self-abnegation. If there is to be anything like justice in the peace settlement, these nations which have been so greatly impoverished by Germany must be reimbursed by Germany to the very fullest extent the latter country is capable of, under the judicious but remorseless pressure of the Allied Powers—if necessary, for a hundred years to come. "Ruthless!" howls the Blond Beast, "to make us hewers of wood and drawers of water!" But what was it for Germany to make the people of these other lands hewers of wood and drawers of water for generations to come while striving to pay off the debts which she wickedly, treacherously, and in hope of sordid gain and loot, imposed upon them?

Simultaneously with the recognition of the Bolsheviks as a government worthy to be dealt with comes the cheerful announcement that the leaders of that precious gang of thieves and cutthroats are reviving militarism and conscription and have already organized an army of 750,000 men, not for defense, but for aggression, in determination to force Bolshevism upon the world at the point of the sword. Their ambition may seem fantastic, though obviously in the effort to realize it they may cause the world vast trouble. But they are not altogether to be ridiculed for cherishing it, when they see the President of the United States selecting so flagrant a specimen as George Herron to be the representative of the United States at an important international council. If they have thus gained the favor of the President of the United States, why should their ambition have any bounds?

It was surely a superfluity for the International Red Cross meeting the other day to discuss the question of admitting Germany to its organization. German soldiers and sailors, by explicit order of the German Government, and with the enthusiastic approval of the German people, deliberately bombarded Red Cross ambulances and hospitals, torpedoed Red Cross relief ships, and murdered Red Cross nurses. If a statement of those facts, which Germany cannot deny and for which she has never expressed regret or repentance, is not sufficient to settle the question without a word of debate, then we cannot imagine what would be convincing.

"Let's clean house!" exclaim the loyal Americans of Seattle; and we guess they're going to do it, led by their redoubtable Mayor, Ole Hanson. That would be an uncommonly good order of the day for the whole nation, from the Upper West Side of Seattle to the Lower East Side of New York. Of course Scott Nearing, being a native, could not be deported. But there are other ways of house-cleaning than dumping your rubbish on your neighbor's land. Some folks prefer incineration.

Heading for Disaster

IF the President were to direct his attention to domestic affairs for a few minutes during his brief visit to his post of duty in Washington he would find a number of matters of rather more than casual interest. Among them is the fact that we are plunging rapidly in the direction of about the worst industrial and financial crash we have ever known. Although, under the stress of his engagements abroad to regulate Humanity, Mr. Wilson might find himself powerless to help us, he would undoubtedly see and sympathize with us in the disadvantages under which we labor in having to face a real national peril with our seat of Government on the banks of the Seine instead of on the banks of the Potomac.

That a crisis of some sort is impending in the business world and that we are drifting swiftly towards that crisis is no idle dream. Business in many lines is becoming more and more stagnant. Mills and factories have either shut down or are preparing to do so. The numbers of the unemployed are becoming formidable. Between the 3d of December and the 30th of January these unemployed multiplied twenty-five times. At the latter date those who were out of work totalled about 1,500,000. At present approximately 2,000,000 men are looking for work which they cannot get. By the closing down of industries and the return of thousands of soldiers every week, the ranks of this vast army of workless are being swollen with alarming rapidity. The tension is becoming too strong to endure indefinitely. Something has to give way, and when it does, the prospect of what may ensue is not pleasing to contemplate.

The responsibility for this grave situation rests solely upon the shoulders of the Administration. It did not take a Daniel come to judgment to foresee the perils of the transition stage from war to peace. Those perils were plain as a pikestaff before all men's eyes. Over a year ago the urgent necessity of preparing for peace was pressed time and time again upon those at Washington. We even ventured to raise our own small voice on the subject through the columns of the WAR WEEKLY. And though our statesmen were too fatuously blind to see with their own eyes, they might at least have profited by the clearer vision of our neighbors. Over two years ago England was studying the problem of demobilization. Over two years ago the British Board of Trade was hard at work solving questions incident to industrial peace readjustment. France equally early was alert and concentrated on the same difficult and intricate tasks. Italy also was busy with the problem, even while her fate seemed to be trembling in the military balance.

We alone did nothing. The gruelling lessons of our unpreparedness for war taught us nothing as to our unpreparedness for peace. The legislative branch of the Government abdicated at the very beginning of the conflict. It acted only at the dictation of the Executive. It became and has remained to this day so hopelessly fixed in the habit of looking to the White House for its every inspiration and of being so tremblingly in fear of Executive displeasure that it has lost almost every vestige of initiative independence.

Nothing, of course, could be expected from Congress. All hope of intelligent forethought and action to meet the inevitable and dangerous confusion now upon us rested on the Administration. And the Administration did absolutely nothing of consequence.

With Congress a doddering paralytic, legislation of vital importance was piled ceiling high on its tables. No man knows what taxes are to be imposed upon his income, upon his business and upon his profits beyond an undetermined minimum. All that is certain is that those taxes, whatever their nature, must extend to the very limit beyond which business life is impossible. All else is uncertainty. And on top of that we have a decline in prices of material shifting from day to day, making any other than hand-to-mouth purchase of supplies on a falling market little less than sheer business imbecility.

To all this, add the Railroad Administration's limited express lines to bankruptcy and the scrap-heap that the Political-master General has made of the telegraph, telephone, cable and mail service, and we have a situation which needs no acid test to demonstrate its approximation to chaos. To be sure, Mr. Hurley comes to our relief with a proposition to jettison a billion dollars to save the shipping hulk from foundering, leaving us with a two billion dollar plant and a fleet we cannot put into mercantile operation without a heavy subsidy.

Should the President, during the short time he will be with us, lower his rapt gaze from the stars to these plain, humdrum United States of ours, here are some of the annoying things he will have spread before him. Who shall blame him, then, if he wants to pack up our seat of Government and sail over the seas with it to the mind-matching joys of sunny France?

Congress in Special Session

ONE manifest duty lies before the President. That is to summon Congress to meet in special session at an early date. We do not want, nobody wants, a special session just for its own sake; and we should greatly regret to believe that anybody wanted it just because the Congress thus assembled would be in domestic politics opposed to the Administration. For anyone to desire it for that reason would be as unworthy and should be as unthinkable as for the President to refuse to call it for that same reason. The reason for calling a special session is not political, nor personal, but patriotic, and that is why we assume that it will certainly be called. Indeed, if those baser motives bore sway, the President might well be eager to call it, and the Republican leaders be reluctant to have it called. The problems which will confront it for prompt solution are so gigantic and so vexatious, and the difficulty of solving them to general satisfaction will be so nearly insuperable, that the President as a party leader might well wish to throw the onus of them upon the Opposition, and the Republicans might well wish to avoid them and to let the Administration struggle along with them as best it could. But no such feelings are to be imputed to either side.

Neither is the chief need of a special session that of

dealing with matters which the late session did not have time to dispose of. Of course, if any unfinished business of importance remains, it should be attended to. It is quite supposable that there will be some such. It is even within the scope of possibility, at this writing, that there will be left unpassed some appropriation bills or other measures of such urgency as to make a special session immediately necessary. There are some things which Congress must do, if the Government is to be carried on. The Administration cannot govern the country without Congress, as Bismarck once governed Prussia without a Diet.

But we are optimistically assuming that by March 4 all revenue bills and appropriation bills will have been thoughtfully framed, deliberately discussed, and enacted into law, and that a similar disposition will have been made of the other great measures which Congress has been considering during the session. With all these out of the way, with not a single item of unfinished business on the docket, there still would be imperative need of a special session.

That is partly because of the need of new legislation which is certain to arise in this critical period of national reconstruction and international reorganization. Other lands provided for the disposition of the problems following the war, by judicious and far-seeing legislation made some time ago. We have not done so, either because of incorrigible procrastination or because of a conviction that it is not best to cross bridges until we come to them and a cheerful confidence in our ability to cross them rightly without advance rehearsal. But now we are coming to the bridges, and they must be crossed; and for the crossing Congressional action is necessary.

It will not do to say that all these things may be left with the President, for him to do under his "war powers." It would be grossly unjust to cast such a burden upon him, even if he were willing to assume it. It would also be improper to expect him to continue the exercise of war powers after the war has ended. It was well to invest him with dictatorial powers during the war. But it would be intolerable to have him continue his dictatorship in time of peace.

There is another reason why a special session should be called, derived from the circumstance to which we have already alluded, of the new Congress being opposed to the President in domestic politics. We do not mean that it should be summoned in order that it may oppose his policies, but quite the contrary. The experience of the late session has demonstrated that in all matters of foreign policy in which he represents the nation the President can count upon the support of Republicans as well as Democrats. Politics is adjourned at the three-mile limit. In not a few instances, in fact, the President has had stronger support in his war policy from the Opposition than from his own party. We can imagine nothing more calculated to enhance his prestige and to strengthen his hands abroad than the knowledge, given to the world, that he was being stanchly supported in his foreign policy by a newly elected Congress opposed to him in domestic politics. Nothing could more strongly impress the outside world than that.

But even if that were not so, even if the new Congress were to oppose the President's foreign policy, we should still say that the session should be called. For there is

something after all far more important than that the President should be supported in all his self-devised or adopted policies, and that is, that the will of the people shall be made known and shall prevail. With all possible respect and loyalty, we must insist that if the new Congress were emphatically to disapprove and to oppose some policy of the President's, that would be a pretty convincing indication that the policy was wrong and should not prevail. For Congress would be representing the will of the people, its disapproval would be tantamount to the people's disapproval, and no policy which the people disapprove should be adopted.

But the paramount consideration is, after all, the need of constructive legislation to meet the new issues which now confront us and which the expiring Congress could not possibly have dealt with because they did not arise until it was at the end of its career; and to meet the other new issues which are yet to arise and which will for the nation's sake require immediate attention. Domestic problems of transcendent import press upon us for solution. If the Peace Treaty is signed this spring, as it surely must be unless the Peace Congress stultifies itself, it will bring with it important matters requiring immediate legislative attention. To postpone them until next winter would be to trifle with some of the gravest interests of the nation and of the world of which we are now so considerable a part. We owe it to ourselves, and we owe it to our Allies to act promptly upon the great tasks which will be assigned to us by the conference of the Powers. A special session is demanded by national need and by international honor.

Atrocities in the Army

THE pacifist Secretary of War is stern indeed when it comes to strict interpretation of military law and rigid enforcement of court martial sentences. Judge Advocate General S. T. Ansell, shocked beyond measure at the barbaric severity of these army sentences, uncovered an old law of 1862 under which such sentences might be reviewed by the Judge Advocate. Secretary Baker refused to recognize the validity of this merciful avenue of escape from brutal cruelty. He insisted that court martial cases are not so reviewable. He relentlessly held young soldier boys fresh from home to punishments for trivial offenses that would have been excessive for manslaughter. He repeatedly turned down recommendations for review in court martial cases. When it came to the brave young fellows eager to offer life and limb for their country, the pacifist autocrat had no mercy, no matter how trivial the offense.

And what were these offenses and the court martial punishments imposed on the mere boys convicted of them? For refusing to stop smoking and for refusing to give up a package of cigarettes to a consequential squirt of a lieutenant, a young boy, ignorant of the very meaning of military discipline, was sentenced to forty years imprisonment at hard labor. Another private who went without leave to see his dying father was sentenced to thirty years in prison, although he had conscientiously hurried back to report for duty, not even staying to attend

his father's funeral. In France a private who was sick and refused to drill was sentenced to death and was only saved by executive clemency. Another young soldier here in this country who went without leave to the bedside of his dying father was sentenced to death. He, like the one mentioned above, had voluntarily returned to duty as soon as his father died. Executive clemency alone saved his life. A private who went home without leave to see his sick and destitute wife and child was sentenced to fifteen years imprisonment. Another soldier absent without leave was sentenced to forty years imprisonment. And so on through the whole list of thousands of cases of infamy so outrageous in their brutality as to be fairly grotesque.

That is what the pacifist Secretary of War stood for when it came to punishing the peccadillos of real men wearing their country's uniform and ready to lay down their lives that their country might live. But when it came to the contemptible cowards who saved their cur hides by sneaking under whining pleas that they were "conscientious objectors"—when it came to these vermin the pacifist Secretary was all tenderness and consideration.

For a real soldier caught smoking a cigarette and refusing to obey a petty order, forty years at hard labor and no appeal to a reviewing court. For a cowardly cur openly refusing to wear a uniform, refusing to obey any military orders, openly defying the whole authority of military law—for such as these considerate treatment" and no punishment until the Secretary of War had passed upon the case!

That is what happens under our pacifist Secretary of War, the most efficient public servant President Wilson has ever known!

Good for Mr. Glass!

ONE thing is certain. If Mr. Carter Glass shows as much common sense, capacity, and force in unraveling the financial mess he inherited as he has shown in ending the disgraceful condition that existed in the War Risk Insurance Bureau when he assumed office, he will be rated as one of the really great Secretaries of the Treasury.

During the war and after the armistice was signed no greater disgrace existed than that in the War Risk Bureau. For a year and a half the press of the country was filled with humiliating reports of the Government's failure to pay troops or to make allotments to their families. The amount of suffering inflicted on mothers, wives and children of soldiers because of the Government's failure to pay its debts when due will never be known in its entirety.

Every conceivable excuse was offered to prove that the Government was not to blame. The excuses were all false. The bureau, one of the largest offices in Washington, was never properly organized and disorganization eventually became chaos. Hack politicians and inefficients of all sorts had been entrusted with work which a properly regulated clerical force would have handled in a routine manner.

When Mr. Glass entered the Treasury, the bureau was behind some 3,000,000 letters. Even the mail that was finally moved out contained so many errors and improper addresses that a large percentage was wasted.

Colonel Lindsley, a successful business man who is temporarily in the service, was called to Washington to locate the trouble. After a short investigation he reported that those in charge had no conception of their duties. Secretary Glass ordered him to take charge of the bureau and organize it properly. Within a week the chaos was displaced by an organization, and within a month the bureau was functioning properly.

In order to bring the work up-to-date three shifts of clerks were employed under competent chiefs and orders were issued that no letter should remain unanswered twenty-four hours. We congratulate Mr. Glass upon having chosen the right man for the right job and on having given him all the support required to eradicate this disgrace.

Mr. Hurley Passes the Buck

MR. HURLEY is home again. At Paris he saw the President several times, but the President was too busy with other matters to talk about ships, so he turned Mr. Hurley over to a Mr. Bolling. It seems Mr. Hurley and Mr. Bolling did not make much progress. We don't know which Mr. Bolling it was—so we don't know who was to blame.

Then Mr. Hurley conferred with Sir Thomas Devitt, Lord Pirrie, and Sir Joseph Macclay. He offered them many ideas, all of which were directed in a general way toward stabilizing ship construction and establishing rate differentials which would make possible the maintenance of an American marine in the face of low cost and low price of foreign carriers. Somehow or other Mr. Hurley's plans did not greatly impress the Earls or Baronets, so he came home and announced frankly that all was muddled up. His frankness is to be admired, but the muddle has become chronic.

As soon as he reached Washington he evolved an extremely original scheme of passing the buck to the United States Chamber of Commerce. Mr. Hurley invited the chamber to settle the entire shipping problem by a referendum. Somehow or other we cannot take the plan quite seriously. To begin with, the average American business man, who composes the Chamber of Commerce, knows little or nothing of the problem and cannot be expected to give the time and thought necessary to reach a conclusion that would be worth while. American business men want ships to carry their goods overseas, and they are not much interested in who builds the ships or whose flags they fly, so long as they sail and dock on schedule at fair rates.

If Mr. Hurley's idea of a referendum were conceived for political reasons it can be readily understood. He holds the wreckage of the greatest liability charged against the Government. Already an even billion has been wiped off the books, and it is doubtful if more than fifty per cent of the remaining \$3,000,000,000 will ever be realized by the taxpayers. In these circumstances it is little wonder that he calls for help. The thing to be regretted is that he did not call for help a year and a half ago—help of a different kind. What he needed then was advice from shipbuilding

men—men who had built ships as a business. Instead he gathered around him a rare galaxy of politicians, amateurs of all sorts, experimenters and press agents, with the inevitable result that the country got almost anything it wanted but ships.

But there is something pathetic in Mr. Hurley's present plight. When he came home he found his orphaned board in a sad state. Mr. Bainbridge Colby, the delightful orator who knew nothing of shipbuilding, resigned during his absence. Mr. Piez, the Chicago engineer who was appointed general manager, although he had never been in a shipyard, is anxious to get out. Mr. Page, the San Francisco attorney, is greatly irritated at the way things have been going and would like to be relieved. Captain Donald, the only member of the board who knew anything whatever of shipping when appointed, also is willing to resign. Of the entire board whom the President "summoned" to build ships, the only one who evinces any desire to stay with Mr. Hurley to the bitter end is Ray Stephens, the former Democratic Congressman from New Hampshire, who, we assume, is more willing to take his chances on a permanent pay-roll plan than to return to the New Hampshire political arena at this time.

The Truth At Last

ABOUT a year ago Secretary Baker sent Brig.-Gen. Brice P. Disque up to the woods of Oregon and the State of Washington to organize the spruce-cutting gangs. Things hadn't been going well in the woods. The lumbermen had been on more or less of a rampage. We don't know just what started the trouble, but there was a lot of it. May be it was the Bolsheviki—may be it was prohibition. Anyhow, Mr. Baker realized that a strong man was needed, so he assigned General—then Colonel—Disque to take charge of the situation.

Nothing was heard of the General until the other day, when he came out of the woods and turned up, somewhat unexpectedly, at San Francisco. Apparently he has been an extremely busy man during his tour of duty among the lumbermen, because, in addition to handling his own job to Mr. Baker's satisfaction, he collected the most amazing amount of information that we have yet seen concerning the development of our aviation program. It is to be regretted that Charles E. Hughes had no opportunity of discussing the situation with General Disque before he completed his investigation and handed his report to the President. There isn't the slightest doubt that he would have received much valuable and original information from the General. We are indebted to the *Globe* for the following extracts from a statement made by the General at San Francisco:

Before America entered the war the airplane issue between the two groups of contestants was even. America swung that issue in favor of the Allies. Ten thousand Allied planes were built of American spruce and other American products. The country had turned out 11,000 planes for itself, of which 1,700 were on the west front. Therefore planes made by America and made of American materials gained the air mastery over the Germans.

Also there were 350 American-made airplanes lost, and they accounted for 1,000 German airplanes. Those American airplanes were perfect. The men who manned them were perfect.

At the armistice we had and with room for fifteen men four motors and had more power turned out by the Shipping Germany to bits.

To those who would criticize would say it was seven months before we shipped any of it. It all went to England and

Time was when we thought, and Mr. George Creel were in it came to informing the public. But we take it all back. It is a convincing statement than this. For General Disque—at least a portion of the War Department. ough and so complete that it space, but we do think it was to drag in Mr. Hurley's freight

a Copy.

1919

NO. 9

If American soldiers at Coblenz to "German girls, they should discipline that military regulations must have strange regard for who can stomach the caresses of female hussies with glee at news of the *Lusitania* massacred their lovers and brothers to ravish and Belgian women as possible, and who live to scream insults and to throw filth into the faces of American and other Allied prisoners of war, and then stab them with stabbing of pins and needles. It must be the American who will consort with



Topical Huckster. "'ERE YOU ARE, I PRESIDENT."—From *Punch*.

Letters From Our Readers

his father's funeral. In France and refused to drill was sentenced by executive clemency. AN APPEAL in this country who went without amendment is a treacherous friend. His dying father was sentenced at heart as tyrannical and mentioned above, had voluntarily of Europe. as his father died. Executive magistrates he shall drink. life. A private who went heart majority of sober, temperate sick and destitute wife and children of a fanatical minority. years imprisonment. Another derision of the law to fine and imprisonment. Another derision which becomes hard, or the was sentenced to forty years of fruit and makes wine. through the whole list of those who are the good, and you shall outrageous in their brutality and not care to share."

That is what the pacifist wishes, and makes intelligent, self-wearing their country's uniforms of free communities by im- their lives that their country American institutions by impos- came to the contemptible coward exercising a natural right. by sneaking under whining plots basest plotting of the country's tious objectors"—when it came out with all other treason. cist Secretary was all tender.

WHIDDEN GRAHAM.

For a real soldier caught sir STILL ON ing to obey a petty order, for no appeal to a reviewing courtous and appreciative reader of THE refusing to wear a uniform permit me to thank you for your decision orders, openly defy publication.

for such as these I will myself to the change of title. I see no ment until the Secretary surely be nothing if not at war with peri- War, the most efficient perambulations on which we, as the American ever known! ed to gaze during this, the most serious and the history of the country. And certainly rt and in fact, at war with the parlor brand hich Mr. Wilson has dedicated his life, acts, notice of which he is so broadly spreading in his dear Colonel House.

Goo

EEKLY, and keep it at war with all the above, ak manderings and panderings of the Presi- such time as we can place a real, honest-to- the White House.

H. C. MAREY.

ONE thing is the White House. much commencing the financial ending the disgraceful Risk Insurance Bureau

rated as one of the really legitimate criticism that may be levelled name indicates the fault I have in mind.

During the war and it should be THE DAILY, as the coun- the strong common sense commentary greater disgrace existed in as it is your practice to give us. You For a year and a half order, but your friends, you know, look with humiliating your hand, are confident you would measure up troops or to make a demand.

of suffering instantly! Who knows? You, who first led him diers because ought, may be the instrument by which pause may be when due will in Utopia, and his feet be again brought down

LOUIS M. SLACK.

Every conceivable Government was n The bureau, one of

never properly organized WHAT'S THE USE? came chaos. Hack another example of the inefficiency of our had been entrusted eighteen months it has been getting worse clerical force would have said that ten per cent of our mail is not de- or returned.

When Mr. Glass en- pe showing letter mailed from Los An- behind some 3,000,000 h to me at the Congress Hotel, Chicago. finally moved out contain- lished, a special delivery stamp was he Congress Hotel at the time this let- giving it, I left a "hold address" until ning ten days later, from New York

to Chicago, I got my mail, but missed this letter, which was not there and had not been there. I have, this morning, received it back in Los Angeles, it having been in Chicago from November 20th until January 9th, as you will see by the stamp on the back.

It originally was received in Chicago on November 24th. In addition to this, on the back of the letter was a "return in ten days," perfectly plain, but the Chicago post office paid no attention whatever to this. What is the use of putting Special Delivery stamps on, when they go forward in regular mail? I don't know whether there is anything that can be done about this matter until we have a change in the manner in which our mail service is managed.

EARLE C. ANTHONY.

Los Angeles.

SUMMED UP

SIR,—Did you see this gem in Don Marquis's "Sun Dial" last week?—

Congress should be given a nicely engraved Thrift Card, on which it can stick stamps, and the Treasury Department should be given another. Every time either one succeeds in saving a billion dollars of the people's money a stamp should be stuck on the card. It would be useless to suggest saving less than a billion in one lump, we presume, as Congress and the Treasury Department have got into the habit of thinking of a billion as merely a white chip . . . or something you hand to the waiter, telling him not to bother about the change.

There is a better summing up of the financial policy of the Administration in that little paragraph than I have seen anywhere else.

A. MARTIN.

New York City.

THANK YOU

SIR,—I have lived in Illinois for over thirty years (in Chicago until fifteen years ago), and have been publishing a paper here since 1904.

Politically, I am a Republican, and I desire to state that from no other source have I derived the solace afforded in my weekly reading of THE WEEKLY; not because I am a Republican, but because of the essentially consistent position sustained by you regarding issues the gravity of which no one comprehends more clearly than yourself, as the tone of your editorials forcefully demonstrates.

I am grateful to you for the joy that I absorb from your work, and my congratulations accompany my wish for "more power to you."

DANIEL Q. ROBINSON.

Oregon, Illinois.

SUSTAINED

SIR,—I want to take this opportunity of expressing the great satisfaction I have had in reading your wonderful, red-blooded, American articles. The spirit and enthusiasm of yourself and T. R. and your fervent belief in the things that this Republic really represents have kept the faith of men strong over a long period when the official and private utterances of our elected representatives would have otherwise broken them down.

God speed in your great work!

ARTHUR G. ASHBROOK.

Pittsburgh, Pa.

PRAISE FROM AN EXPERT

SIR,—I have just read your appreciation of Lord Northcliffe. It has given me great mental pleasure. It is a real happiness to one who loves strong, simple, eloquent English. You have given many a similar treat to me and thousands and thousands more. There is a happy envy in my heart for all this, and I couldn't help writing and saying so.

EDWARD G. RIGGS.

Washington, D. C.

HIS, TOO

SIR,—When I read the report of your speech in the New York Sun, I wished there were a million of you, your sentiments so well expressed my feelings.

More power to your elbow!

EDWIN W. INGALLS.

Lynn, Massachusetts.

OZONE

SIR,—Thank you for the vigorous amount of ozone which you are letting into our somewhat putrid political and economic atmosphere.

GEO. CLARKE COX.

New York City.

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WEEK ENDING MARCH 1, 1919

NO. 9



(See page 3)

“Arise, Sir Josephus”

The President Calls

WE knew quite well who it was the moment the bell rang. The President was dropping in to pay us a call and tell about his trip. Why he came in by the back door we have no idea. Some say for one reason, some for another, but the only authoritative information came from Mr. Tumulty, who surmised that Mr. Wilson happened to be looking at a chart and noticed that Boston was no further from the *George Washington* than New York or Hampton Roads; so what more natural than that he should turn the prow of his yacht in that direction? Anyhow, that is what he did and incidentally came near fetching up with a bump at Marblehead, but finally arrived safely at the Copley Plaza,—and of course all's well that ends well.

The people turned out in large numbers in response to an implied request from Senator Lodge and stirred the cockles of the President's heart with their tumultuous greeting. As many as could do so squeezed into Mechanics' Hall and listened attentively to what Mr. Wilson had to say. Mr. John McCormack sang "The Star Spangled Banner" to show that we still have a national hymn, but "Onward, Christian Soldiers" seemed to be the favorite.

Mr. Wilson began by reporting progress and closed with the usual assurance that he has been interpreting the thought of America, as to which presently we suspect he will begin to have some doubts. It was not a propitiatory speech. It fairly bristled with damnation of all Americans who should impede the progress of the League of Nations, and again warned the Governments of Europe that they would resist at their peril.

The President made no attempt to elucidate or defend the project in detail. That naturally will come later. We may remark in passing, however, that if Mr. Wilson really means to intimate a willingness to submit the whole business to the people, the matter can be readily resolved. That is all the opponents of the scheme ask for.

"Nothing But a Treaty"

WE thank thee, Norris, for teaching us that word. "This is to be nothing but a treaty." That is the Nebraska Senator's characterization of the proposed compact for a League of Nations. The President of the United States says of it: "A living thing is born. . . . It is a definite guarantee of peace. . . . Its purposes are declared and its powers are unmistakable." The nation is asked to commit itself to it, for all time, for better or for worse. We are told by some of its advocates that it is the greatest international document ever drafted in the history of the world, that it marks an epoch in the annals of humanity. But Norris says that it is to be "nothing but a treaty"; and adds the suggestion that Congress has the power to ignore treaties. Therefore, the implication is, we shall be

quite safe in ratifying it, since, if it turns out to be mischievous or embarrassing, we can repudiate it, or ignore it; just, we suppose, as the Blond Beast four and a half years ago ignored a treaty as a "scrap of paper."

If that infamous suggestion had to be made at all, we scarcely know of anybody who could more fittingly make it than the Senator from Nebraska. And perhaps it is well that it should be made, if that thought is in the minds of some of those who are advocating the League of Nations scheme. We can imagine nothing that should more effectually damn it in the minds of all decent, honest, and patriotic men. For there could be nothing more cynically immoral than for the nation to enter into a solemn league and covenant with the mental reservation that, if it finds it inconvenient or contrary to its interest to fulfil the pledge, it will repudiate it. This was the infernal principle of Frederick II of Prussia, in which he out-Machiavellied Machiavelli. It was one of the very things against which we were fighting in the great war. It would be an unspeakable thing for us now to adopt that principle as a rule of national conduct, and to participate in forming a League of Nations upon a basis of hypocrisy and fraud.

No: let it be understood that if we should assent to this thing and should enter this League, we should do so in good faith. Though it were "nothing but a treaty," this nation is in the habit of fulfilling its treaty obligations. Those who are advocating the thing are therefore advocating the committing of this country irrevocably to its conditions and requirements. If the thing is ratified, Congress will not ignore it. The American Congress is not composed of Hohenzollerns. That is the thought which should give pause to those who are so glibly advocating the saying of "Yes" to everything which our perambulating President proposes. We should be entering into the compact "for better or for worse."

There is, however, another suggestion in that remark of Senator Norris's, which he presumably did not mean, but which is quite legitimate and pertinent, and which may be acted upon without dishonor and with great good. The League compact is to be "nothing but a treaty." But a treaty is not valid until our Senate by a two-thirds vote approves it. And it is always within the power of the Senate to approve or to disapprove any treaty according to its own unbridled will. The President may make any treaty he pleases; the Senate may ratify it or reject it as it pleases. It is not an imperial ukase. It is not an Order in Council. It is "nothing but a treaty." It is for Congress, then, or for one House of Congress, to protect the nation from the potential menace of the thing, from the abrogation of the Monroe Doctrine and from the abnegation of our independent national sovereignty. That is to be done not by enacting the thing and then ignoring it, but rather by refusing to enact it at all.

It is "nothing but a treaty" that is presented or that will be presented to us; and Congress has indeed the technical though not the moral right to "ignore treaties." But over and above that, the Senate has both the technical and the moral right and power to refuse to ratify treaties and thus to prevent them from ever coming into valid existence. We do not think that we shall look in vain to the Senate to render the nation that crowning service. *Ecrasez l'infame!*

"Any International Matter"

THIS proposed League of Nations, says the President, is not merely a league to prevent war, or to enforce peace, or to secure the peace of the world. Those objects have been much exploited, doubtless for the sake of commending the thing to a war-weary world. People are sick of war. They long for peace. They would like to be assured against recurrence of the great war, against the occurrence of any more wars. Therefore they instinctively turn with a desire for favorable consideration to any proposal for attaining such ends. Even if it required the abandonment of long-cherished doctrines and policies, and required the amendment of the Constitution, anything that certainly prevented war would be worthy of attention.

But this thing gives no such guarantee. The President does not pretend that it does. The text of the Constitution of the League makes no such pretence. On the contrary, it provides for the occurrence of war. It contemplates the occurrence of wars between nations, while of course it does not so much as essay to discourage intestine wars within nations. But while it thus fails to assure the satisfaction of that great desire of the world, it is something else. "It is," said the President, "a League which can be used for coöperation in any international matter." The President said that in Paris, doubtless with the purpose and expectation of thus commending the project to the favor of his colleagues in the Peace Congress. But what was said in Paris must be heard in America; and we shall see whether that description commends the proposed League to the favor of the President's fellow-citizens in the United States.

"Any international matter." That is the scope of jurisdiction and of operation contemplated for this League. Let us consider how comprehensive that is. Let us think of a few of the "international matters" with which this body would be empowered to meddle.

Immigration, for one. That is an international matter. It is a matter of much concern to some foreign nations to what extent and under what conditions their people are permitted to migrate to the United States. It is also a matter of vital interest to the United States that we shall regulate immigration according to the needs of our own welfare. Hitherto, certain countries have felt aggrieved at our refusal to permit unrestricted migration from them to us. Under the principles of this League, as expounded by the President, such a nation would be able to appeal to the League, and the League would be able to order that we should open wide our gates to unrestricted and unconditional immigration from any and all lands.

The tariff, for another thing. That is essentially an international matter. It is notorious that the American system of a protective tariff has militated against the interest of manufacturers and merchants of other lands, and has been regarded as something of a hardship to them. It is entirely conceivable that some nation might protest to the League of Nations that the American tariff was interfering with its freedom of trade with this country, that the League might take the matter up as "international" in its bearings, and might, by virtue of its overwhelming non-American

majority, direct that all protective tariffs should be abolished and that free trade should everywhere prevail.

Extradition, for a third thing. Certainly that is an international matter. It has hitherto been dealt with partly by our own domestic ordinances and partly by treaty stipulations. We have always refused resolutely to permit the extradition of those who were charged with merely political offences, such as conspiracy and attempted revolution. But "a League which could be used for coöperation in any international matter" could require the United States to amend its practice in this respect, and to surrender on demand any fugitive from any country who had sought asylum here, on any pretext whatever.

We do not think that the American people are willing thus to deliver their interests unreservedly to the control of an organization which would in composition be overwhelmingly non-American, and which on some points of vital importance might easily be anti-American. A League which could be used for coöperation in any international matter would be potentially a universal meddler and a universal menace.

"The Rt. Hon. Sir Josephus, N. C. B.," was the title of the leading article in *The North American Review* away back in April, 1915. And now, lo and behold, it has come true. That is to say, the press associations report that King George has been authorized and directed to bestow a knighthood upon Josephus as soon as he steps feet in Buckingham Palace. Ain't it indeed a grand and glorious feelin'?

The League and Civil War

WHAT would be the attitude of the League of Nations toward civil wars? Upon that point its constitution is silent. Yet in the very circumstances of the promulgation of that remarkable lucubration, this point has vital and paramount emphasis. Indeed, those circumstances have given it emphasis. It is very generally recognized that the President's protracted campaign in favor of his pet idea, the consequent delay in settling the essential issues of the war, and the attitude which he has, incidentally to his campaign, assumed toward some of the most ominous elements of national disorder, have combined materially to aggravate the danger of widespread revolts against orderly government throughout the world; such as have become for the time triumphant in Russia, have seriously racked and rent Germany, and have even manifested themselves in the United States. What counteracting influence would the League of Nations have against them?

He would be but a blind reader of the signs of the times who did not discern the world's chief peril to-day not in an immediate renewal of the Huns' attempt to subvert civilization, nor in any conflict between important sovereign states, but in the activities of those malign forces which have been known by various names in various lands, and which now are best known as "Bolshevism." Those forces do not anywhere represent democracy. They do not represent the majority

of the people. As we have hitherto pointed out, they are as malignantly opposed to democracy as they are to aristocracy or to monarchy. But they represent those organized and aggressive elements of lawlessness and evil which, despite their minority, have by virtue of their organization and aggressiveness an advantage over the unorganized and non-aggressive majority of democracy.

For meeting that peril the proposed League makes no provision. In that respect it falls far short of having such courage of its convictions as characterized the Holy Alliance. For that earlier League of Nations for the Maintenance of Peace pledged its members to defend and support each other, not alone against alien attack, but also against domestic revolution. In so doing, it bound itself to repress Liberalism and keep in despotic suppression the rights of man; and that, of course, was infamous. But it may pertinently be asked if the League now proposed should not be as thoroughgoing in its championship of democracy as that former one was in its support of autocracy, and afford an equal measure of benevolent aid, if ever such is needed, for the support of democracy against anarchy?

We may certainly say that if it does not do this, it should at least most scrupulously avoid doing anything which would in any degree weaken the authority of organized democratic government and impair its power to hold in subjection the enemies of society. As at present proposed, there is reason to fear that the League would not avoid these things, but on the contrary would be guilty of committing them. It would be doing so by requiring the disarmament, or the limitation of armament, of a nation at the word and according to the judgment of a group of alien Powers. They would estimate its needs of armament according to what they regarded as its danger of attack by alien Powers. That is directly implied in the wording of the Constitution of the League. They would not, they could not, give due consideration to its needs for defence against international disorder or revolution.

It certainly seems, then, that any organization or system which lessens the power of individual governments to maintain themselves and to discharge efficiently those functions for which governments exist, must play into the hands of anarchy, and thus must invite rather than prevent war. The right of revolution may be sacred. But none the less so is that of a government to maintain itself against revolution; particularly if it be a government founded upon the consent of the majority of the people, and if the attempted revolution be fomented by a lawless minority.

The more we know of Marshal Foch, the more we like him. When the Germans try to evade the terms of the armistice by withholding their ships, he says, "Very well; we'll march in and occupy Essen." When they refuse to evacuate Polish territory, he says, "Very well; we'll occupy Dantzic and the Dantzic-Thorn railway." If the Huns keep on defaulting their obligations, he will be marching an army into Berlin; which is what really should have been done at the outset. If the Peace Congress gets tired of its job, and wants to abdicate in favor of Marshal Foch, we shall not object.

No Gag Law

SENATORS Poindexter, Borah, Reed and others deserve the thanks of their countrymen for their prompt and practical resentment of the President's unprecedented and unspeakably improper attempt to impose gag law upon the representatives of the nation. It is seldom, indeed, that any divine right autocrat has issued a more shamelessly arrogant ukase; while we may confidently say that never was such a thing done in circumstances which so offensively aggravated the impertinence of the thing.

We must remember that the President has from the beginning of his political career professed to be a stickler for publicity. If he had any hobby, he declared, it was that for publicity. He could, he said, conceive no public business which might properly be transacted in private. The first words of the first of his famous Fourteen Commandments prescribed "Open covenants of peace, openly arrived at." Yet he had the effrontery to tell Senators and Representatives of the United States that they should not publicly discuss one of the most important pieces of public business that were ever presented to this nation for consideration.

We must remember that when he started on his trip abroad, the chief purpose of which was to organize this League of Nations, he refused to take the country into his confidence concerning his intentions. He would not take into his confidence the Congress which represented the nation. He would not even take into confidence and counsel the Senate, which he knew to be his colleague in the treaty-making power. He observed toward them all the profoundest secrecy, as though they were not worthy to enter into the arcana of his exalted mind. He would not even take a member of the Senate with him as a fellow-commissioner. The nation, Congress, the Senate, were all to be kept in the dark until the thing was done; and then they were not to discuss it until he gave them leave.

We must remember the copious fluency of his public appeals in various European countries, preliminary to his dictation of the Constitution of the League of Nations to the Peace Congress. There was no reserve on his part, until the thing which he had in mind was disclosed. From land to land and from city to city he went, touting the pig in a poke which he had to sell, and making appeals to the people against the assumed policies of their own governments. A more amazing spectacle was never seen. It was, of course, "open diplomacy." But with what consistency can one who

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thus harangued the multitudes in foreign lands forbid his own countrymen to talk among themselves?

We must remember that he assumed no reciprocal obligation of silence for himself. On the contrary, at the very moment when he strove to inhibit Senators of the United States from deliberating among themselves on this grave affair of state, he was preparing himself not merely and properly to take counsel with his Constitutional advisers and to expound to them the purport of his scheme, but to address the people directly, in the widest possible manner; as if to appeal to them against their own representatives and law-makers. If he had said in effect to the Senate, "Let us both say nothing publicly until we have had counsel together," there would have been consistency and equity in his attitude. As it was he practically said, "You keep your mouths shut until I have had a chance to say my say." Such was his conception of publicity for public affairs. Such was his application of the rule of "open covenants openly arrived at."

Thank God, for the sake of our beloved country, that there were Senators and Representatives who were swift and fearless to resent and to defy that arrogant attempt at gag law! There were those who saw fit, for convincing reasons of unimpeachable patriotism, to withhold their comments; and who will be heard hereafter in no uncertain tones. But it would have been a reproach to the nation for all to have remained silent at his bidding.

It was well that these men spoke, spoke promptly, spoke fearlessly, spoke honestly, spoke as became the spokesmen of a people who claim the right to speak without let or hindrance on whatever matter may affect the public weal. No President, however imperious, in these later days can gag the citizens of America.

All or Nothing

THE New York *Times* takes the position that the Senate must accept or reject the Paris peace treaty in toto. It cannot alter it or amend it. To do so would be to arrogate to itself the authority of a court of appeal over the nations of the earth. If a reconvened Paris conference did not accept the decision of this court of appeal, there would be no alternative but to resume the war.

The argument is not convincing, to be sure, but it serves the purpose of bringing into strong light the unprecedented course Mr. Wilson has taken in the peace negotiations. If the reasoning of the *Times* is sound, he has deliberately usurped to himself the entire treaty making power which the Constitution lodges, not in the President alone but in him and the Senate of the United States.

Mr. Wilson has pointedly ignored the Senate in the entire transaction. He refused to appoint a Senate member to the American peace commission. With the exception of the vague and contradictory generalities he promulgated in his Fourteen Commandments, he has persistently refused to disclose either to the Senate or the country the plans and purposes with which he went abroad. He seems to have assumed from the start that the entire responsibility was his and his alone.

In his last speech before abandoning his post of duty,

however, he promised to keep the Senate closely informed of the progress of negotiations. He has broken that promise. Neither the Senate nor the people of the United States have known anything whatever as to the peace conference deliberations, save what could be gathered from the guesses and speculations of newspaper correspondents whose access to facts has been so embarrassed as to render their reports necessarily unsatisfactory and confusing. The President in Paris has maintained the same cloistered seclusion which was his habit in Washington. Surrounded by the manikins with whom it pleased him to make up his board of delegates, excluding the Senate from all shadow of participation in discussions upon the result of which that body must ultimately pass, the President has taken upon himself, if the *Times* is right, the sole treaty-making power of the country.

For, according to the *Times'* contention, the treaty which under this usurped authority Mr. Wilson may make is non-reviewable and non-amendable by the Senate, whose advice and consent, under the Constitution, is essential to the validity of any treaty into which the United States may enter. Under the *Times* doctrine in this instance, the President of the United States nominates himself the sole treaty negotiator and enters into an engagement with all the nations of the earth, into the construction of which the Senate may not interpose with advice or suggestions either before or after the accomplished fact. There must be no Senate amendments; no modifications under Senate criticism. It is either the treaty in its entirety which the President personally elects to thrust upon the country, or it is no treaty at all. There can be no peace unless it is President Wilson's kind of peace. Either take that or nothing. Either accept that or accept war.

It is a pistol at the Senate's head. If ever there was a case of stand and deliver or fight, surely it is just that and nothing else with which, according to the *Times*, the Senate of the United States is now face to face. No matter how lumbering and irrelevant may be the extraneous matter with which the conditions of our making an end to the war with Germany may be loaded, we have got to take the whole cargo or nothing.

In the language of the *Times*:

In other words, the Senate [were it to refuse to accept the treaty in toto] would be sitting as a court of appeal over the nations of the world, sending the case back to them, and ordering them either to abandon it or reconstitute it as ordered. Will the Senate take that responsibility?

From present indications, and from what has been disclosed to date as to the character of the peace Mr. Wilson proposes to inflict upon us, we rather think the Senate *will* take that responsibility.

German reports by way of The Hague state that the ex-Kaiser has regained much of his former popularity, and that he is vociferously cheered at great public meetings. We have no doubt that if he should ride along Unter den Linden tomorrow he would be as generally acclaimed as ever he was years ago, and that if they thought he could "make good" in renewing the war, every man Fritz of the German "Social Democracy" would welcome him back as Kaiser and follow him into the war for more loot and rape.

Who are the Victors?

SUBJECTED to Mr. Wilson's favorite "acid test," just what has been done in the three months during which the President of the United States has been traveling, speech-making and mind-matching in foreign countries? As David Jayne Hill said in his speech before the Sons and Daughters of the Revolution in Washington a few days ago, the test is achievement, and he very well summarized, not the achievement, but the lack of achievement to date of this interminable Paris powwow.

Nearly four months ago we had Germany beaten to a frazzle. Her armies could have been forced to unconditional surrender. Peace could have been dictated in Berlin and the war ended before Christmas. Now, after months and months of talking and triumphal progressing and matching of minds the sole result is a vague, impossible document, assent to which by the Senate and people of the United States is preposterously out of the question. In the gestation and bringing forth of this abortion about a quarter of a year has been consumed. Meanwhile we are no nearer peace with Germany, no nearer to throwing off the restraining trammels of a state of technical war, no nearer to a return to normal conditions that we were when the everlasting palaver began. And all this because the President of the United State, with his suite of manikins, is laboring under an obsession, as he himself in one of his speeches in Italy put it, to "change the psychology of the world." In the hearty language of Marse Henry, to hell with the psychology of the world! It is the psychology of the Hun that is to be changed—crushed, mashed, ground to a pulp that can be moulded to some sort of conformity with the decencies of the civilized world. That and that alone was the first and superlative business of the Peace Conference. All the fads and fancies, the millennial dreams, reveries and idealisms were matters for after consideration, if they were worth considering at all. Future conferences could match minds and dribble "may-I-not" rhetoric through leisurely years over these phantasies, if thought advisable.

What the people of this country want is peace—technical, actual peace based on such a shackling, hog-tying and ham-stringing of the ravening Beast who made a shambles of the world as will render him impotent for evil for generations to come. We are not a step nearer that end now than we were when the mind-matching began. The Beast does not even know he is beaten. With every day his arrogance and insolence are increasing. With every day his strength and his resources for another debauch of blood and lust are recuperating. His army is reorganizing and still possessed of arms, and, as Dr. Hill says, with the prospect of adding the recruiting resources of millions more of population by the accession of Austria, the Hun is flinging the defiance of his present seventy million people in the face of the Paris Conference, and claiming exemption from payment of indemnities on the ground that the terms of peace were agreed upon before the armistice. In other words, "agreed upon" in those pestiferous Fourteen Commandments with which the entire proceedings have been hobbled from the start.

"What then," asks Dr. Hill, "is the coming peace to be

and when will it be concluded? Who, in fact, are the victors?"

Who on earth could find the answer to either of these questions? Nobody. We are not going to try. We are going back to Paris to match minds for it.

The Wrongs of the War

THE British delegates to the Peace Congress, said Mr. Bonar Law, have been instructed to claim an indemnity which will cover the costs of the war as well as the damage actually caused. That is one of the most sensible, practical and gratifying items of news that have come from the great conclave in Paris. Its only blemish is the fact that it was necessary to make such an announcement, or that it was necessary to give such instructions. It ought to have been a matter of course, axiomatic, from the beginning. We understand that there has never been any question in M. Clemenceau's mind about France's making such a claim, and we should think that there could be none in the mind of the American delegates.

Nobody, indeed, has made such a claim by the directest of implications more frequently or more positively than President Wilson. In the message to Congress in which he discussed the ending of the war and the terms of peace he declared that the price of peace must be "full, impartial justice—justice done at every point and to every nation." The war would be won "only when the German people are ready to agree to a settlement based upon justice and the reparation of the wrongs their rulers have done."

Obviously, justice requires reparation of wrongs. The question, then arises, what are the wrongs which Germany has done to other nations? Invasion of their territory was a wrong. This can be repaired by evacuation—indeed, has been. Destruction of their cities, their orchards and forests, and devastation of their lands were wrongs. These can be partially repaired by cash payments. The same may be said of the destruction of shipping by submarines. There is, we believe, general agreement that such reparation must be made.

Those were not, however, the only wrongs which Germany did to the world. She put this country and other countries to an expense amounting to billions of dollars, to defend themselves against her savage rapacity. They did not wish to spend all that money for military purposes. She forced them to it, and because she forced them to it, the people of these countries—for no fault of their own—have been burdened with heavy taxation, and will unless relieved have to bear that burden for many years to come. Public works will have to be postponed or abandoned because of the cost of the war. Citizens will have to deny themselves things which they would like to have, because of the burden of taxation which the war has thrown upon them.

That, we insist, was a wrong, a very great wrong, deliberately committed by Germany against these nations. It was one of those wrongs which justice requires to be repaired, and which the President has declared must be repaired as an essential condition of peace. There can be no moral distinc-

tion between the infliction of a loss of a hundred millions by destroying a city, and that caused by putting the nation to a hundred millions expense in defending the city from destruction. The words of the President were therefore a clear and indisputable demand for the payment of indemnities sufficient to pay the costs of the war to America and the Allied Powers. To put any other interpretation upon them would be to trifle with them and to outrage commonsense.

Apart from the justice of it, there are two other reasons why such indemnity should certainly be exacted. One is, because it would be peculiarly appropriate to Germany. That predatory Power began the war, as Prussia has begun most of her wars, for loot. She began taking loot and exacting ransom, brigand fashion, in Belgium. She calculated at the outset how vast a ransom she would exact from the United States when she conquered its coast cities. She would have demanded not merely the costs of her self-started war, but also as big a ransom as she thought the United States could be forced to pay. There is nothing that could so keenly make her feel her defeat as to be compelled to pay indemnity where she expected to exact ransom and plunder.

The other reason is on a still higher plane. It is this: That there could scarcely be a greater deterrent against unjust wars than to establish the principle that a nation starting a war would be held responsible for the expenses to which other nations were put on account of it. We believe in preventing wars, as far as possible, and we believe that one of the best means of preventing them is by making them odious. There could be few things better calculated to make war odious, at any rate to a sordid Hun who wages war for revenue only, than to establish this principle of responsibility for its costs.

There may be some question concerning the ability of Germany to pay such just indemnity in full. Of course she could not do it right away. It might take her many years to do it. But the length of time that it takes to repair a wrong is no argument against full reparation. Nor would the absolute impossibility of Germany's paying it in full be any reason why she should not be compelled to pay all that she could. If a bankrupt's estate is not sufficient to pay a hundred cents on the dollar, that is no reason why it should not be made to pay fifty cents on the dollar, or as much as it can.

A Hole in the Ground

THERE is a hole in the ground in New York's City Hall Park. Not many weeks ago there stood on that spot an obelisk of brick. It was erected at a cost of thousands of dollars. The public was stridently invited to watch the building of it, and to assist in the building of it by purchasing Liberty Bonds. "Every bond meant a brick," people were told, and it was said that the President of the United States himself had thus paid for one brick. So the thing rose, brick by brick, while the Liberty Bond campaign was on. At the end of the campaign the obelisk was not finished, but it was capped with an absurd little misfit wooden roof, and so stood, a wonder and an eyesore, until it was

time to tear it down. And now there is nothing there but a hole in the ground.

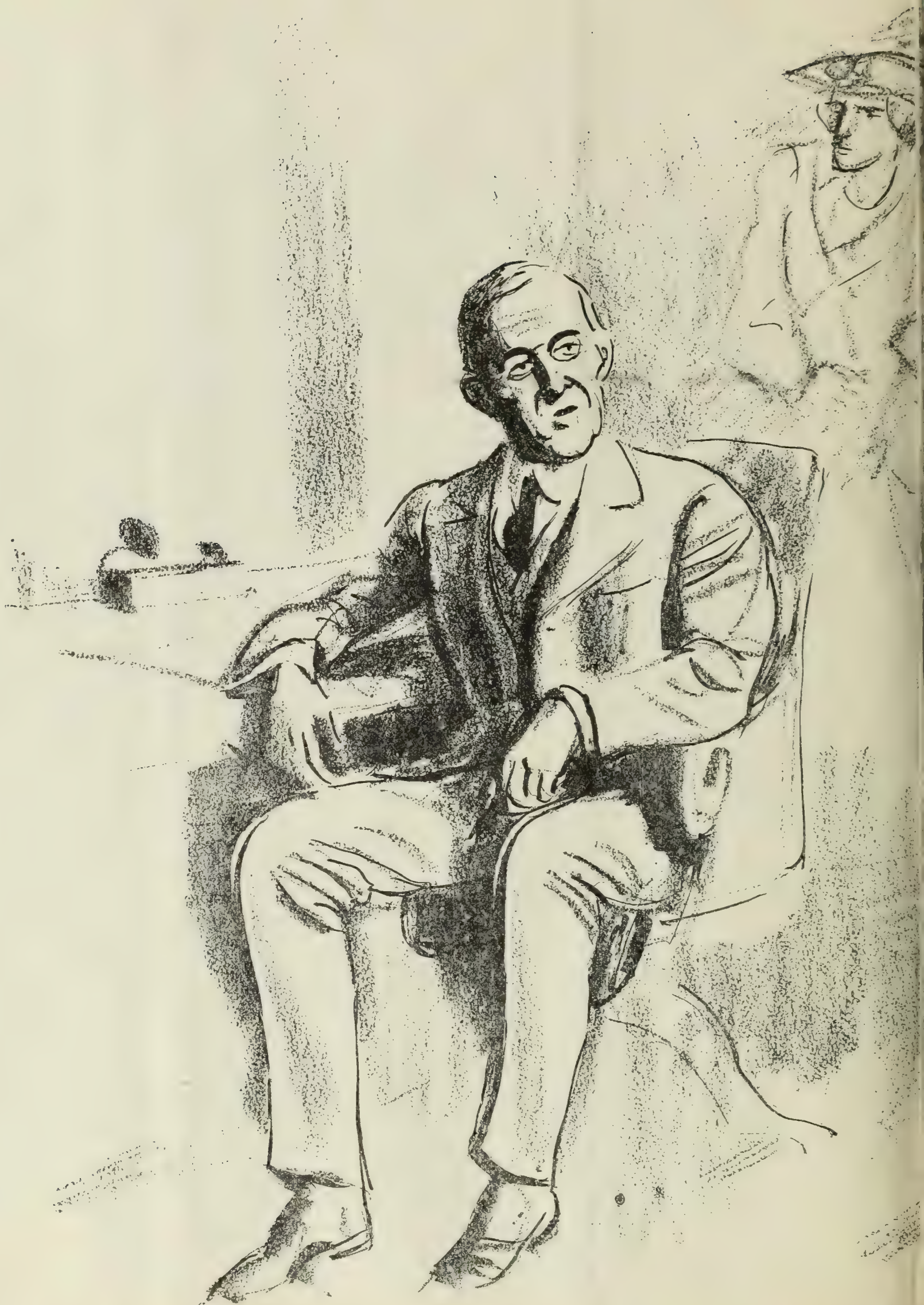
The vital feature of the whole business was this: that while it was being built, and for a little while afterward, that shaft was conspicuously, vociferously, and most unequivocally declared to be a *permanent memorial* of the patriotism of those who subscribed for Liberty bonds. There were those who were surprised at the erection of a permanent eyesore of that kind in such a place. But there the assurance was, in letters a foot tall, on the authority of the City of New York. It was a *permanent* memorial. On the assurance of its permanence, people were invited, induced, to purchase bonds. And now there is nothing to be seen of that *permanent* memorial but a hole in the ground.

That, we are all agreed, was a contemptible bunco game, of which the City of New York ought to be heartily ashamed, and which the National Government ought to resent as an insulting reflection upon its own good faith. Yet what is the wider application of the lesson?

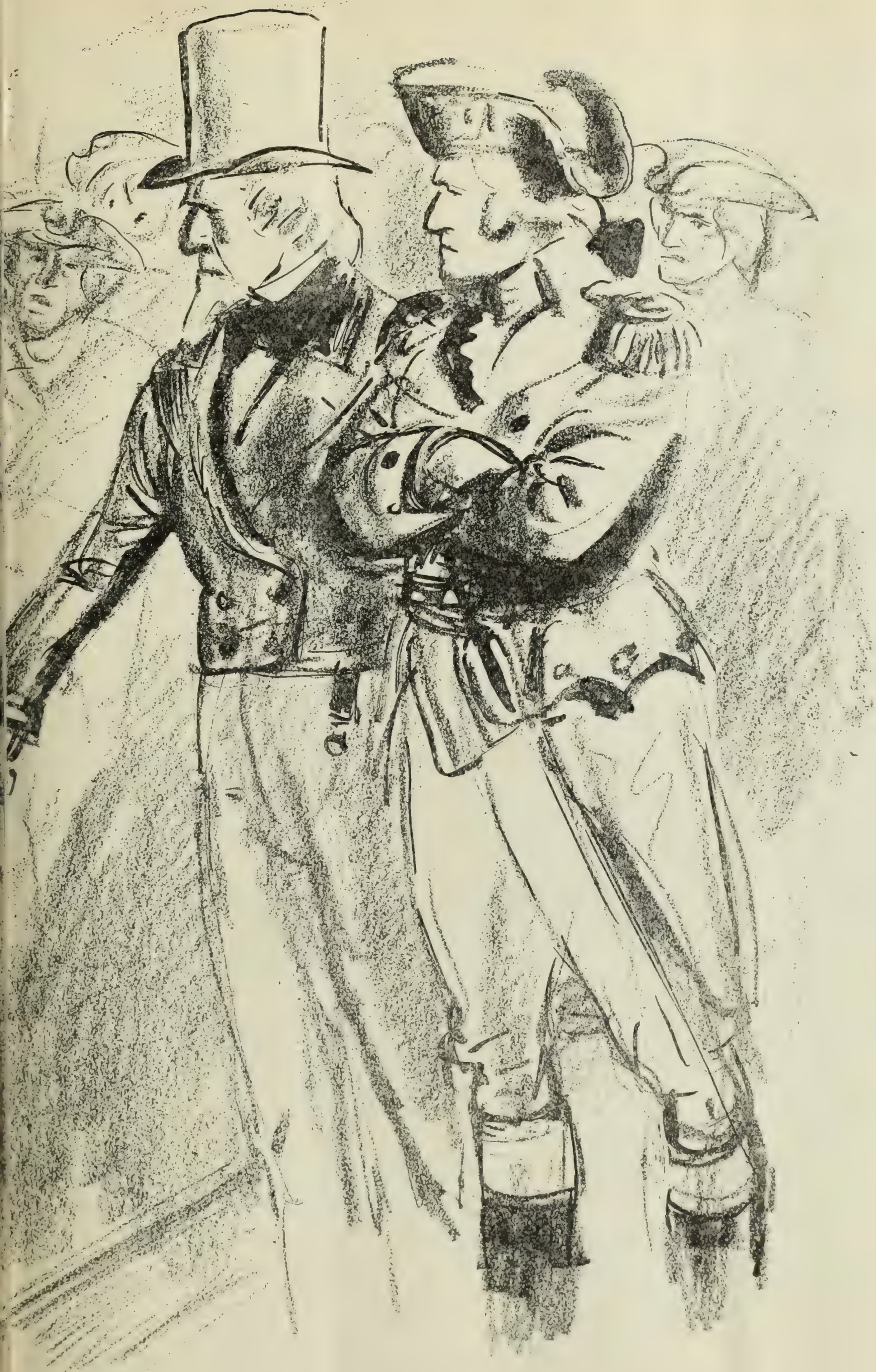
It was not so very long ago, though perhaps a little longer than the building of that Tower of Bunco, that we were resolving, oh, so vehemently, that there must be the "strictest accountability" for the unspeakable infamy of the *Lusitania*, and for all the other abhorrent category of German crimes. The murder of Edith Cavell, the destruction of Louvain, the crucifying of wounded soldiers, the mutilation of children, the wanton bayonetting of babies, the ravishing of women, the driving of a whole people into alien slavery: these were the things for which the Blond Beast would be called to account, instantly upon the winning of victory, and with a resolute sternness which no blandishments could turn aside. Brick by brick the permanent memorial of Hunnish iniquity and of the righteous indignation of outraged humanity was built up, and we were patriotically exhorted to think on these things, and because of them to give our full support to the government in order that "this intolerable Thing" should be crushed.

To-day, all such Things seem to be forgotten. There must be no vindictiveness. There must be no punitive action. We must forget all those Things which were the cause of our engagement in the war, and must busy our minds with thoughts of Leagues of Nations, and of international legislation to legalize picketing in strikes in Hester Street, and of anything and everything in the world save the punishment of the guilty and the restoration of the injured. We had supposed that the object of the war was first of all to crush that "intolerable Thing," and that the prime purpose of the Peace Congress would be to make sure that it was crushed and that it would stay crushed, so as to offer no further menace to the world. But now our one self-appointed delegate to that Congress comes home, not to tell us how the fangs of the Blond Beast have been drawn, or how fully the wrongs of Belgium have been righted, but how far he has tried to commit an unwilling nation to mischievous meddlings in things which have no relation whatever to the causes or objects of the war.

Can it be that, after the example of the Tower of Bunco the *permanent memorial* of the great war and its Peace Congress will be merely a hole in the ground?



“Take care, Mr. President, that you do not f



ce us to fight another War of Independence!”

The Week

WASHINGTON, February 27, 1919.

THE President of the United States has returned to the United States. The voyage of the *George Washington* was effected with proverbial neatness and dispatch, the discriminating observation being made that Mr. Wilson Crossing the Atlantic encountered less peril than Washington Crossing the Delaware. On Wednesday next, it is expected, the President will depart for the more congenial air of Paris. The United States will then, as before, contain no President of the United States.

"It will be absolutely necessary," said the President to Congress in the midst of the war, "that a force be created as a guarantor of the permanence of the settlement so much greater than the force of any nation now engaged or any alliance hitherto formed or projected that no nation, no probable combination of nations, could face or withstand it." Absolutely necessary, mark you, that a naval force be created greater than that of the combined British and American fleets. Absolutely necessary that an army be created greater than the united armies of France, Great Britain, Italy, Japan and America. Frankly, it seemed to us at the time that the President, with the proverbial zeal of a new convert, was resorting to counsels of impossibility. But now, in the Constitution for the League of Nations which he himself has drafted, how does he meet that absolute necessity which he himself conceived? Why, there is to be no force at all created, but the Executive Committee of the League is to "recommend" to the members of the League their proportionate contribution to the armed forces to be used to protect the covenants of the League. Merely "recommend"; and if the recommendation is not favorably received and acted upon, there will be no force at all. Yet it is "absolutely necessary" that such an overwhelming force be created. From the President's own point of view, then, this proposed League would be hopelessly inefficient and futile.

"A general association of the nations must be formed," says the President, "for the purpose of affording mutual guarantees . . . to great and small states alike." In a thoughtful exposition of the President's Constitution for the League of Nations, Professor Albert Bushnell Hart, a most sympathetic authority, points out that "in the Executive Council five Powers will cast five votes, and the remaining fifty or so states of the world can cast no more than four." As we were saying, "great and small states alike."

The President is quoted as expressing, in a letter to Senator Shafroth, the opinion that this country has "power to join in any arrangement with regard to the peace of the world in which the President and the Senate may unite." From one point of view that is indisputable. The power of the President and Senate to make any treaty they please is, legally, absolute. Rationally and morally, however, it is subject to important limitations. We cannot concede, for example, that it would be rational, or sound public and

patriotic morals, to make a treaty pledging the nation in advance unreservedly to arbitration of any conceivable controversy. Still more indefensible would it be to make a treaty pledging us to declare war at any time at the demand of some alien or international body, when the Constitution explicitly vests the war-making power not in the President and Senate but in the Congress. It would be bad enough for the treaty-making department of the Government to pledge itself in advance blindly to action at alien demand. It would be monstrously inexcusable for it thus to undertake to pledge another and coördinate department of government. It might as well make a treaty promising in advance what decisions of the Supreme Court would be.

The best possible news of the day is that M. Clemenceau is out of danger and is regaining his health and strength. The shots that were fired at him were the most menacing blow at the welfare of the world that has been struck since August, 1914. There could scarcely have been a greater calamity to mankind than the success of the assassin's design would have been. Without incurring the proverbial odium of comparisons we may unhesitatingly say that there is today no more valuable human life in the world than that of Georges Clemenceau. God preserve him!

That also is good news that the Peace Congress purposes at last to speed up its work of actual peace-making. It is difficult to regard with patience the fact that nearly four months after the making of the armistice, the supposedly victorious Allies are only just beginning to prepare to get ready to enter upon the real work of settling accounts with the supposedly conquered foe. Meantime, of course, there has been opportunity for the President to lead a brass band on an Italian balcony, to throw kisses with both hands to a crowd which hailed him as the "god of peace," and to exploit various vagaries of a League of Nations for Universal Meddling. It is not devoid of significance that it was after his departure from Paris, and indeed while he was yet on the high seas, that the Supreme Council decided to call for final reports from the various commissions, on responsibility for the war, reparation by Germany, and other matters directly relating to peace-making, not later than March 8—a date, by the way, on which the President is, or was, expected to be again in mid-Atlantic.

That will mean, we are told, that the preliminary peace treaty will be fully drafted by the time the President returns to his place in Paris after his regretted but apparently unavoidable absence in the United States. Apparently, his return will mean a renewal of leisurely methods, since the actual prescription of peace terms to Germany is not expected to be made until June 1, or two and a half months after the completion of the preliminary draft. More than six and a half months will then have elapsed between the suspension of hostilities and the conclusion of peace.

Universal horror and detestation is aroused by the revelation that plots have been made in this country to assassinate the President, and there is profound gratification at the success of the Secret Service—which is at time finely efficient—in detecting and baffling them. There is, however,

no occasion for surprise at it, since we have learned from sad experience that America is no more exempt from such deviltries than any other land. It used to be a favorite occupation of some maladroit American humorists to portray the Czar of Russia as spending his time in dodging assassins, as living in a bombproof fortress, and what not; ignoring the fact that three American Presidents have been murdered to only one Russian Czar. This infernal conspiracy must be regarded, if not as a result of the delay and amazing lenience in peace-making, at least as having found its opportunity in those conditions. Second only to the infamies of the war itself have been the atrocities perpetrated in various lands since the establishment of the armistice. Germany and Austria-Hungary have been the scene of almost incessant orgies of lawlessness and murder, while in every important Allied country there have been ominous and malignant ramifications of the same abhorrent influences; and these have been steadily increasing in intensity and audacity as the essential work of the Peace Congress has been postponed. More strenuous terms, inexorably enforced, and a prompt dictation of permanent terms of peace, leaving all subsidiary fads and fancies for after consideration, would have saved the world innumerable tragedies and inestimable cost and trouble.

The Chairman of the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce last week announced that there was no chance of getting in the present session any legislation to relieve and settle the railroad situation. Yet it is quite obvious that if something is not speedily done to dispose of that gigantic problem, the country will be in danger of an appalling economic disaster. On that ground alone, not to mention others of great importance, there is imperative need of the immediate summoning of a special session of Congress.

The President, through the Secretary of War, announces "the prompt withdrawal of American troops in North Russia at the earliest possible moment that weather conditions in the spring will permit." Yet we have heard no withdrawal of the solemn promise never, never, never to desert Russia in her need. But perhaps our loyal obligations to Russia will be amply fulfilled by withdrawing our support from the respectable democracy of the north, and sending the free lover Herron to confabulate with the Bolshevik beasts who have been nationalizing the womanhood of Russia.

Few things could more strongly indicate German disregard for the opinion of mankind, or else German ignorance of the sentiments of the civilized world, than the putting forward of such a creature as Mathias Erzberger as one of the most conspicuous representatives of the government and people. After William Hohenzollern himself and his seldest son there is probably no person in all Hunland who is so vile a stench in the nostrils of humanity as this snivelling hypocrite, who is representative of nothing but the most degenerate instincts of the Blond Beast. If he were absolutely and permanently retired, there would be a far better chance for satisfactory dealing with Germany.

The "Victory Loan" bill provides, as was expected, for four classes of notes, with varying degrees of tax exemption. In this way it is hoped to cater to all tastes and needs, and thus invite numerous popular subscriptions. It will be interesting to watch the result. It is scarcely to be expected that there will be as great popular interest in it, or that there will be anything like as many popular subscriptions as the last Liberty Loan commanded. Yet it would be lamentable to have any considerable falling off in those respects. That the loan will all be taken is of course not to be doubted. If necessary, the Treasury could practically compel the Federal Reserve banks to take it. But it would be most desirable to have the people spontaneously come to the assistance of their Government.

Congress will adjourn, we are told, without making the appropriation for which the Secretary of the Interior asked, for eliminating illiteracy and for Americanizing the foreign born. At the same time an official bulletin reports that in 1910 there were 5,000,000 adult illiterates in the United States, and that the experience of the Army camps proved that conditions had improved little if any since that time. In six or seven States, adult illiteracy ranges from twenty to twenty-nine per cent. These are chiefly, though not all, in the "Black Belt" of the South. But in Illinois nearly ten per cent of the adults are unable to read and write the English language. That is a condition of affairs not merely discreditable, but ominous to the welfare of the country.

German university professors and other scientists are joining in an appeal to the President to relax the blockade so as to let in food for the empty stomach of the Blond Beast. Presumably they are largely identical with those distinguished philosophers who prostituted their professorships at the beginning of the war by signing a deliberately false statement concerning the origin and conduct of the war—the Haeckels, Euckens and others of that kidney. Presumably, too, they appeal to the President because of his well known dictum that "No man can be patriotic on an empty stomach." Of course we want the Huns to be patriotic, so as to keep their country from falling into Bolshevik chaos, and therefore we must fill their stomachs. *Quod erat demonstrandum.*

Mr. Paderewski, as Prime Minister of Poland, wants the permission of the Allies to develop and maintain a powerful army. He ought to have it. We cannot afford to restore Polish independence and yet keep Poland a weak and helpless country. She occupies the most important strategic position in all Europe. She is the buffer state, which must serve at once as a barrier against the westward incursions of Russian Bolshevism, and against the efforts of the Prussian Huns to invade and exploit the east. She needs to be sufficiently armed to defend herself on both sides at the same time, and to do so against a powerful foe at each side. If she does not immediately rank among the great Powers, Poland must, for the good of Europe, be enabled to rank among the foremost of the secondary Powers.

Old Home Week

PRESIDENT WILSON'S predilection for the luck of the numeral 13 may perhaps serve to lend him aid and comfort in the superhuman task of clearing his official desk of the domestic business of the Republic which he finds confronting him in the week which he has selected to devote to the affairs of his secondary office, the Presidency of the United States of America. There are thirteen unsolved problems which require, within the brief compass of the Chief Executive's week in Washington, his serious application and his definite decision. Perhaps the "thirteen" fetish will be the resolvent for this weighty duty. Ordinarily an official would feel that at least a few of the problems would require more than the eight hours four minutes and thirty-seven seconds which President Wilson will be able to allot out of his normal waking hours to each of these important items in the affairs of the nation here at home.

Not so Mr. Wilson, apparently. To him the duty may seem simple. To his devoted advisers (it is polite to refer to those gentlemen who have the entree to the Executive sanctum as the President's advisers, although no one ever saw them advise) the tasks seem hardly so simple. For the edification of ordinary mortals who look upon the office of President of the United States as one of sufficient magnitude to warrant at least a modicum of attention from the incumbent, the following list of unsolved problems may prove illuminating:

1: The rendering of a decision upon the much-mixed question of what shall constitute the future policy of the U. S. Shipping Board with regard to the American Merchant Marine, including the question of private versus public management, the writing off of a billion-dollar loss in construction costs, and some forward-looking plan for the salvation of the remaining \$2,000,000,000 worth of over-valued and under navigable tubs which Mr. Hurley's Board constructed during the stirring days of the war, while Great Britain and our other Allies were trying to build ships of really permanent value with the additional qualification of sea-worthiness.

2: Some answer to the clamor growing louder and louder every hour against the further delegation of the control of telegraph, telephone, cable, and radio communication to Politicalmaster-General Burleson; a clamor which, starting from two distant points—operatives and users of the facilities of communication—has met in the middle in one thunderous roar of demand for the dissolution of the Federal control of these utilities.

3: A definition to the Interstate Commerce Committees of the House and Senate of the purpose of the Chief Executive concerning the Administration's plan with regard to the railways and railway-owned steamship lines of the nation, so that in the new Congress the legislators may have some knowledge of the ground they shall tread in framing a policy of future relationships between the facilities of interstate transportation and the Federal Government.

4: An expression of the judgment of the President as to what policy he would advise pursuing in dealing with the

question of lower rates of marine insurance, so that something near an equality in the costs of insurance and of ocean-borne transportation may be reached before the newly acquired ocean-carrying trade of the United States disappears in the holds of foreign ships.

5: The formulation of legislation under which the war-time prohibition law which becomes effective on July 1 next may be legally enforced.

6: The nomination of a successor to Thomas Watt Gregory in the office of Attorney General of the United States, a billet for which, as it has been asserted on competent authority, the President has chosen a distinguished Boston lawyer, but on the subject of which the country has been permitted to remain in doubt up to the very moment of the President's return to home shores.

7: What to do towards the re-employment in industry—essential, non-essential, and mixed—of the vast horde of fighting men turned loose from the Government payroll and forced to seek employment in civil pursuits; and, along with this, the dissolution of the War Labor Board and the War Labor Policies Board, which attended to these matters during the war.

8: The general problem of outlining some coördinated plan for the reconstruction of the industrial fabric of the nation, disturbed and disrupted by the exigencies of war.

9: The readjustment of the foodstuff markets of the United States to peace-time conditions and peace-time regulations, through the medium of the produce exchanges of the country and the other private and semi-private agencies to which, in the resumption of natural relations, price adjustments would fall.

10: Straightening out of the problem of the supply and transportation of fuel, under the freedom of market which cannot be denied once the proclamation of peace has been uttered.

11: Putting Congress right as to what the President really meant by his cablegram to Secretary of the Navy Daniels concerning the effect upon "my negotiations" of the passage of the enlarged naval programme.

12: Informing Congress as to what kind of an Army the United States may expect to retain out of the wreckage now being made of the great force of 4,000,000 fighters organized in the stress of war, which a stupid Democratic House of Representatives has already permitted to be reduced to a potential army of 175,000 men, to be collected through the dubious policy of voluntary enlistment.

13: Making up his mind as to when the 66th Congress shall be called together.

It is to be doubted if a comparably serious and urgent wish of a President was ever quite so flagrantly flouted as was Mr. Wilson's desire that Senators and Representatives should remain silent on the subject of the League of Nations until they got their cues from him. It is quite certain that speeches denying, defying, and "catawampously chawing up" a President and his pet policy were never more heartily applauded on both sides of the Senate than were those of last week.

Why Drag In the States?

THE super-agitated protestations of the Prohibitionists that "concurrent" does not mean concurrent when used in a bone-dry Amendment serve chiefly to add to the present obfuscation and the prospective confusion worse confounded of their extraordinary composition. It must of course be recognized that the question raised is a new one in Constitutional law. Never before was so amazing an anomaly perpetrated as to commit to the States the enforcement of a national law. How the thing will be interpreted, applied, and practically worked out is problematic, with a strong probability of almost infinite controversy, confusion and injustice.

It is quite plain that, strictly speaking, the American system of government does not contemplate any such exercise of "concurrent power" by the Federal and State Governments as this Amendment prescribes. The Constitution defines for each its own proper sphere of action. That is one of the essential, the fundamental, principles of the Constitution: the fine balance between National Sovereignty and State Rights. The cases in which the two have identical jurisdiction are necessarily limited and usually temporary. Thus the States have had concurrent power with the Nation in such matters as bankruptcy and interstate commerce, until the Federal Government saw fit to legislate upon them, when the validity of the State enactments lapsed. Manifestly, the present case is not at all of that description.

It must also be recognized that the granting of a specific power to the Federal Government by the Constitution does not inhibit the States from the exercise of similar or identical power, unless such inhibition is expressed in the Constitution. Thus, while Congressional legislation deals with counterfeiting money, with taxation, and with the control and conduct of Congressional elections, there is nothing to prevent any State from also legislating upon those matters; though of course in case of a clash in provisions, the Federal law would be superior to the State, and the latter would be invalid so far as it conflicted with the former.

Now let us concede that in the case of the concurrent jurisdiction of courts, which is a commonplace of our judicial system, and which is the chief and almost the sole important example of concurrent powers, the jurisdiction of one court is not dependent upon the concurrent action of the other. Whether the same rule would apply invariably to legislative instead of judicial authority is a question not yet answered, and the affirmative answer of which is by no means to be taken for granted. But let us for the sake of the argument assume such affirmative answer. What is the result?

Congress would then have power to enforce the provisions of the Amendment by appropriate legislation, whether the concurrent power of any State was operative or not. And that power of Congress would not be in the least degree increased or diminished by the action or non-action of any State. On the other hand, it is inconceivable that any State would have power to enforce the Amendment in the absence of Congressional legislation. It could enact a State prohibition law, as many States have already done, but we cannot admit the anomaly of a State solely enforcing a provision of the National Constitution. And in case there was Congressional legislation, the action of the State would have

to conform with it; or, at any rate, could not in any way traverse or conflict with it.

Obviously, then, the State is reduced to a nullity, and the reference to the "concurrent power" of the several States with Congress is the veriest camouflage. The power of Congress to enforce the National Constitution is quite independent of the States. The power of the States to do so independently of Congress is nil. The question therefore arises why the States were dragged into the case at all, and why the power of enforcing the Amendment was not committed to Congress alone, according to hitherto unbroken precedent. It is impossible that the thing was done by inadvertence. If it was done purposely, why? Can it be that the abdication of Congress in favor of the Executive during these last two years has so impaired the validity of that body that it is thought necessary to bolster it up with the support of State legislatures? Is it a hypocritical attempt to delude the States into thinking that they are not suffering an unprecedented lapse and elimination of their own legitimate and Constitutional rights, powers and functions?

Whatever the explanation of this amazing bit of chicanery, it seems probable that its result will be to involve the whole matter in controversy, to afford plausible ground for attacking the validity of the Amendment, to embarrass immeasurably the enforcement of the Amendment, and to make that enforcement, if it is ever effected, peculiarly odious because of its partiality and oppression.

Business Men vs. Politicians

THERE is much merit in the suggestion made by the *Sun* the other day that in reorganizing the Ways and Means Committee the Republican leaders select business men of established ability instead of politicians with local interests to serve. This committee will be required to frame the taxation and financial legislation of the next two years. The task will be greater than that ever assigned to any other committee of Congress. The country's prosperity will depend to a very large degree upon the legislation framed by the committee.

After thoroughly considering the handiwork presented by Claude Kitchin of Scotland Neck and the rare galaxy of politicians who helped him frame the tax legislation of the last two years, we are impressed with the belief that the committee needs a thorough reorganization along business lines.

"In view of the tremendous part which the revenue-framing committee of the next House will play in the work of reconstruction and in undoing or remedying the revenue acts of the Democratic régime," observes the *Sun*, "business interests are insistent that membership on the committee as far as possible shall cease to be merely a form of political preferment to be had for the asking by right of seniority in delegations of such States as by common consent are entitled to membership on the committee.

"In the past, membership on the Ways and Means Committee has virtually carried with it leadership of the State delegation concerned, just as the chairmanship of the committee has generally carried the floor leadership of the ma-

majority party in the House. Business interests regard their claims on the committee as paramount, and want the selection of the committee in so far as is practical to be determined on qualifications, experience, and training of aspirants for future vacancies at least.

"In the New York delegation two members have been prominently mentioned: Representatives Mott and Gould. Mr. Mott is a banker from Oswego and the senior member of the Republican delegation. Mr. Gould is president of a manufacturing concern doing an international business, and in point of service is four years junior to Mott."

We believe that if the New York delegation gets squarely behind this proposition and makes a fight for the appointment on the principle that business men must be given the preference, it will be doing the country a genuine service. Mr. Gould would make an ideal choice. He is a young, forceful, upstanding American business man who represents the best that the Republican party has to offer.

Abolishing Submarines

THE proposal made at the Peace Conference to forbid the use of the submarine hereafter is typical of much of the maudlin sentimentality that is being discussed seriously in these days of the approaching millennium. In all the world there could be nothing more agreeable to know or to believe than that the submarine and every other weapon of warfare was to be scrapped for all time. But so long as other weapons are to be used the submarine will be used.

Of course the only serious objection against the submarine has been based upon its misuse, not its use. Precisely the same argument might be made against the aeroplane. The Hun aviators who bombed the schools and churches of Paris were merely following the creed of the submarine captains who sank the *Lusitania*. Yet no one seriously believes that these crimes can be used to prohibit the use of aeroplanes hereafter.

In many ways the submarine is the most valuable weapon developed in recent years. It is the ideal weapon for small countries. Its relative cheapness, coupled with the ease and rapidity with which it may be constructed, makes it invaluable to countries which could not hope to cope with the great Powers in constructing dreadnoughts or battle-cruisers.

History records two other instances in which attempts were made to prohibit the use in war of scientific developments. Following the battle of Cressy, where gun powder was used for the first time, protests were made against the introduction of this diabolical instrument of murder. The protests subsided and warring Powers started the competition, which continues until now, to perfect powder and the weapon to which it is best suited.

At the first Hague Conference a determined effort was made to prohibit the use thereafter of deadly gases. The plan was generally applauded. Virtually every signatory except the United States voted against the use of gas upon the theory that civilization demanded the prohibition of inhumane instrumentalities in warfare.

Major General Crozier, representing this Government, presented a striking argument against the prohibition. His

position was extremely simple. It amounted to this. War is murder: nothing else. The most powerful weapons are the most humane, because, by quickly ending war, the sufferings of both combatants and non-combatants are brought to an end. Anything that prolongs war prolongs sufferings.

His arguments prevailed. The prohibition was not accepted and the Powers agreed to allow each Government to follow its own course in the use of gas.

The entire trend of thought in relation to war regulations during modern times has been to reduce suffering—not death—in warfare. For this reason "dum-dum" bullets and other implements which unnecessarily disfigure or cause prolonged sufferings without accomplishing any military result of value have been placed on the black list and cannot be used without violating the laws of nations.

By no possible stretch of the imagination can the submarine be classed with dum-dum bullets or any of the other barbarous instrumentalities that were reintroduced by the Huns. We do not believe that there is the slightest likelihood that any of the naval or military leaders developed during this war will sanction the proposal to scrap the submarine. Of course it is highly desirable, in fact imperative, that specific rules and regulations be formulated for the future use of submarines with particular relation to their treatment of commerce.

An Admirable Proposal

AT the annual meeting of the National Institute of Arts and Letters, the following resolution was introduced and unanimously passed by acclamation:

Whereas: The armies of Germany and Austria-Hungary during their invasions of Belgium, France, and Italy destroyed or damaged irremediably many works of architecture which had stood for centuries among the wonders of the world; and

Whereas: These armies of invasion destroyed, damaged or stole many paintings, statues, and other portable objects of venerable art inherited ancestrally from great progenitors by the people of the invaded countries; and

Whereas: Upon the other hand, the late governments of Germany and Austria-Hungary have held hitherto in their museums many works of art created by great masters of the Belgian, French, and Italian schools;

Resolved: That the National Institute of Arts and Letters petition the peace commissioners of the United States to require that the peoples of Germany and of Austria-Hungary shall return what has been stolen and shall make reparation for all injury and destruction, as may be judicially determined, by paying from the stores of Belgian, French, and Italian works of art, accumulated in the public museums of Germany and Austria-Hungary; and that, so far as possible, the payment be made, picture for picture, statue for statue, object of art for object of art.

Resolved: That this exaction be demanded not merely as indemnity in kind but also as a decree of justice, to satisfy the soul of civilized humanity, and to warn the world in future that reparation is foreordained as a reply to depredation.

Resolved: That a copy of these resolutions be forwarded to the President of the United States.

There could be no more scathing commentary upon Germany's much-boasted "Kultur" and "discipline" and "efficiency," which in her own esteem fitted her to dominate the world, than is furnished by the wild welter of riot and murder which increasingly prevails in nearly all parts of her domain. Never did a great nation show itself less worthy of sovereignty and leadership.

Letters From Our Readers

"NEVER AGAIN!"

SIR,—After the Spanish-American War, I wrote the following (See *Campaign of Santiago de Cuba*, Vol. III, pp. 139 and 140):

In the halls of Congress and in other places the argument is often made that an increase in our standing army is not only a step towards war, but an unnecessary and burdensome expense. The exact reverse is true. Our wars have cost us billions of money, and the chief reason why they have cost so much is that we have listened to this kind of argument and neglected to make timely preparation for war. We have invariably waited until the emergency was upon us, then, as a broken dike lets loose its torrents upon the fields, we have poured forth money and life. We have bound up the nation's wounds with billions, when the judicious expenditure of a few millions at the proper time would have prevented most of the wounds. Are we as a nation to continue to be penny wise and pound foolish forever? Is there to be no end to conducting our wars in this unmilitary and extravagant manner? Are the lives of our people of so little value, is the money of our country of so little worth, that we will not be guided by the experiences of the past and make proper provision for future wars? May not a soldier appeal to his countrymen for true economy in the national expenses? May he not plead for peace?

After our war just ended, these same words just as aptly and even more strongly apply. And I am wondering whether, after our next war, these same words will just as aptly apply?

These thoughts are brought to my mind from reading your splendid article in *THE WEEKLY* of January 18, entitled "Never Again," in which among other fine things you say:

We have now the finest army ever mobilized on the American continent. It is rapidly dissolving. Very soon it will have vanished—re-absorbed into our industrial population. Nothing will be left of it save the ineffaceable memories of its splendid achievements. We shall then be in a military sense, just where we were when the war, towards which we had been inevitably drifting for nearly three years, found us so pitifully unprepared. . . . And now Secretary Baker is asking for legislation to authorize rebuilding that Army on the old lines by voluntary enlistment. The plan, it seems, is to settle back into the old rut. We are to learn nothing from the awful ordeal through which we have passed.

H. H. SARGENT.
Lieut.-Col. U. S. Army, Retired.

Jacksonville, Oregon.

HE ADMIRES HERRON

SIR,—I have great esteem for you as a man and as an editor, generally agree with your ideas, and have been in quite good accord with you in your adverse criticism of President Wilson. However, your late editorial on Mr. George D. Herron has much inclined me in favor of Mr. Wilson. From the extracts you give of Mr. Herron's writings, if that is the kind of a man Mr. Wilson endorses, then my hat is off to Wilson. I carefully read and reread the extracts referred to and am unable to find a single point in them to which I cannot assent, and I think the world is fast working around that way, too. From the information you give (without chance for defense from Mr. Herron) I cannot find anything that is wrong in Mr. Herron's private life; and as your friend, I am pained that you should stoop to such smallness. Now, suppose Mr. Herron *does* "take a new lady friend along" on his trip to the Conference—under high heaven, is that any business of yours or mine, provided the lady wants to go and he wants to take her?

The incrustations of orthodoxy, in politics and society and religion, are hard to throw off, but the days of the stuff are numbered, just the same.

I am glad for the stand you take on Prohibition. We should work for *Temperance* and *Personal Liberty*.

T. R. R.

Pittsburgh, Pa.

AN OFFENCE

SIR,—In the current *WEEKLY*, as forecast in the *Boston Evening Transcript*, you apparently approve of the New York *Sun's* optimism to the effect that the Prohibition Amendment to the Federal Constitution is impracticable, either because too ambiguous or too cumbersome. The amendment reads:

"The Congress and the several States shall have concurrent power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation."

The discussion might give the impression that "concurrent" modified "legislation" rather than "power." The use of the word "concurrent" instead of saying "shall each have power" would seem to remove in this instance the application of the Constitutional provision that the national laws shall be paramount. It would seem that without further legislation, when the amendment becomes effective, prosecutions of conspiracies to violate its prohibitions could be had by the Federal authorities under Section 37 of the U. S. Criminal Code, which provides punishment for those conspiring to commit any offence against the United States.

This Prohibition Amendment is an offence to any doctrine of States Rights.

RAYNARD G. BROWN.

Dover, N. H.

THE NEXT BEST THING

SIR,—Your *WEEKLY* is the next best thing to hearing you talk. For, even if we don't always agree with you we know that it is you who speak—or write—and with a composite voice or pen. And it is a satisfaction in these days of secret propaganda to see—or rather follow—some one at work!

But what I want to write about is "Americanization." You have not enlarged upon this subject so far as I can discover, and I would like to have you.

To my thinking the future depends upon the wisdom of our Americanization laws.

It was only last summer that I made the discovery that our Americans are a purely political society; that we are almost the "internationalists" of the Socialists. Perhaps unconsciously, still we represent the next step beyond racial segregation—almost racial repudiation—and are exemplars of a voluntary choice of political parentage. We stand together as a people who have detached themselves from the security of racial family for the purposes of freer development. Herein, therefore, lies the acid test of qualification for citizenship. The sincerity of all immigrants should be proven. What are two years! We do not want—or cannot afford to have—fortune-seekers, pure and simple, among us.

G. WALLACE.

New York City.

A SUGGESTION

SIR,—I am renewing herewith my subscription to the *NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW* and *THE WEEKLY*, the continuation of *THE WAR WEEKLY*. The country is to be congratulated on your determination to continue the publication. You seem to be about the only one conducting a publication free to combat the many abuses in the Administration of our Government, and I hope for your continued success, although there are some things in which we cannot all agree with you.

Some of our prominent military men have been mentioned in connection with the next nomination for the Presidency. There are serious objections to selecting an army man for this high office, especially where war service is likely to give him prestige for the office not called for by his qualifications. But the people are likely to give great weight to the fact that the candidate has had a war record. In this connection, why would not Provost Marshal General Enoch H. Crowder be a good nomination? He was head of a large bureau in Washington, and a most important one, and conducted it most successfully. His was one of the few departments of war work against which no criticism has been made. Whilst others fell down notably, he was there with the goods.

He is of the army, it is true, but his service has been almost entirely connected with the legal branch, and he has had a large experience in constructive governmental work in the Philippines and Cuba. The work of restoring orderly government in Cuba, and then leaving the island in charge of its own people, will stand as a shining monument in the administration of the late President Roosevelt. In this work General Crowder bore a leading part as the chief legal adviser to the Provisional Governor.

EDWIN H. PEERY,
Department of the Interior,
United States Reclamation Service.

Denver, Col.

A TRIBUTE

SIR,—It is a shame not to perpetuate your wonderful analysis of the war problems as they occurred, and matters since occurring, by putting them in book-form. Personally, it would seem to me that enough subscribers could be gotten together to make such a re-publication profitable.

In short, the book-shelves of Americans should bear this great effort of Mr. Harvey. They had a wonderful effect on the public mind and at the proper time. Next to Colonel Roosevelt's efforts along the same lines, I think Colonel Harvey has had no competitor.

I sincerely hope you will give the matter further consideration, as a patriotic duty, if for no other reason, and I want to be counted as one of the subscribers. If an original group becomes necessary, who will be expected to pay a better price than the general public, I should be glad to be one of that group.

Hoping that you will think well of my suggestions, I beg to remain,

JAMES HAROLD WARNER.

New York City.

FROM A FORMER GOVERNOR OF KENTUCKY

SIR,—The President who was elected on the false pretense, "He Kept Us Out of War," will go to the country on his new false pretense that "his work in the Conference will keep us and all the world out of war." That is just as false as his slogan in 1916.

He will probably be able to get a resolution through the present Senate endorsing what he has done and use that to commit our country to what he has done and is planning to do.

The best answer to this is to have a majority, or at least enough Senators to defeat any treaty based on his plan, unite in a signed statement that they will vote against his plan and any treaty based on it. There is no time to spare.

This statement will warn the Conference, and defeat or bar any claim that the present Senate's resolution may bind our country to his programme.

AUGUSTUS E. WILSON.

Louisville, Ky. (Republican Governor of Kentucky, 1907-1911).

A FRIEND OF SIXTY YEARS

SIR,—I appreciate THE WEEKLY and the splendid work Colonel Harvey is doing. I wish to say that if it were necessary to pay \$25.00 a year for THE WEEKLY in order to continue its publication, I should be quite willing to pay that sum or more.

I believe I have been a subscriber to the REVIEW for the past twenty-five years. I know it has been coming to my family for at least forty or fifty years and that my library contains bound volumes, without a missing number, for sixty years, so you will see I have been very appreciative of your publications.

W. H. HIGGS.

Chicago.

ANOTHER TRUTH-TELLER

SIR,—In your article, "1914—Tellers of Truth—1918," it would seem that you overlooked that staunch old warrior, Colonel Robert M. Thompson.

It was in 1913 that he started telling it, in the same voice that Lord Roberts and Admiral Beresford cried out in in England in 1910; and he kept up a running fight with Bryan, Ford, David Starr Jordan, Tavenner and others of the same kidney until April 6, 1917, when our belated decision silenced them.

NAVAL OFFICER,

Washington, D. C.

(The ukase is extant.)

WHO HAS NUMBERS 16, 17?

SIR,—At the suggestion of Mr. F. W. Faxon of Boston I am writing to ask if you could help us to complete our set of the WAR WEEKLY?

We started, early in 1915, to get together here all we could in print and picture that touched the war, and we have today one of the best War collections in the country. Unfortunately, however, our set of the WAR WEEKLY lacks Nos. 16 and 17. If any of your subscribers are willing to dispose of these copies I would very much like to hear from them, as we want to complete our set.

Address: Clark University Library, Worcester, Mass. LOUIS N. WILSON.

ANTI-MANN

SIR,—As an American citizen with our country's welfare at heart, I feel impelled to express my hearty appreciation of your leading article in the issue of THE WEEKLY for the week ending February 1, 1919, on the subject of the speakership of the House of Representatives in the next Congress. The election of Mr Mann would have been not only a misfortune for the Republican party, but a calamity and disgrace to the country at large.

Santa Fe, N. M.

FRANK W. CLANCY.

"AMERICA NO BOLSHEVIST"

SIR,—Your article, "America Is No Bolshevik," in your January 18th number, is superb.

Would that thousands of others, even in Washington, D. C., could see the unmistakable trend and purpose as you, before too late.

JOHN S. ALDEHOFF.

Dallas, Texas.

INCISIVE AND HELPFUL

SIR,—I take this opportunity of expressing to you the pleasure which you have given me through THE WEEKLY, and your significant, incisive and helpful comments.

LEONARD METCALF.

Boston.

THE DIFFERENCE

SIR,—Cannot Senator Harding see the difference between "I. W. W." and "I. W. W." ?

Wheeling, W. Va.

W. P. HUBBARD.

An Unpublished Roosevelt Message

THEODORE ROOSEVELT'S last written words, pencilled by his own hand a few hours before his death and addressed in the form of a memorandum for Chairman Will H. Hays of the Republican National Committee, are published for the first time in the March NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, in a facsimile reproduction. The memorandum reads as follows:

"Hays

See him; he must go to Washington for 10 days; see Senate and House; prevent split on domestic policies."

Colonel Harvey makes this comment upon the memorandum in the course of an article in the REVIEW on the political situation:

"Here is evidenced as clearly as if the few words filled a volume Mr. Roosevelt's realization of both his responsibility and his obligation. The simple memorandum marked the inauguration of a definite party policy, to be carried through to a no less definite conclusion. It was more than a passing thought or a mere suggestion. It was a Message, signifying the need of immediate and unremitting vigilance in achieving complete unity of action in resolving domestic problems before attacking those of wider range soon to be thrust upon the country—a true soldier's call first to close the ranks.

"Nothing could be more characteristic or more clearly illustrative of the breadth of vision, the foresight, the directness in method and the painstaking attention of the man. Nothing, too, probably could have served his purpose better than that these words should have been his last. Difficult as it is to reconcile one's self to the decree of divine Providence that the removal of this great patriot at this crucial moment was not untimely, we cannot but realize, as he would have been the first to acknowledge, that the last vestige of animosities which might have continued to impair his highest aspirations was buried with him, and thereby the perfect union which he so ardently desired against all things un-American was attained."

In the March North American Review

On sale at all news-stands

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VOL. 2

WEEK ENDING MARCH 8, 1919

No. 10

Announcement

AT the earnest solicitation of hundreds of newsdealers, who complain that the name THE WEEKLY is not sufficiently distinctive and gives rise to much confusion in the minds of both buyers and sellers, owing to the great number of other weekly publications, we have changed the name to that which was most generally approved by our readers when the subject was under consideration.

We make this change reluctantly for various reasons, but we feel that we can do no less in recognition of the dealers, through whose hearty co-operation the sales have nearly doubled since the beginning of the year, despite the increase in price.

Perhaps, too, our old friend Mr. Burleson will pay more attention to prompt distribution of the paper under its new name.

"Hope springs eternal," as Mr. Pope dolefully remarked.

For a New Declaration

THE first thing Mr. Wilson did when he landed in Boston and the last thing he did before leaving New York was to utter a threat. In the interval, too, he was breathing menace constantly against something or somebody. His fighting blood was up to the end; as never since the sinking of the *Lusitania*, let us say. And his farewell from New York was as frigid as his welcome in Boston was official. The Metropolitan Opera House was packed, of course,—packed largely by the committee with persons who were expected to furnish enthusiasm.

But there was nothing doing. The great audience was friendly and many tried earnestly to raise a shout, but they simply could not do it. Whether it was something about Mr. Wilson himself in his ugly mood or dissatisfaction with his ridiculous speech that prevented acclaim was difficult to determine,—both doubtless contributed to the frost.

For it was a frost from Frostville. After the cordial, though far from hearty greeting, not one person in twenty pretended to applaud at all. "There seemed," said the ever-faithful but truth-telling *World*, "to be at times an almost oppressive air of restraint, and the hilarity and spontaneity that so frequently mark such gatherings was wholly lacking." Even the *Times* had to admit that "there was no great ovation." The *Herald* had it exactly when it said that the audience obviously "wanted to be shown," and all it got was hot air.

Mr. Wilson paid no attention whatever to his League of Nations further than to remark cynically that his precious scheme would be so interwoven in the treaty that there could be no peace without it.

"When that treaty comes back," he declared sternly, "gentlemen on this side"—meaning, of course, the Senate—"will find the covenant not only in it, but so many threads of the treaty tied to the covenant that you cannot dissect the covenant from the treaty without destroying the whole vital structure." That is to say, in true Wilsonvelian fashion, he is going to have his own way or the whole world can go to hell.

Even though he were in the right as to the thing itself, a

more cruel, ruthless and sinister position cannot be imagined. Mr. Wilson seemed to realize that and took refuge, as usual, behind his own flagrant misinterpretation of the "thought" of the people.

"The first thing," he announced grimly, "that I am going to tell the people on the other side of the water is that an overwhelming majority of the American people is in favor of the League. I know that that is true. I have had unmistakable intimations of it from all parts of the country and the voice rings true in every case."

Now that is simply not so. It may or may not be a fact that the sentiment of the country favors Mr. Wilson's un-American plan at this moment, but no honest person would maintain for a second that "an overwhelming majority" of the people are for it. And the only really "unmistakable intimation" he can by any possibility have was that afforded by forty Senators, with ten or more to come, each of whom committed political suicide if he misinterpreted the wish of his constituents.

How then could Mr. Wilson "know that that is true"? He could not, of course, and he did not. He may so tell the people on the other side if he likes, and he may deceive many ignorant persons, but the accredited representatives of the other Powers, however timid in the presence of the schoolmaster, are not altogether foolish, and what they will, in fact already do, know full well is that what Mr. Wilson says is, as we have already remarked, simply not so.

The chief threat hurled at the country by the President was to stay "over there" until the whole business is finished to his satisfaction. That is a very grave and very brazen pledge to make. Nobody knows or can tell how long the conference will continue. Nobody can imagine what may happen here. All we are sure of is that industrial progress has ceased absolutely, that a period of utter stagnation has set in, that soon millions will be out of work and that no relief can come from the Government so long as the President keeps Congress out of session for the sole purpose of enabling him to deceive his colleagues in Paris as to the real attitude of the American Senate and of the American people.

No sane man can fail to recognize the peril of the situation. The question is what to do about it. The Constitution naturally makes no specific provision for an undreamed-of contingency such as has been forced upon the country, but it surely never contemplated a complete stoppage of legislative work as a consequence of the desertion of a President who calmly announces that his "present business is to understand what plain men everywhere want," without the slightest regard to the affairs of the Government to which he solemnly swore and is paid to give his undivided attention.

In the absence then of any specific inhibition, some way surely can be found under our fundamental law by which Congress can reassemble of its own volition and exercise its Constitutional functions in this time of great stress and need. If so, not a day should be lost.

The country is forsaken; it may be betrayed; but assuredly it need not stop dead in its tracks.

Let us have a new Declaration of Independence from the Congress of the United States!

Honor and Praise

ON behalf of the real Americans of these United States, we pledge undying gratitude to the Hon. Henry Cabot Lodge who fathered the appended resolution; to the Hon. Philander C. Knox who played the chief part in drafting it; to the Hon. Frank B. Brandegee who conceived the idea and obtained the signatures; and to each and every patriotic and courageous Senator of the United States who signed his name:

"Whereas under the Constitution it is a function of the Senate to advise and consent to, or dissent from, the ratification of any treaty of the United States, and no such treaty can become operative without the consent of the Senate expressed by the affirmative vote of two-thirds of the Senators present; and

"Whereas owing to the victory of the arms of the United States and of the nations with whom it is associated, a peace conference was convened and is now in session at Paris for the purpose of settling the terms of peace; and

"Whereas a committee of the conference has proposed a constitution for a League of Nations and the proposal is now before the Peace Conference for its consideration; now, therefore, be it

"Resolved, By the Senate of the United States, in the discharge of its Constitutional duty of advice in regard to treaties, that it is the sense of the Senate that while it is their sincere desire that the nations of the world should unite to promote peace and general disarmament, the Constitution of the League of Nations in the form now proposed to the Peace Conference should not be accepted by the United States and be it

"Resolved further, that it is the sense of the Senate that the negotiations on the part of the United States should immediately be directed to the utmost expedition of the urgent business of negotiating peace terms with Germany satisfactory to the United States and the nations with whom the United States is associated in the war against the German Government, and the proposal for a League of Nations to insure the permanent peace of the world should be then taken up for careful and serious consideration."

Borah (Idaho).	New (Ind.).
Brandegee (Conn.).	Page (Vt.).
Calder (N. Y.).	Penrose (Pa.).
Cummins (Ia.).	Poindexter (Wash.).
Curtis (Kan.).	Sherman (Ill.).
Dillingham (Vt.).	Smoot (Utah).
Fernald (Me.).	Spencer (Mo.).
France (Md.).	Sterling (S. D.).
Frelinghuysen (N. J.).	Sutherland (W. Va.).
Hale (Me.).	Townsend (Mich.).
Harding (Ohio).	Wadsworth (N. Y.).
Johnson (Cal.).	Warren (Wyo.).
Fall (N. M.).	Watson (Ind.).
Gronna (N. D.).	Phipps (Col.).
Knox (Pa.).	McCormick (Ill.).
Lenroot (Wis.).	Edge (N. J.).
Lodge (Mass.).	Keyes (N. H.).
McLean (Conn.).	Newberry (Mich.).
Moses (N. H.).	Ball (Del.).

We Speed the Parting Guest

*"Off agin, on agin,
Gone agin,—Finnigin"*

WELL, they're off again,—meaning, of course, the President and Mrs. Wilson, Fore-Admiral Cary T. Grayson and the entire aggregation of talented performers carefully selected for purposes of entertainment while on the high seas. Just how good a time Mr. Wilson had during his brief stay with us we should hesitate to surmise but, recalling his gracious remark to the folks in Boston that he was as glad to see them as they pretended to be to see him, because he had been so lonely while away, we imagine that a recurrence of nostalgia need hardly be apprehended for a month or six weeks at least.

Probably never before has anybody got quite so much out of a single Old Home week. Indeed, we overheard one gentleman remark that for once in his life he got all that was coming to him and another respond spiritedly that he gave as good as he got,—which is as it should be between friendly enemies. In any case, he had full opportunity to learn how very watchful waiting can be when alert Americans apply their minds to the task of safeguarding the interests of their native land.

The big dinner party naturally afforded the most dramatic episode. Frankly, we have regretted ever since that we did not attend. Not that we should have cared particularly about the dinner itself. Apparently, since none of those present has even mentioned it, that was about as usual. But when finally the semi-circle had been formed and the President announced with cordiality approaching unctuousness his willingness to answer from the heart all queries respecting his League of Nations and Senator Frank B. Brandegee hitched up his chair and hemmed politely, we can imagine the shiver of pleasurable anticipation that must have possessed the audience.

We miss our guess if a pin dropped at that moment would not have sounded like the explosion of a gun at Sandy Hook. Everybody knows that the distinguished representative of the Land of Steady Habits is famed for reticence rather than for loquacity, but they do say that when he applies his powers of concentration to the task of extracting precise information from a witness, he is one to be avoided unless the witness is fully cognizant of all phases of the subject. The best account of what followed appeared in the *Sun* in these words:

Gradually Senator Brandegee, an exceptionally able cross-examiner, took charge of the inquisition, other Senators finding their own queries expressed in Brandegee's phrases. He asked the President how many drafts of a proposed constitution for the league had been made and by whom. The President replied there had been four, one by Great Britain, one by France, one by the United States and one by Italy.

"Which was accepted?" inquired Senator Brandegee.

"The British," replied the President.

"What was done with the rejected drafts?" Brandegee asked.

"They were put aside," Mr. Wilson explained.

"Well, Mr. President," said Senator Brandegee slowly, "we would like to be able to examine those other drafts—to compare them with the accepted draft so as to familiarize ourselves with the differences."

"I see no objection to that," said the President.

"Then," pursued the Senator from Connecticut, "will it not

be possible to have those rejected drafts printed for our information?"

"I should think," agreed the President, "that that would be possible."

Representative Ragsdale then asked Mr. Wilson if in his opinion the League of Nations would not destroy the Monroe Doctrine.

"Not at all," said the President. "The league would extend the Monroe Doctrine to the entire world."

"With your permission, Mr. President," said Senator Brandegee, "Let us examine that proposition. Suppose this case: Suppose that Brazil should at some time in the future desire to resume her former relations with Portugal; suppose that she agreed to accept a junior Prince of Portugal, if Portugal happens to be a monarchy, as her ruler; would the United States as a member of the League of Nations still retain her right to interfere with this arrangement? Apply that argument to any other Latin American country which in times past was under Spanish domination and which might through a peculiar turn of circumstances be led to resume the ancient arrangement. Would the United States still have the authority to prevent an extension of European authority in this hemisphere?"

"That is inconceivable," said the President.

"It might happen," persisted Brandegee.

"Well, then, it would be very distressing," declared the President.

"Most distressing," said Brandegee dryly.

The conversation shifted and twisted in accordance with the questions that occurred to various Senators. It was Brandegee again who requested the President to make clear whether the United States was privileged to withdraw from the league if it should see fit. The President said that was his interpretation.

"You will recall," said the Senator, "that a similar proposition arose in this country some years ago after the States had entered a league without specifying the right of any to withdraw and that it took four years of bitter warfare to settle the point that no State could withdraw."

The President replied that the cases were not the same at all; that this arrangement was wholly voluntary; that it was based upon mutual understanding and good will; that it was in the interests of humanity; that in all probability it would hold together indefinitely. He would not deny, however, that the possibility of the United States desiring to withdraw might arise. In that case he was sure the United States could exercise that right.

"But," said Brandegee, "we would go into this league as the sponsors, guarantors and protectors of Poland, Armenia and perhaps other small helpless nations. Could we then withdraw and leave them helpless and undefended, deserted by the very nation that had promised to guard them?"

Mr. Wilson's reply was so generally couched that not all of the Senators who sought to recall it this evening could agree on its phraseology. He repeated, though, that such an event would be very distressing, and again Brandegee agreed that it would be most distressing.

As a matter of fact, a "distressing" happening precisely analogous to that imagined as a possibility by Senator Brandegee and pronounced "inconceivable" by the President, did take place in 1861, when San Domingo was annexed to Spain. Also, as Senator Knox demonstrated conclusively in his remarkable address, the United States could not withdraw from the League without acting in bad faith or without making war upon the whole world, with armies and navies and munitions already fixed and restricted by the other Powers.

But that is by the way. The net outcome of Senator Brandegee's inquiries was the following elucidation "with finality" by the exasperated President:

1. The League of Nations will not prevent war.
2. The United States must surrender vital points of sovereignty.
3. Ireland is to be left to the mercies of England.
4. Chinese and Japanese exclusion go out of American control into the hands of the League Council.
5. The Monroe Doctrine will be extended to the whole world.
6. The present constitution is British made, the French, American and Italian drafts having been rejected.
7. American troops could be compelled at need to participate in purely European wars.
8. The United States could withdraw from the league at any time [?]

Naturally these extraordinary and unexpected admissions elicited many interesting comments, a few of which, reproduced from the *Sun*, follow:

Senator Brandegee: "I feel as if I had been wandering with 'Alice in Wonderland' and had had tea with the mad hatter. When I awakened this morning I expected the white rabbit waiting to go to breakfast with me." With the wide open eyes of an ingenue the President met every legal, constitutional or common sense question with glittering generalities. Even more interesting were totally unexpected admissions the President was induced to make. It is the opinion of a number of Senators that unwittingly, perhaps, he has slain the infant of his dreams by these confessions.

Senator KNOX: "The President displayed an amazing lack of familiarity with the proposed league constitution."

Senator Lodge of Massachusetts, putting the thought another way, said the President seemed actually befuddled about many most important points.

Senator William Alden Smith, of Michigan, confided that the President's ignorance of the terms of the covenant was amazing.

Simultaneously, Senator James Hamilton Lewis, the Democratic whip, was pacing the Senate corridors and muttering, "He made a great mistake; oh, dear, I fear he has made a fearful error." The Senator may have had the President in mind, but more likely Senator Hitchcock, who was trying desperately to discredit the part of the *Sun's* account which read:

Representative Ragsdale (S. C.) fired the Irish shot.

"Mr. President," he inquired, "what does the League of Nations purpose to do as regards Ireland?"

"It was decided," said the President, "to leave the case of Ireland to Great Britain as a domestic matter outside the province of the League of Nations."

This, Senator Hitchcock declared, was false. So, too, declared Mr. Tumulty in equally emphatic words, to wit: "The President wishes me to say that this statement has no foundation in fact and is a deliberate falsehood." Fortunately for the faithful Secretary, he was out of reach of cross-examination; but unhappily for the floundering Senator, *he* was not. Having been unavoidably prevented by a combination of principle and propriety from attending the dinner party, it was but natural that Mr. Borah should manifest a keen interest in the proceedings, and he inquired amiably, "Would it be permissible for the Senator to state what the President did state with reference to Ireland?" This colloquy ensued:

Hitchcock—The President practically stated nothing with reference to Ireland. The Irish question was not under consideration.

Borah—But there were questions asked?

Hitchcock—There was a question asked which was greeted with laughter and there was nothing more said about it. It was not an issue in the conversation and had nothing to do with it. We were not discussing internal questions but international questions.

Borah—Does the Senator say the President made no response to the question which was presented to him with reference to the independence of Ireland?

Hitchcock—It was not a serious question presented; it was not presented in a serious way.

Borah—Pardon me; does the Senator say the President made no reply to it?

Hitchcock—I do. However, the Senator from Mississippi corrects me. He says the President stated that the league had nothing to do with domestic and internal questions. He did that; he stated it several times during the evening, and in stating it he said it had not anything to do with the immigration question which has been raised here as a great bugaboo against the League of Nations, the attempt being made to arouse prejudice against the League of Nations by construing it to bring the Japanese immigration question into the realms of arbitration.

Borah—Then if I understand the Senator correctly what the President said with reference to the question, since he has raised the question himself with reference to Ireland, was that the

league will have nothing to do with internal questions?

Hitchcock—The Senator from Mississippi recollected that.

Borah—And that was a matter, therefore, with which the league had nothing to do but which must necessarily be settled by Ireland and England?

Hitchcock—The Senator can draw his own conclusions. It evidently and obviously is not an international question at this time with which the league has to do.

Borah—Then if the league has nothing to do with it of course it must be left where it was before, between Ireland and England?

Hitchcock—The Senator can draw his own conclusions. I am dealing with facts.

Having succeeded in obtaining sufficient facts to justify his irresistible conclusion, Mr. Borah mercifully refrained from harassing Mr. Hitchcock further. Whereupon Senator Poindexter asked somewhat pointedly how it could be, as stated by the President, that the League would have nothing to do with immigration, in the face of the plain declaration in Article XII that all questions in dispute must be referred to the League. To this Mr. Hitchcock replied that he could not "take the time to discuss the merits of the League," but he regarded it as "obvious from the conversation with the President" that only international questions were involved. Continuing:

Poindexter—Does the Senator deny that the outbreaks between the United States and Japan over Japanese immigration, which was particularly a concern on the Pacific coast, was an international question?

Hitchcock—I affirm that immigration to this country and emigration from this country are purely domestic questions; that every country has the right to protect its citizenship; every country has the right to say what aliens shall be allowed to come to its shores. It is generally provided by treaty with various countries who will be allowed to come.

Poindexter—Of course what effect the constitution would have upon this question must be demanded by the language of the proposed constitution, which I have just read, and not by what the President says about it.

And that was the nub of the whole matter. The President's utterances throughout not only bore upon his "understanding" of the precious document, with the slightest imaginable reference to or consideration of what the thing itself provided, but also betrayed an ignorance of the real import of the various sections which competent lawyers like Mr. Knox and Mr. Brandegee did not hesitate to pronounce amazing.

No wonder Mr. Wilson lost his temper when he read the morning papers and heard of the amused comments upon his quite pitiable showing. Who wouldn't? But why he should have taken it out on the fawning Democratic committeemen who came to lunch the next day we shall never be able to understand. As usual, reports of what really

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By GEORGE HARVEY

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happened and was said at that family party were contradictory in the extreme and susceptible of all kinds of "interpretations," but the *Herald's* account is the most comprehensive.

"When members of the committee were asked about the President's remarks," said the *Herald*, "they at first declined to enter into particulars, several of them saying that the President had used language which they did not think he would like to have repeated.

"From persons who were present at the dinner, however, it was learned that Mr. Wilson became very much worked up while speaking of the League's opponents in the Senate. His gestures were described as 'menacing' and his characterization of his opponents as 'intolerant' by some of his hearers.

"In substance, the President is reported by these informants as declaring that he despised the character of those who are fighting the League of Nations, and that he 'loathed their pigmy minds.' He is reported as having added that he would have to consult a dictionary to adequately express his opinion of these Senators.

"In a final outburst of indignation the President is reported as having said that the heads of those who are opposing the League were only fit to serve as 'knots to prevent their bodies from unraveling,' and that if he had his way he would hang them on a gibbet as high as heaven, but that the gibbet would not be erected in the direction of heaven."

There are two references here of whose accuracy we have misgivings. It seems most likely that, instead of "high as heaven," Mr. Wilson said "high as Haman"—a favorite phrase which he first used in speaking of professional Wall Street speculators like Mr. Bernard M. Baruch—and this theory is borne out by the obvious difficulty of raising sinful men, instead of descending them, into hell. In other respects, the verisimilitude of the report conveys conviction.

The *Times* somewhat guardedly and the *Tribune* definitely declared that Mr. Wilson informed the committee-men that he would not become their candidate next year. The two journals agreed that he expressed a wish to resume the writing of history, but, according to the *Tribune*, he more specifically "expressed the view that, no matter what might be said in attacks on the President, there was always a feeling of shock on the part of the public if the President in defense should attack his opponent. Remaining in office with this sort of muzzle upon him, he said, would naturally fill any man occupying the office of President so full of 'gas'—several of his auditors used the same words in quoting the President on this—that he would burst if he did not get relief. And this relief the President expects to get, he told his hearers with some grimness, when he quits office."

It is only right and proper, of course, that one charged with apprehension of self-explosion should take due precautions, but if only "gas" is at the pit of the trouble, we respectfully suggest for such use as Fore-Admiral Grayson may prescribe a judicious mixture of ginger and ordinary baking soda in hot water—an element which will be found far less irritating as an internal than as an external remedy. The embarrassment attendant upon telling the truth while President is easily comprehensible as analogous to that of another speaking or writing freely about a President while

he is in office. We dare say quite a lot of history will find publication soon after Mr. Wilson's retirement.

Mr. Wilson's announcement that he would not run again caused much rubbing of eyes on the part of the very considerable number of our people who, for reasons which to us are incomprehensible, refrain from perusal of the *North American Review*, but to the initiated it brought no surprise. A fortnight or more ago, in the course of a political forecast in that trustworthy journal, we unhesitatingly assumed that "either in consequence of having realized his ambition to become the first President of the Society of Nations or from apprehension of defeat at the polls, Mr. Wilson will not accept a second renomination"; whereupon, we ventured "to expect him to retain as much of his power as possible to the last moment by the simple method of concealing his real intention, and then meet the situation as it may exist with characteristic determination."

We have to confess that he confirmed our first-mentioned prediction somewhat sooner than we had anticipated, but that was because he spoke in wrath. In the cold gray dawn of the morning after he realized that he had gone too far, and there appeared forthwith, under titles such as "Third Term Talk Denied," the customary semi-official assertions that he "did not actually say that under no circumstances would he become a candidate"; he would rather not, of course; but if the Republicans should make his League a party issue—wow! nobody could tell what might happen. As for some of the Democrats who were beaten last November, they "only got what was coming to them, anyway," to which they and others rejoined disrespectfully in kind, while J. Ham, also beaten as we recall, continued to pace the corridors and mutter unintelligibly.

So after having scored a great triumph by passing the Bond bill, which it would have been silly to beat, and having ducked the pernicky women and the bothersome Irish as best he could, our Chief Public Servant again sails away with his precious League of Notions in his pocket and remembrance of a big crowd fresh in mind.

Summing all up: Mr. Wilson brought nothing but ignorance of his own scheme, imparted nothing but direful threats against everybody and everything in sight and bore away a total misapprehension of the real attitude of the American people towards the second Messiah of the Italian peasants unless, of course,—and this is most unlikely—he detected an indication in the pledge of thirty-seven "pigmy" Senators to kick his League of Notions into Brother Bryan's famous cocked hat.

In common with the amiable Mr. Taft, we gladly speed the parting guest!

"Fatty" Arbuckle has signed up for the next movie season at a salary approximately \$1,000,000 a year.—*Headline*.

And to think that McAdoo of the movies signed up for a paltry \$100,000. What a piker!

Premier Venizelos of Greece, President Wilson told several Senators in informal talks at the Capitol, was beyond question, in his opinion, the greatest man who sat around the peace table.—*The Tribune*.

How sweetly modest! And how considerate of Messrs. Clemenceau, Lloyd George and Orlando!

Two Great Speeches

“**A**FTER the fire, a still, small voice.” After the “resounding and glittering generalities” of the Constitution of the League of Nations and the President’s earlier exhortations thereon, came two of the most sane, statesmanlike, and convincing addresses that the United States Senate has heard in this generation.

It was fitting that Senator Lodge should speak first, and that he should do so in precisely the way that he did. For there is always need of destructive criticism when an evil or an unfit thing is to be defeated or is to be replaced with a good thing. The Constitution of the League of Nations had been placed before us, the President had advocated it publicly at Boston and privately to Senators and Representatives at Washington, and the injunction of silence had been removed. It was fitting that the leader of the Senate, the associate of the President in the treaty-making power, should set forth the objections to that instrument, and should indicate the particulars in which it was incompatible with the Constitution of the United States and with the established policy and vital welfare of this country.

This Mr. Lodge did in a way which proved his worth to be the leader of the Senate, and which caused a feeling of profound regret that he could not have been among the representatives of this country at the Peace Congress. There was no mere railing nor denunciation. There was destructive criticism, terribly and irreparably destructive; but in every case there was convincing reason given for the destruction, and it was made clear that the motive for destruction was that something far better might be substituted. Mr. Lodge made it unmistakably plain that he yielded no precedence even to the President in earnest desire for the safeguarding of the world’s peace, and for the harmonious coöperation of all well-disposed nations to that end. But he made it equally plain that that end was not to be attained by the impairment of national sovereignty or by the implicating of the nations in embarrassing and entangling engagements; and especially that the beneficent influence of America among the nations of the world, which we have never hesitated to exercise whenever humanity has called for it, is not to be enhanced nor successfully applied by forsaking or repudiating those principles and policies which have been the very basis and the origin of that influence. It was discreetly intimated the next day that the President would attempt no reply to Senator Lodge, and also that the latter’s address would be of real service to the advocates of the League in their revision of the Constitution. There can be no question of the magnitude of the public and patriotic service which the Senator from Massachusetts rendered to this nation, and through it to the world, in the delivery of that masterly address.

A fitting sequel and complement to Senator Lodge’s address was that of Senator Knox; varying in style from it as the speech of a former Secretary of State and diplomat might be expected to differ from that of a veteran legislator. Senator Lodge had been destructive with incidental and implied construction. Senator Knox was constructive with incidental destruction. And that was well, because there had been rash and insincere complaints that the opponents of the Constitution of the League of Nations had nothing

to offer in its place. Mr. Knox demonstrated that they had something to offer, and he himself offered it. Laying aside mere emotionalism and the infatuation of the doctrinaire, he applied to the proposed Constitution four tests of merit, and demonstrated its failure in each. Then, having cleared the ground for something better, he proposed alternative methods of averting war, and demonstrated with impregnable logic their superiority.

This was genuine constructive statesmanship, of the most valuable kind, and, as before, it provoked regret that such counsel as Mr. Knox’s could not have been marshalled into the service of the nation in a representative capacity at the Peace Congress. We believe that such a presentation of American views as he could have made would have commanded the highest degree of respect and confidence from European Powers even in the making of it; for there is nothing that more commands respect than for a nation resolutely to maintain its characteristic principles, and there is nothing much more certain to forfeit it than a supple readiness to compromise them or to forsake them. Of course in the last analysis respect for the American policy at Paris must be conditioned upon the extent to which it is approved by the nation. We should almost be inclined to despair of our country if the plans and policies so definitely outlined by Senator Knox did not command immeasurably more approval and support from thoughtful Americans than the vague and equivocal provisions of the Constitution of the League of Nations, even when the latter are commended by the President’s fluent and emotional phrase-making.

“The Most Wonderful Fact”

“**T**HE most wonderful fact in the world,” said the President, is that “there is no nation in Europe that suspects the motives of the United States.” We are glad to accept that, unhesitatingly, as true—the fact, we mean; whether it is indeed the most wonderful in the world or not. We believe it to be true that no nation suspects our motives, that all regard the United States with confidence, and that in a measure the nations of Europe and of the World look to America with hope, as to a Power which will aid them to rid themselves of autocracy and its evils and to lead free lives in a world made safe for democracy.

And that is one of the reasons, one of the strong, unselfish, inspiring reasons, why we want the United States to be kept out of the denationalized muddle of mischief which the President’s Constitution of a League of Nations contemplates.

He is a purblind reader of history, he wholly mistakes the philosophy of America and of America’s place in the world, who does not realize that this country owes its freedom from suspicion to that very policy which the President now wants us to abandon. If America does indeed mean so much to the world, if it inspires other nations with confidence and with hope, as we rejoice to believe, it is because we have consistently followed the wise and prudent course upon which at the beginning we entered under the guidance of Washington and Jefferson and Monroe. It is because we have not meddled in the affairs of European nations which did

not concern us. It is because we have refrained from entangling alliances, and have been content to cultivate peace, commerce, and honest friendship with all. It is because, while we have ever been ready to enter into temporary alliances for specific purposes, as we did in the Boxer War in China, and as we have done in this war against the Huns, we have not entered balances of power or concerts of the Powers for selfish and sordid purposes, nor so tied ourselves up in any international compacts as to make ourselves a party to intrigues, jealousies, or animosities such as too often prevail among other nations.

We believe that if we are to retain that enviable and immeasurably beneficent position, we shall have to do so by maintaining the policy which has thus far assured it to us. The moment we abandon that policy, and become a party to the combinations and rivalries of the Old World, that moment we shall forfeit our rank and shall lose the confidence which the world now reposes in us. That objection did not apply to the Treaty of The Hague or to the Hague Tribunal, because that was a practically universal movement, and in it we to the fullest degree reserved our own peculiar status. The signatories at The Hague were not allied against some hostile Power or league of Powers, as the President's "Big Five" will necessarily be. Neither did they take upon themselves any obligations which in the least degree impaired their individual sovereignty.

"Why," asked Washington, "forego the advantages of so peculiar a situation?" He asked the question from the point of view of our own welfare; which after all is the first and chief consideration. "Why entangle our peace and prosperity in the toils of European ambition, rivalry, interest, humor, or caprice?" But the question may as pertinently and as forcibly be asked from an altruistic point of view. Why should we deprive the rest of the world of the advantages which it enjoys from our peculiar situation? Why should we destroy its confidence in us, its hope in us, if such indeed it cherishes, by entangling ourselves in the toils? It should be clear to even the simplest vision that if we should do this thing, no matter with what rapt exaltation some might for a time regard us under the spell of momentary enthusiasm, in a very short time the judgment of the world would be that America, too, had become a sordid intriguer, whose motives were no longer above suspicion.

If the most wonderful fact in the world be as the President describes it, then we say that the finest, the most wonderful, achievement in the world will be to keep that fact valid and triumphant—an achievement which is possible only through our remaining true to the principles and the policy which have created that "wonderful fact."

They are still discussing the question why the President landed at Boston. Some say that it was because he had never before officially visited that city. Others insist that it was with a view to political effect in what is thought to be a "doubtful State." Still others are quite sure that it was to beard Senator Lodge in his own bailiwick. It does not seem to have occurred to anyone that he perhaps regards the precincts of the "Cradle of Liberty" as a fitting place in which to begin his campaign for the renunciation of American sovereignty.

A Dictator in a Hurry

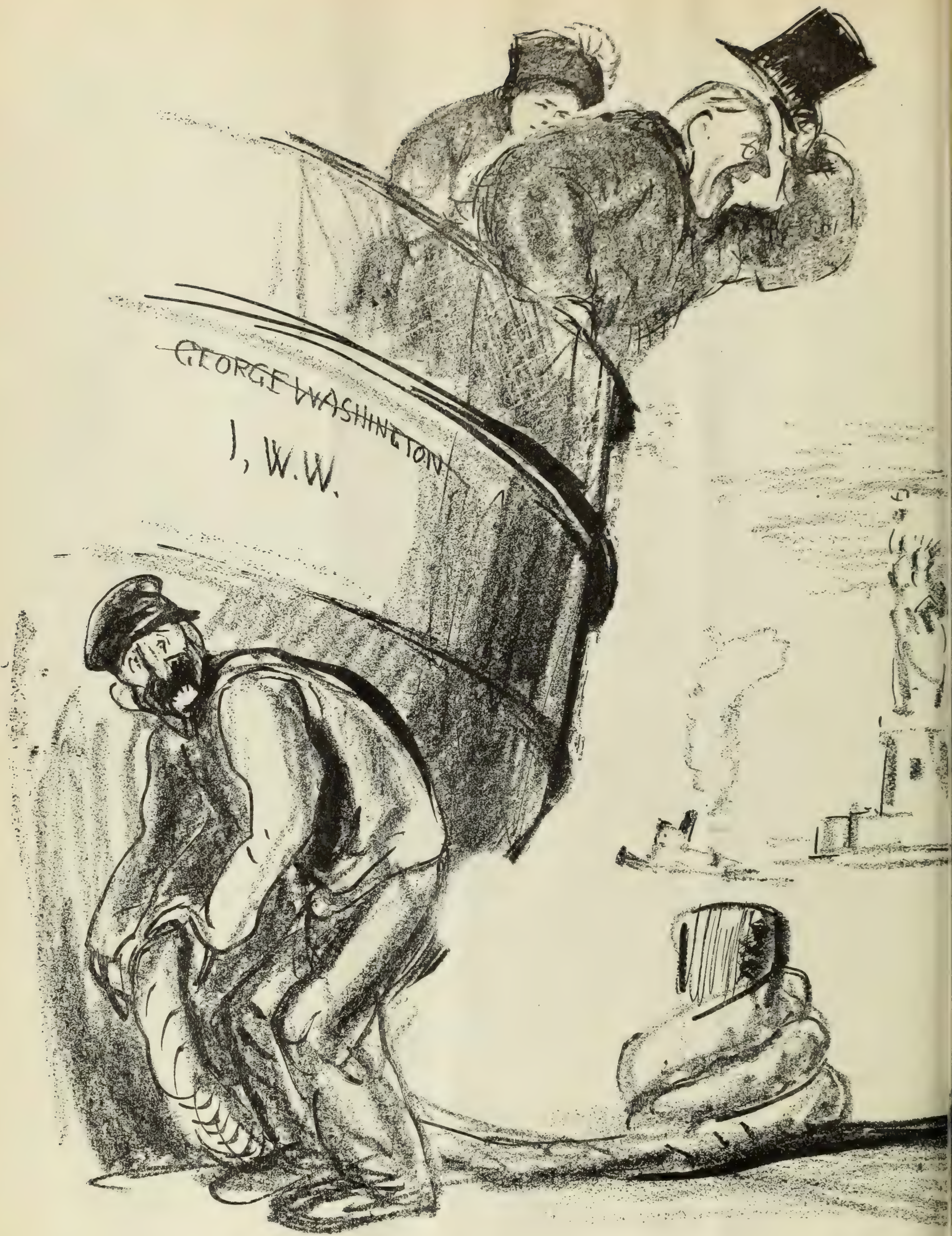
WHEN Lord Randolph Churchill protested against the rushing through of revolutionary measures in Parliament without due deliberation as the act of "an old man in a hurry," his mordent phrase was regarded as verging upon the brutal, and yet as indisputably founded upon truth. The personal characterization cannot, of course, be applied at this time to the President, but the characterization of his disposition and conduct must, we fear, stand approved.

Three months ago the President, against the judgment and desire of his Constitutional advisers and colleagues, and of the whole nation whose Chief Executive he is, insisted upon absenting himself from the seat of government and from the country during practically the whole of what he knew to be an exceptionally busy and important session of Congress. There were impending numerous acts of legislation of supreme importance to the nation, in which he was himself deeply interested, and which he had himself recognized and described as being of peculiar difficulty and as needing the closest care and attention. Some of them almost imperatively required constant and close counsel and coöperation between the legislature and the executive, such as could be had only while the President was on duty at his official place of business. But not even for these considerations would the President remain where the Constitution and the laws required him to be.

The natural result was that when at length he reluctantly interrupted his peregrinations in quest of alien adulation sufficiently to pay a brief visit to the United States and to its capital, he found most of the important legislation still unperfected and unpassed. It was in that state largely because of his gross neglect of duty. Forthwith he demanded that the lagging measures be impetuously driven through under whip and spur, in days fewer than the weeks, if not indeed the months, of his absence. Even though it involved passing the most important measures without deliberation, this must be done, in order that he might quickly get away again to the more congenial scenes of foreign lands, and particularly might avoid the hated alternative of a special session of a Congress which, newly elected by the people and representative of their sentiments and desires, would be less amendable to his autocracy than the expiring body had been.

No matter if the people and their newly-chosen representatives were earnestly convinced that the national welfare required the Congress to be called in special session, so that the legislative department of the Government could be in effective commission during one of the most crucial periods in our history; he would not do it. His one thought seemed to be to jam the bills through, hit or miss; to make Congress atone in three hurried days for his own three months' neglect of duty; and then have the country left without a Congress in session and without a President at the seat of Government.

The nation will regard with grateful acknowledgments the Senators and Representatives who had the courage, the patriotism, and the manhood to oppose the sinister designs of a dictator in a hurry.



“Off agin
Gone agi



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The Week

WASHINGTON, March 6, 1919.

“ONCE more upon the waters! yet once more!” And once more the United States is without a President, not only at the legally prescribed seat of Government, but anywhere within its Federal borders. Of course, as Emerson reminds us, where McGregor sits, there is the head of the table. Perhaps the President applies that principle to himself, *mutatis mutandis*, and reckons that wherever he is, there is the seat of Government—or at least, in his own democratic phrase, “the Real Throne of Administration.” Unfortunately, our annotated copy of the Constitution of the United States omits any mention of such recognition of personal government.

The outlook is, however, that the present perambulation may not be quite so long as the former. Colonel House appears to have cabled to the President quite saucily, not to say imperatively, that he had better not go skylarking around the continent seeking new multitudes to acclaim him, but come straight to Paris and get to business on the making of terms of peace with Germany—an unconsidered trifle which seems thus far to have been overlooked, but to which the Peace Congress really ought to give some attention. Mr. Lloyd George is to be in Paris for a week following the middle of March, and if only the peripatetic President can be corralled there at the same time, it is hoped that things can be got ready for calling in the German delegates between April 1 and 10, to listen to the terms which the Allies intend to impose upon them. Therefore about a month from this date we ought to be somewhere near where we should have been a month or two ago.

Meantime some intimation is given of the character of the military and economic terms which will be prescribed in the Peace Treaty; some of which are commendable, some of dubious merit or worse, and at least one suggestive of the wretched complications in which the President's League of Nations claptrap would certainly involve us. The reduction of the German army to a force of about 200,000 men will be fitting. If it errs at all it is in the direction of over-generosity to Germany; a country which under the benign influence of its boasted *Kultur*, discipline, and efficiency really ought not to need any army at all. The destruction of the fortifications of the Kiel Canal and Heligoland should be a matter of course; and we are really unable to understand why the British and American delegates should object, as they are said to do, to the Allies' retention of control of the German cables. Is there any connection between that attitude and the Politicalmaster-General's seizure of the American cables? It is well to deny to Germany the right to go on building submarines, but we do not see why civilized and law-abiding nations should be denied the privilege of utilizing that most interesting and useful invention. Moreover, it would seem to be a strange proceeding for certain Powers in a peace treaty among themselves to forbid the building of such vessels by other Powers which are not parties to the treaty. Granted for sake of argument that it would be well for the Allies to say that, in consideration of their forbidding Germany to build any more

U-boats, they themselves will build none: We fail to see what authority they would have for saying that Norway and Argentina, for example, should never build any. We cannot understand, either, why the Allies should insist upon the *destruction* of the German fleet. Confiscate it; yes. Prohibit the rebuilding of it; yes. But in the name of conservation and efficiency, why wantonly destroy those hundreds of millions worth of hulls, machinery and material?

The United States, we are gravely told, reserves the right to object to the destruction of the Kiel forts and the neutralization of the Kiel canal, lest there thus be set a precedent requiring us to neutralize Hell Gate and the Narrows and to demolish their fortifications. We were at first inclined to wonder whether that sapient point was raised by the March Hare or the Mad Hatter, until it dawned upon us that it was simply a logical corollary to the mischievous provisions of the President's Constitution for the League of Nations. On no other basis is it explicable.

Of course if we are going to be such fools as to throw the Monroe Doctrine into the discard, abrogate our national sovereignty, and agree that whatever is done for special purposes to any country in the world shall also be done to us, this thing will become necessary. On precisely the same principle, if Germany's army is to be reduced, ours must be; if Germany's navy is to be confiscated or destroyed, ours must be; and so on. But excepting on that basis of incredible folly, we defy anybody to say why the penalization of Germany for her crimes by compelling her to demolish the forts and to neutralize the canal which she constructed on stolen territory should obligate us to do likewise with fortifications and natural waterways within our own indisputable borders—waterways, moreover, which do not, like the Kiel Canal, lead from one part of the high seas to another, but rather from the high seas into our own territorial and inland waters. If we will only rid ourselves of this League of Nations obsession, with its infinite possibilities of mischief, we may insist upon the proposed action concerning the Kiel Canal and its forts with the serene assurance that it can have no more to do with our own waterways, natural or artificial, and their fortifications, than the Shorter Catechism has to do with the Binomial Theorem.

The assumption that, in speaking of his desire to return to the writing of history, the President intended to announce his renunciation of third-term ambitions, has been officially deprecated. But if he does wish to write history, after having made so much of it, there is nothing to prevent him from being a historian and a President at the same time. Even if in his work he should wish to make elaborate and prolonged researches in original sources accessible only at the other side of the world, he has already established the precedent of Presidential absenteeism from the country for any desired length of time. In connection with this subject it may be recalled that he was elected in 1912 on a platform committing him with exceptional explicitness and emphasis to a single term; a fact which did not in the least restrain him from seeking and accepting renomination and reelection to a second term.

One of the most gratifying incidents of the week was the selection of Mr. Gillett for Speaker of the new House of Representatives by a vote of exactly two to one over Mr. Mann. This is auspicious of much good in the coming session, and the circumstances of the achievement confidently promise that unity of the Republican party which is so desirable for the welfare of the nation, and to which Theodore Roosevelt is now known to have given the last thoughts of his patriotic life.

Mr. Hines, the new Director-General of Railroads, did well to announce the other day that there would be no sudden returning of the railroads to their owners such as the President threatened, at least "until there has been an opportunity to see whether a constructive programme of legislation is likely to be considered promptly and adopted within a reasonable time." That is precisely as it should be. The railroads ought to be returned to their owners, but they ought not to be summarily dumped back. There should first be a comprehensive scheme of legislation, such as every rational man knows the roads and the country both need most urgently. But it is obvious that that fact places a tremendous responsibility upon the President. It is impossible for Congress to supply the needed legislation unless it is in session, and it cannot get into session before next December unless the President summons it. The President himself has urged Congress to legislate upon the railroads, and now his Director-General repeats the urging; yet Mr. Wilson refuses to give Congress the opportunity to comply with the demand. His will be the fault if the railroads have to suffer.

When first the Constitution for the League of Nations was made public, and people remarked upon some of its crudities and vagueness, they were assured that it was merely a tentative draft, presented as a basis for consideration, which was expected to be considerably remodelled. But now the President insists that, with merely verbal emendation in a single passage, it must be accepted precisely as it stands, *verbatim et literatim et punctatim*. That means that the Senate must ratify it without the least modification or amendment or else reject it altogether, and of course if it rejects it, the Peace Treaty must also be rejected, since they are to be inseparably united, and we shall have to remain at war with Germany. The success of so extraordinary a demand would be tantamount to making the President the sole treaty-making power, and would practically eliminate the Senate from its Constitutional role of adviser to the President. There have been Presidents of the United States who in such a case would have kept in close touch with Congress all through the negotiations, as Mr. Wilson promised to do but did not do, and who would have ascertained the judgment of the Senate upon such a matter as this before positively committing himself to it. But such Presidents did not consider themselves as occupying the "Real Throne of Administration."

General March's figures of the "battle deaths" of the war are impressive from many points of view. In two respects they are of special and timely significance to this

country. One is, their appalling total. No fewer than 7,354,000 men were killed in battle or died from wounds received in battle; beside, of course, millions more who died of disease. If anybody is inclined to think tolerantly of the criminal who is now cowering and whining at Amerongen, we beg him to remember these figures, and to remember that the death of every one of those 7,354,000 men is directly chargeable to William Hohenzollern; and then consider what is his due. We beg all to remember, too, that the German people overwhelmingly backed up their chief in the commission of that unparalleled crime, and exulted in it; until the time came when they saw that it could not succeed. If we keep that colossal bloodguiltiness of the German nation in mind, we shall better know how to deal with that collective criminal.

The other point is this: That of that colossal death roll the American losses were only about two-thirds of one per cent. Of the total death losses of the Allied Powers, America's were only a trifle over one per cent. They were less than four per cent of France's losses; less than one-half of little Belgium's; just about one-half of Serbia's and Montenegro's. That fact does not detract from the virtue of our services in the war, but it does suggest a certain modesty in our demeanor in prescribing the terms of peace. If France asks indemnity for her losses, who are we that we should say her nay, when for every man whom we lost in the war she lost twenty-six?

It is encouraging and heartening to see that sane minds beyond the Atlantic perceive the hollowness of the President's tumid rhetoric, the falsity of some of his pretensions, and the fatal defects in the League of Nations which he is trying to impose upon the world. The President in his Boston speech strove to persuade us that the people of Europe, more than the governments, were behind his scheme. He said:

The nations of the world have set their hands to do a great thing . . . and when I speak of the nations I do not speak of the governments. I speak of the peoples who constitute the nations of the world. They are in the saddle, and they are going to see to it that if their present governments do not do their will, some other governments shall.

It was not, perhaps, surprising to hear the President utter that implied menace against the very governments with which he is negotiating; seeing that he was recently engaged in appealing to the peoples of some of those countries against their own governments. But it is refreshing to find a journal like the London *Nation* saying of it:

President Wilson must know better than any of us that the will of the peoples of the earth does not enter into the groundwork of this so-called league; the governments alone are represented. The fatal flaw in the foundation of this structure is its complete autocracy. The centre of vast power is vested in a self-constituted autocracy of five Ministers, who control all determined judgments and actions of the league. If the league is permitted to take this form, it were better for the world if it had never been conceived, for it would make the world safe not for democracy, but for a new and stronger despotism.

It is not a grateful task to approve an alien utterance against our own President, but in this case no other course is possible. Severe as the *Nation's* rebuke is, the President has drawn it upon himself.

Deliberation and Declamation

WE should doubt whether in the history of this or any other land, with possibly a single notable exception, there was ever such a striking and significant contrast, in both matter and manner, between two sides of a great debate as there is in the current controversy over the League of Nations project. The contrast began, indeed, before the controversy opened. It was seen in the President's obstinate and imperious insistence upon profound secrecy in, and his personal monopoly of, a performance which he had contradictorily described as the securing of "open covenants openly arrived at." Even his most pliant press agent, Mr. David Lawrence, is forced to confess that "no one in the Administration but the President is thoroughly familiar with what has happened at the Paris Peace Conference," and so no one else is in a position to reply to criticisms of the proposed Constitution of the League of Nations; while, on the other hand, those unfavorably disposed toward the present plan were desirous that the Senate, as a part of the treaty-making power, and the whole Nation, whose interests and honor were vitally affected, should be fully informed of what was being designed.

After this preliminary contrast in manner and in spirit, a greater followed. When at last his Constitution of the League of Nations was drafted and tentatively adopted at Paris, the President, while retaining the utmost liberty of fluent speech for himself, strove to gag the responsible representatives of the people. He himself purposed to talk about his scheme as profusely and as frequently as opportunity might permit, but Senators and Representatives must not do so. They had, it is true, the text of the Constitution before them, and they had the explanatory comments with which the President had successfully commended it to the Peace Congress. But apparently they were not considered capable of comprehending it, or it was considered incomprehensible to them, until the President should have specially expounded it to them.

Most marked and significant of all, however, is the contrast presented in the debate which has ensued, if we may call debate that which consists of deliberation and argument on one side and declamation and denunciation on the other. Not even the most enthusiastic admirer of the President's copious vocabulary and fluent phrase-mongering will pretend that his Boston or New York speeches contained so much as a single serious attempt at argument, or anything more than rhetoric and emotion. Nor was the public greatly impressed, certainly not convinced, by Senator Lewis's flamboyant diatribe against violation of the Presidential gag law, especially since, in that very act, he was himself committing the sacrilege which he was anathematizing.

On the other hand, the utterances of the opponents of the scheme have been marked with admirable restraint and courtesy, and with an intent of deliberate reflection and constructive criticism for which no praise could be too high. Senator Lodge and Senator Knox in their addresses displayed mental processes approximating Huxley's famous ideal of "a clear, cold, logic-engine." They analyzed the scheme before them with the deliberation and poise of a great judge summing up a case before a jury, and instead of contenting them-

selves with the denunciatory and destructive criticism which the ill-conceived scheme richly deserved, they gave their most careful attention to constructive statesmanship in the suggestion of alterations or amendments which would assure to the world the beneficent ends at which the scheme pretends to aim, while safely avoiding the evils in which, in its present form, it would certainly involve this Nation.

If, then, the merits of the controversy may be judged by the conduct of it, the President's side must be hopelessly condemned. We have said that there is perhaps another case on record of comparable contrast between disputants. It was many years ago when, in an attempt to silence arguments which they could not answer, a great mob cried aloud for two hours at a stretch, "Great is Diana of the Ephesians!" But in the end that howling mob did not prevail; and we do not think that it will avail with the American people for any noisy claque to seek to silence the voice of patriotic argument with the insensate cry, "Great is the League of Nations!"

Another "Scrap of Paper"?

WE must profoundly regret, and we believe that the nation and the world will regard with amazement, with regret, and with not a little righteous resentment, the monstrous imputation which the President in his Boston speech cast upon treaties and treaty-making nations. We can recall nothing comparable with it for cynicism since the lackey of a scarcely less imperious and arrogant ruler scorned as a "scrap of paper" the treaty which his master had just violated. Let us recall the precise wording of Mr. Wilson's utterance. The President was picturing, in supposition, the making of a treaty of peace without adding to it his scheme of a denationalized League of Nations. Let it be the most satisfactory treaty that could in the circumstances be drafted. Yet, he said—

We will know that we have left written upon the historic table at Versailles, upon which Vergennes and Benjamin Franklin wrote their names, nothing but a modern "scrap of paper"; no nations united to defend it, no great forces combined to make it good.

Let us consider the plain meaning of those abominable words. There are two implications. The first is, that a treaty without a League of Nations behind it is "nothing but a scrap of paper." Was that true of the treaty upon which, as he reminds us, Vergennes and Franklin wrote their names? Was it true of that which, a few years later, was signed at Paris by David Hartley, John Adams, Benjamin Franklin and John Jay? Was it true of that treaty which the younger Adams and his colleagues made at Ghent and which has been followed by more than a century of unbroken peace? Was even the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo nothing more than a "scrap of paper"? Or the treaty of peace which we made without any League of Nations at Paris in 1898? When has the United States of America been in the habit of regarding its treaties as mere "scraps of paper"?

We hesitate for very shame to mention the aspersion which is thus flung upon other nations than our own. If our

peripatetic President sees fit thus to reflect upon the honor of his own nation, the wrong is done at home. But he goes beyond that. There would be other signatories. France, and Great Britain, and Italy, and Japan would also be signatories to that treaty. And the President is associating himself with their representatives in a great international congress. Dare he rise in the salon at the Quai d'Orsay and tell Georges Clemenceau and Lloyd George and the others that without the backing of his League of Nations a treaty signed by them would be "nothing but a scrap of paper"?

There is another implication in the utterance which we have quoted. The first, already considered, is a matter of opinion, without foundation or justification in fact. The second is scarcely to be described other than as a statement of untruth. The President says that a peace treaty made without his League of Nations would have "no nations united to defend it, no great forces combined to make it good." That treaty would be signed by the United States of America, France, Great Britain, Italy, Japan, Belgium, Serbia, Brazil, Cuba, Portugal, and probably some other nations. In its phraseology they would each and all pledge themselves, to each other, to defend and to maintain it. Are they not nations? Would they not be united to defend that treaty? Are they not great forces? Would they not be combined to make the treaty good?

It would be interesting to know what the President thinks a treaty is. He seemed in that Boston speech to regard it in very much the same light as did William Hohenzollern in 1914. We have always supposed—Americans who cherish the precepts of Washington suppose—a treaty to be a serious and solemn obligation, to the defence and the making good of which every signatory Power is pledged. We have supposed that when several nations unite in making a treaty jointly, they by that very fact and act practically ally themselves together for the concerted maintenance of that treaty. That, we assume, would be the case with any treaty of peace now made. The signatory Powers which we have named would be united to defend it; they would be combined to make it good. There are other estimable nations in the world, but we know of none whose adherence to the treaty would so greatly strengthen it that we could not afford to do without them.

The Issue Defined

AT the top, Internationalism. At the bottom, I. W. W. Bolshevism. Between the two, all shades and grades of Socialism, from the parlor to the soap-box variety. Beginning with the President's psychological idealism, as expressed in his League of Nations proposition to exterminate our independence and entity as a nation, we get down through all the Administration's government ownership schemes of Socialism to the frank ravings of Louis F. Post, the Assistant Secretary of the Department of Labor. This represents the Administration crest of that rising tidal wave with which the country has to contend in the coming electoral contests for control of the Government.

With the President as leader and his socialistic Administration associates as lieutenants, the issue is already defined.

It is clean cut and simple. It is Socialism versus Americanism. Just that, and nothing more.

It is well to understand this at the outset and it is well to grasp fully the fact that under Wilson leadership, supported by all the hordes of conscious, sub-conscious and unwilling adherents to the Bolshevik madness, the struggle for the supremacy of American principles is to be a formidable one. The deadly danger lies in the crest and not in the undertow of this wave of unrest with which the country is threatened. It lies in the visionary ideals with which the President himself is haunted, and to which he clings with a blind fanatical fury unsuspected until revealed in his recent outbursts of rage against the contemptibly "pigmy" leaders in the United States Senate, who temperately and courteously exposed the plight to which the country would be reduced were it to accept that preposterous document which he brought back from Paris as the sole atonement for his vindication of all precedent in absenting himself in a foreign country from his post of duty for a quarter of a year. He had loathing for their "pigmy minds"—for the pigmy minds of Senators Knox and Lodge, for instance! We are willing to give him the benefit of a doubt that he said that if he had his way he would hang these men "on a gibbet as high as heaven, but that the gibbet would not be erected in the direction of heaven." For very shame we shall, for the present at least, refuse to believe that a President of the United States, sitting in the seat of Washington and Lincoln, was guilty of uttering language such as this concerning his fellow servants in the legislative branch of our Government. But that he did utter violent language, that he uttered language so violent that those who heard it were loath to repeat it, this, unhappily, we are constrained to believe. The evidence is overwhelming.

And it is precisely this mental attitude on the part of the leader of the forces seeking to undermine the very foundations of those American principles on which the country has so marvelously prospered, that measures the peril with which we are now rapidly coming face to face. Add to this the language of one of Mr. Wilson's lieutenants in the campaign of assault upon American principles, the language of Mr. Louis F. Post, the President's Assistant Secretary of Labor, and we have still further light on what is before us. Speaking at Seattle, where the recent Bolshevik effort to seize the city government was suppressed by that fine American, Mayor Hanson, Mr. Post, after advocating the New Democracy which has for its end "public ownership of all wealth and of all public utilities of city, State and nation," thus expressed himself:

Every scandal and abuse of national confidence which has occurred so far in the war has been identified as the work of profiteering business men.

Whose are the minerals that God put in the bowels of the earth? Whose the forests? Whose the lands upon which our cities are built? Whose the water power? We know whose they are in the terms of law, but whose are they in terms of Democracy?

We do not want "restoration" as some put it, we want reconstruction. I do not want to see restoration. Our soldiers are coming back home and they are going to ask, "Whose country is this we have been fighting for?" We must rise up with them and demand that the country belong to the people, rather than to the few who bought it up in times past.

Let it soak into your minds that Internationalism is the idea that America now stands for. . . . It may indeed be that,

before the end of this thing, Nationalism versus Internationalism will be the biggest issue we have to face.

Precisely. Internationalism versus Nationalism is the issue. Mr. Post's superior in the Administration has already precipitated it upon the country. It is on that issue, plus the Bolshevik Socialism which Mr. Post advocates, that the coming elections are to turn.

Americanism is between the upper and the nether milestones—International Socialism, representing the Administration at the top, and I. W. W. Bolshevik lawlessness at the bottom; both consciously or unconsciously based upon this country's independent identity as a nation.

Army Justice

UNLESS all signs fail, Acting Judge Advocate General S. T. Ansell will very soon find it more advisable to quit his present post, if not actually to resign from the service altogether, than to attempt to continue his fight to modernize the archaic military law which has been responsible for so many atrocities in our army.

He has offended the pacifist Secretary of War. He has irritated General Pershing, and he has affronted the Chief of Staff. This trinity recognizes the right of no army officer to speak the truth to a Congressional Committee when such statements are critical of their administration—least of all when the exposures establish official sanction of the barbarous treatment of our own boys. There is one factor in the situation which must be reckoned with, however, even by Mr. Baker and his favorite generals: it is Senator Chamberlain. He has his heel in the ground, and is so thoroughly aroused by General Ansell's disclosures that he is determined to see the fight through, to the end that our military law shall be revised along humane lines. Senator Chamberlain will not be satisfied with commutation of the manifestly unjust sentences. He will insist upon revising the system that is responsible for them.

In all discussions of the law and of the atrocities which have been perpetrated through its operation, one fact has been lost sight of completely. It concerns the legal experts—the justices—who imposed the sentences, rather than the law itself. We refer to the callow and inexperienced officers from civil life composing most of the courts whose decisions have been criticized.

In the army there are four disciplinary instrumentalities: "Company punishment," and summary, general, and special courts. Company punishment is prescribed for minor offenses, or when, in the judgment of an officer, an enlisted man, who is potentially a good soldier, has committed some technically grave offense without premeditation. It consists in compelling the guilty man to do the hardest and most menial types of work without actually incarcerating him.

During normal times in the regular army this is the usual form of punishment. Experienced officers find it relatively easy to discipline men by this method. They have learned through years in the service that there are few really "bad" men in the army, and that most infractions of the regulations can be adequately punished through this form of discipline. Summary courts and general courts

are analogous to police and criminal courts in the civil system, while the special courts are called only for extraordinary cases.

Records of the Judge Advocate General's office show that a very large percentage of the sentences imposed by courts of various classes are similar to those which were handled by the "company" methods during peace times. The inference appears obvious. It is strikingly indicative of the actions of those younger officers who had to be called from civil life and given commissions because of our lack of preparation.

The youthful officers who, the records show, imposed most of these harsh sentences because they did not know how to discipline or control their men, are of the same kind who led their forces to exposed positions and needless slaughter because they knew no better. There is no intention here of criticizing officers who did the best they could, any more than there is a desire to exculpate those who approved the legal system which prohibited review.

The point, and the whole point, is, that so long as we are compelled by our pacifist leaders to rely upon untrained youths to command our forces, we may expect shocking results.

Until the full story of our participation in the war is told in all its details, the public will hear little and know less of the lives needlessly thrown away because our impulsive young officers unwittingly led men into German traps. Many of them paid with their own lives for the lack of training denied to them because of our criminal lack of preparedness.

Mexican financial complications afford a pregnant suggestion concerning the possible application of the League of Nations project to inter-American affairs. At present American interests, American influence and American policy are unhesitatingly recognized as paramount. Despite the very large investments of British and French capitalists in Mexico, nobody dreams of taking any action not sanctioned by the United States. The intimation that "the upshot of recent conferences is in effect an informal mandate to America to take charge of foreign interests in Mexico" may not be impertinent, but it is at any rate superfluous. Whatever is to be done in Mexico, the United States must do as a matter of course. The unpleasant suggestion is, however, in the added observation that "conditions scarcely warrant postponement until the League of Nations question is settled." The inference is, of course, that if the League of Nations were established under the President's Constitution, the Mexican question would be referred to it, and the United States would have nothing to say about it, save as one out of nine members of the Executive Committee. American interests in Mexico, and the fiscal if not the political control of that country, would be disposed of by Japan, Great Britain, France and other Powers. They are all, of course, our very good friends. But so were we on the best of friendly terms with all the world when the Monroe Doctrine was proclaimed.

It is reported that Senator Lewis may be appointed American Mandatory at Constantinople, where he would be known as Ham Pasha.

A Washington Monument for the Battlefield of France

A CONSIDERABLE number of letters bearing upon the proposal to erect by popular subscription a replica of the Washington Monument upon the battlefield where American soldiers fought have been received and will have due attention. Simply as a matter of record we publish the first five in the order of their arrival.

Mr. John Hays Hammond, former Special Ambassador to the Court of St. James's, telegraphs: "Your suggestion of a Washington Monument for France is admirable, and the two points, as to the memorial being suitable, and the project being feasible, are cogently stated in your editorial. Success to the project!"

Mr. James M. Beck, whose magnificent service in the great cause has received the highest recognition from both England and France, writes: "Your proposition for a replica of the Washington Monument is very fine. Put it on the hills of the Marne near Chateau Thierry."

Miss Helen C. Frick, who worked untiringly throughout the four years of war in both France and America, writes: "Of all the memorials that have been or probably could be suggested, that of a replica of the Washington Monument appeals strongly to me as incomparably the best. I do hope it will find favor among your readers. If there is anything I can do to help to realize so splendid an idea I should regard it as a distinct privilege."

Miss Grace Vanderbilt, whose father, Brigadier General Vanderbilt, and whose brother, Cornelius Vanderbilt, Jr., won notable distinction, writes: "I have read with the greatest interest your article suggesting the erection of a Washington Monument in France and shall consider it a privilege to join in the movement to pay this tribute to our fallen heroes."

Governor James P. Goodrich of Indiana telegraphs: "I have just read your suggestion of a replica of the Washington Monument to be erected in France as a memorial to our American soldiers. This is a magnificent idea and I volunteer to help in every way possible."

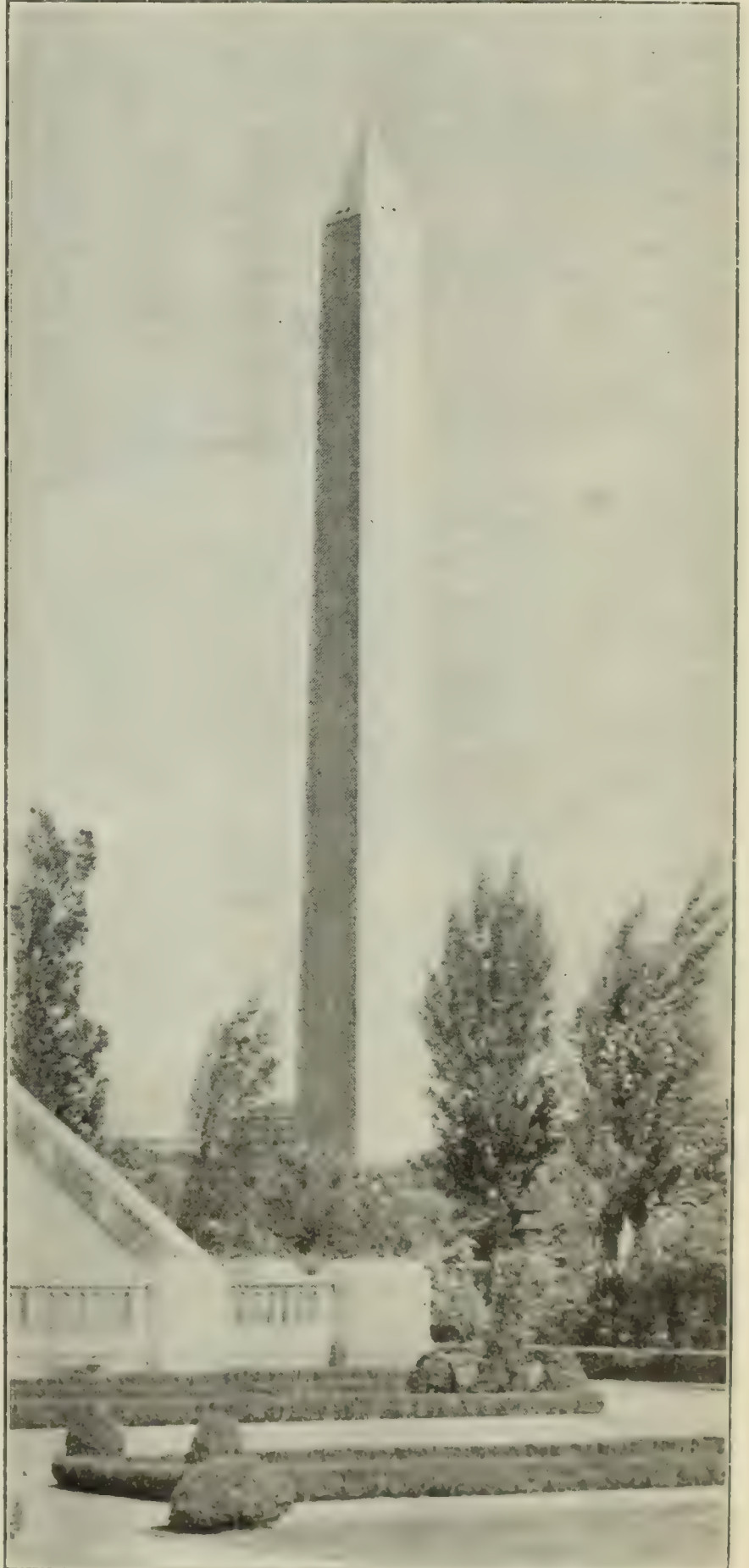
Mrs. Dorothy Thompson, who rendered excellent service as a nurse in Dr. Blake's hospital in Paris and whose husband, Colonel Marcellus H. Thompson, is still on duty in France, writes: "I feel sure that no memorial could be more gratifying to the thousands of brave American boys who were constantly arriving from the battlefield wounded and many only to die. Please do not abandon the thought at least until you can put it before the devoted fathers and mothers to whom we wrote so many heartrending letters."

The first newspaper to enlist is the Lafayette (Indiana) *Journal*. Editor W. H. Robertson writes: "We have quoted your article, 'A Washington Monument for France,' in connection with an unqualified editorial endorsement. The suggestion appeals as being in every way meritorious and it is to be hoped that the necessary organization will be perfected for making it a reality. Surely the response on the part of the public would be immediate and whole-hearted. Incidentally, permit me to thank you for the splendid service THE WEEKLY, past and present, has rendered the nation. In our

own more modest way we too are fighting the battle for the preservation of the United States. Your suggestion concerning the Monument is worthy of success, and we shall be pleased to render such assistance as is possible."

The Kearny, N. J., *Observer* comments as follows:

"Colonel George Harvey, who as a vigorous speaker and writer on national topics is our nearest living prototype of Theodore Roosevelt, has started a campaign that should become popular with every party and creed. It is that the monument to be erected in France by the American people shall take the form of an exact replica of the Washington Monument. . . . Colonel Harvey has performed one more signal service to the public in making the suggestion."



The Washington Monument

Letters From Our Readers

AN ANALOGY.

SIR,—The analogy between conditions in the nineties, when the "silver craze" was in bloom, and now, when the League of Nations is blossoming, is perfect. Then

(1) Everybody felt the need of something to correct existing evils;

(2) A catchy, illusive slogan was adopted to win out;

(3) Idealistic, impractical doctrinaires from the Democratic party led the movement;

(4) Both movements lacked practical leadership;

(5) Sound, conservative statesmen were on one side; politicians and the proletariat were on the other, including the old Populists.

I was a country banker then, a "free silver Democrat," but when the ball opened I began to feel my bank shake. I examined into the question, found free silver the baseless fabric of a dream, and in 1896 I voted for Palmer and Buckner. I am sorry now I did not vote for McKinley.

I think free silver had a better chance to win out than the League, as it now is, has. The American people have a wonderful capacity to get at the root of things. The League is just "fresh drawn"; is mostly foam. When its terms are fully understood, no red-blooded American will stand for it.

It's a pity we cannot have a national issue of it in 1920, but your editorial in the current WEEKLY—"The League as a Rider"—explains why we cannot. But I venture to say that every Senator who votes for its ratification will regret it. For, after all, it's a question of fruitless surrender of national sovereignty; we get nothing for it; Europe gets everything.

Pueblo, Col.

J. L. WOODBRIDGE.

"CONCURRENT"

I call you attention to the legal definition of the word "Concurrent":

SIR,—"Acting in conjunction"; "Agreeing to the same act"; "Contributing to the same event"; "Co-operating"; "Contributing to the same effect"; "Accompanying; conjoined; associate; concomitant; joint and equal; existing together; and operating on the same object."

In the St. Croix River case, 72 Wisconsin, 62, where the enabling acts gave the States of Wisconsin and Minnesota "concurrent jurisdiction" over the St. Croix River, so far as it formed a boundary between the two States, it was held that the control of the river was joint, that the legislature of neither could act upon it without the consent of the other, in the same language and to the same purpose and effect.

The same was held by the New Jersey courts as to the Delaware River, between the States of New Jersey and Pennsylvania, 13 N. J. Eq. 46.

For instance, a concurrent resolution of a legislature requires the assent of both bodies to the resolution, *ipsissima verba*, without even the change of a punctuation mark. Just what the Anti-Saloon people intended by the peculiar wording of this resolution I do not know, but the legal effect of it, as any lawyer knows, is that Congress and the legislature of a particular State must act together. That is, *the legislation of the State must be exactly the same as that of the Federal Congress*, or neither will have any effect. It possibly is true that each State may prohibit intoxicating liquor for itself; but it is equally true that Congress cannot, except in time of war, even under this resolution, impose prohibition upon any State, unless the legislature of that State concurs. And by "concurrence" is meant absolute agreement in the very language of the legislation.

I hesitate to put my judgment against that of such a distinguished lawyer as W. J. Bryan, but I am compelled to do so in this instance.

F. DUMONT SMITH.

Hutchinson, Kansas.

FADS AND FANCIES

SIR,—It is certainly a pleasure to read a periodical with such a well-trained and intelligent "punch." May it never weaken!

The following may be of interest if you have not seen it. It is part of an article by Ernest Hamlin Abbott of *The Outlook*: "The people who have been living under the thunder and in the darkness of war have seemed to look upon him [Mr. T. W. Wilson, President] as the one to lead them into a golden age of quietude and sunlight. In the very VAGUENESS of his language they have found pleasure, for it has allowed PLAY to their FANCY. This has made possible what otherwise would be inexplicable—that SYNDICALISTS should march along the streets of Paris, as I have seen them march, shouting 'Vive Wilson!' while the object of their devotion was being entertained in a princely palace," etc.

Three cheers for the War Department! I have just received official notification of the wounding of a brother in action in France. This comes five months after it happened. He is reported as *slightly wounded*. He has been in a hospital since October 1, is still there, and has undergone three operations—"slightly wounded"!

N R. PATTERSON.

AND MANY ARE HONORABLE GENTLEMEN

SIR,—I have read and I heartily endorse every word of the letters of Harriet Gaylord, A. B. Martin, E. Shaughnessy, in the issue of February 15. They hit the nail on the head.

As to the remarks of Mr. Washington Piper, on page 15, I would remind him that Blackstone said: "The opinion of a lawyer is no evidence of the law." A lawyer will laugh or weep with you when you laugh or weep, and see things from your point of view, if the fee talks loud enough. A very prominent social leader when caught in a shady transaction once went to his lawyer: "The case presents many difficulties, and it looks bad to me," said the learned counsel. "How much money have you got?" "Some fifty thousand dollars," was the reply. "Oh," said the lawyer beginning to enthuse, "I'll see to it that you do not go to the penitentiary with that much money"; and he did.

There are lawyers and lawyers. Some are good, some are bad, some indifferent, and some are fools.

CHAS. E. CHIDSEY.

Pascagoula, Miss.

APOTHEOSIS.

SIR,—Your recent heading, "Christ and Mr. Wilson," to a letter received and published by you, makes plain the existence of a curious class of people. I say *your* heading, because had it been written by the writer of the letter, the order of names would no doubt have been reversed.

In his first term, there were those who were depressed by the President's likeness to Lincoln, as one brooding deeply over nameless griefs and laboring divinely to keep us out of war, till he should have been reelected. Now the Lincoln comparison fails, and Christ has been drawn on.

If the process of apotheosis has set in and is gradual, where is the end?

LEONARD D. COMPTON.

Oakland, California.

THE RIGHT ROAD

SIR,—Your editorial, "A Belated Awakening," is very timely and opportune. You have applied it to the growing realization of the American public of what national prohibition will mean, only too late. May it not also be applied as well to the encroachments on the personal liberties of the citizen in taking over of telegraph and telephone lines, the attempt to commit the country to Government ownership of railways, and, what is far worse, to the perfect apathy of the average citizen to the gradual swallowing up of all coordinate powers of the Government in peace times by the Executive. I have confidence that we shall some day wake up to what this means, but it may be too late. Keep hammering away. Some of us, at least, believe you are on the right road.

C. H. EARNST.

Colorado, Texas.

A CREED FOR THE TIMES

SIR,—When you wrote: "We recognize no creed in this country which exalts the loafer over the toiler, or puts the ignorant and shiftless on a par with the educated and ambitious," you announced a fundamental principle which should be adopted as a creed and rigidly enforced by every governing body in the United States. Your WEEKLY should be in every American home to awaken Americans to their responsibilities so that "the powers of hell may not prevail against us."

W. A. COOPER.

San Francisco, Cal.

SWAMPED

SIR,—Will you please add my name to your list of subscribers to THE WEEKLY, beginning with No. 7, February 15? I have been compelled to borrow the last few numbers, as it is now quite impossible in this city to buy from newsdealers. *They are swamped with the demand.*

This is a level-headed business community, and it is not to be supposed that our people want a publication unless they are in sympathy with its views.

WILLIAM GIBSON.

Pittsburgh, Pa.

HARVEY'S WEEKLY

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WEEK ENDING MARCH 15, 1919

No. 11



Senator Brandegee: "Now, Mr. President, let me ask you this:
If I understand you correctly ---- why, Great Scott, he's gone!"

Is It the Millennium?

THE best news yet is that of a joint debate on the incipient League to be arranged between President Lowell and Senator Lodge. It is just that sort of thing that the people need and want. What with the President dancing back and forth and touching only the highest rhapsodical spots and Mr. Taft making us all dizzy with his amazing tight-rope gyrations and Dr. Van Dyke anathematizing those who disagree with him as insects, it is no small task to avoid confusion within pigmy minds. Wherefore we rejoice at the opening of a Harvard lyceum.

But why stop there? Why not have a general discussion all over the country? Since "open covenants openly arrived at" have been abandoned abroad, let us revive them here, so that the home folks may be able to determine whether they are being led by their accomplished Pied Piper into Elysium or into Erebus. Lowell and Lodge make a fine pair to lead off. Despite the famous adage that "Lowells talk only with Cabots and Cabots talk only with God," or words to that effect, both are natural scrappers. Prexy was a top-notch boxer in his day and it is not so long ago that the Senator renewed his youth by pasting an impertinent beggar a good one on the chin. Mentally, too, they are quite up to the Harvard average.

But the great thing is the example. Let us have a general bout! We suggest in all seriousness debates between the following Senators: Knox vs. Hitchcock, Thomas vs. Ashurst, Sherman vs. Lewis, Borah vs. McCumber, McCormick vs. Overman, Harding vs. Gerry, Brandegee vs. Kirby, Cummins vs. Owen, Poindexter vs. Swanson, Frelinghuysen vs. Norris, Wadsworth vs. Fletcher, Penrose vs. Williams, Watson vs. Pittman, New vs. Pomerene, and so on. There are many others practically as good for the affirmative, or American, side, but we cannot seem to find suitable competitors who can be counted upon for the negative.

We imagine, however, that the Hon. James A. Reed would not decline an invitation from Ambassador Francis, and if there are any international ex-Senators at large looking for trouble, the Hon. Albert J. Beveridge will cheerfully take on the whole outfit. It may be, too, that Governor Smith of New York would like to amplify his vision of "Democracy"—alias Wilson—"on the Throne of Humanity." If so, all he has to do is to telegraph to Governor Goodrich of Indiana. We did think, too, of suggesting Elihu Root vs. William H. Taft but, honest to God, we haven't the heart.

There remain, however, in the profession, Marse Henry for Mr. Miller of the *Times*, Mr. Williams of the *Transcript* for Mr. Cobb of the *World*, Mr. Munsey for our misguided friend Mr. O'Brien of the *Boston Herald* and, oh, we don't know, they are too many to count. Last but not least and perhaps most enjoyable of all would be Chairman Will H. Hays vs. Chairman Homer S. Cummings.

But stop! This will never do. Like "the wings of an ostrich," our imagination runneth riot as "in a dream," we are told, our soldiers mistily bayoneted the Huns. Such

an orgie of patriotism cannot be hoped for; and yet, glory be—

Lowell is to talk with Cabot, and
You know whom Cabot talks with.
Can it be, indeed, the millennium?

Mr. Hays's Spirited Appeal

CHAIRMAN HAYS, of the Republican National Committee, again demonstrates the wisdom of the choice which put him in command of the organized Republican forces in the coming Presidential Campaign. His St. Paul speech is by way of being a masterpiece of concise, spirited presentation of those principles on which his party proposes to go to the country from this time forth and through the contest of 1920.

The creed, as outlined by Mr. Hays, is as simple as it is stirring. Speaking for his party, Mr. Hays is for America first, last and all the time. No entangling alliances, no shackling of American freedom of decision and action in all that pertains to America's best interests and responsibilities as a law-abiding, self-reliant and self-respecting member of the world's great family of nations. As Mr. Hays well says, America, as she always has done, will go far indeed towards lessening future wars and will be second to no country in supporting with all the weight of her great influence any and all sane measures looking towards the avoidance of wars. But America will not accept any vague internationalization which encroaches upon her independence or which puts in the hands of a foreign super-government an authority which takes away from our own Congress the war-declaring power, which supervises and controls our equipment of defense either on sea or on land, or which may, at discretion, order the men of our army and navy to hostilities away from our own territory and in which we may or may not have any interest.

To this form of international Bolshevikry America will not submit, any more than she will submit to a domestic Bolshevikry which would annihilate property rights and put our great industries and public utilities under the socialistic blight of public ownership. As Mr. Hays well puts it:

We will not forget that while we fight to make certain the rights of free government in the world, we have a republic to preserve in this country; that we are a representative government, not a Bolshevik syncopation, that while there is nothing in this country that we would not take and use for necessary war purposes, such taking must be for war purposes only.

The Republican party from its inception has stood against undue federalization of industries and activities. There must be strong Federal regulation, but not Federal ownership.

On this broad foundation of sound Americanism, Mr. Hays places his party in a few words so strong and urgent in their compact appeal that they are sure to stir the country to close inquiry into the strange adventures with which we are threatened by the personal vanity or ambitions of doctrinaire dreamers, whose reveries or obsessions the world's present state of half-bewildered emergence from four nightmare years renders doubly dangerous.

In the *North American Review* for March, we ventured to outline, under the title "Socialism vs. Americanism,"

the posture of political affairs as it then seemed to present itself, and, as this outline in many particulars corresponds with the views Mr. Hays has expressed with so much force and spirit, we may be pardoned perhaps for reproducing from the *Review* some extracts in point:

"For ourselves, we welcome the test. It must come some time; it may as well come now. And we have no question of the result. Neither next year nor ever will the American people vote to denationalize their great Republic. Neither next year nor ever will they heed the sinister and insidious implorations of false prophets to toss their beloved country into a melting pot to be mashed into a pulp of international communism. Neither next year nor ever will they yield one jot of their independence or of their sovereignty.

"America is no Bolshevik. Patriotism is not dead. Let the fight begin!

"Trumpeter, sound for the splendor of God!
Sound for the heights that our fathers trod
When truth was truth and love was love,
With a hell beneath but a heaven above,
Trumpeter, rally us, rally us, rally us,
On to the City of God!"

"The heart of the world will be broken unless the League of Nations becomes a reality," President Wilson recently told Franklin D. Roosevelt, Assistant Secretary of the Navy. "It is important not to dissect the document," Mr. Roosevelt added hastily.

The United States should be supremely proud of the President. In a manner extremely quiet and simple he has completed a task which will appear many hundred-fold bigger a century hence than it does today. Against obstacles that few of us can conceive, amid labors that few men could endure, with a patience unflinching and a perception constantly clear, he has won the victory which Destiny sent him into the world to accomplish.

—Brother Ford.

Then, of course, it's all over. Well, well!

Who Misleads Europe?

IN his farewell address just before sailing on his second trip to Europe, the President said:

"The first thing that I am going to tell the people on the other side of the water is that an overwhelming majority of the American people is in favor of the League of Nations. I know that that is true. I have had unmistakable intimations of it from all parts of the country, and the voice rings true in every case."

The President made that statement immediately after there had been such representative demonstrations against the League of Nations as seldom have been made against any Presidential policy. He said it in face of the fact that a majority of the representatives of the people, elected by the people only four months ago, appeared to be opposed to his League scheme. He said it in face of the fact that he had not ventured to seek a vote of confidence in the matter even from a Congress dominated by his own party.

He had been out of the country, thousands of miles away, for three months, and had been absorbed in affairs in foreign

lands to a degree which rendered it impossible for him to keep closely in touch with public opinion and sentiment here. He had come back for a hurried and busy visit of a few days. And he affected to have learned in those few days more about the sentiments and wishes of all parts of the country than was known by the foremost men in public life, who had been right here all the time and who had been making it their special business to keep in touch with the people and to make sure of their will.

Yet he "knows" that the overwhelming majority of the people favor his scheme, and he is going to tell the people and governments of Europe that such is the case!

Twenty-four hours before the President made that extraordinary statement of his purpose, Mr. Frank H. Simonds wrote to the *New York Tribune* from Paris as follows:

"Europe has accepted Mr. Wilson as the spokesman of America. . . . It has to an incredible extent risked all its future hope upon Mr. Wilson, not as an individual but as President of the United States, and if the country repudiates what Mr. Wilson has done here, for domestic or political reasons which are wholly comprehensible to every American, the European tragedy will be stupendous.

"The European has known no other American view than that of President Wilson. It has accepted his view because it believed it to be the American view, and to-day it stands literally aghast in the presence of the possibility that the real view of America is something entirely different from the President's."

If Mr. Simonds's statement is correct, there rests upon somebody an appalling responsibility for having thus deceived and misled Europe. It has been no secret in this country that Mr. Wilson's spokesmanship was very seriously and widely challenged, and denied. Only a few weeks before he first sailed for Europe to be our self-appointed and pretended spokesman, he asked the country in an unprecedented manner to give him a popular vote of confidence; and the nation by a large majority refused it. Then one of his chief servitors at the Capitol asked the Senate, a Democratic Senate which for two years had done his bidding, to give him a vote of confidence, and was unable to obtain it. It was notorious to the world that Congress had not approved his appointment to be our delegate abroad, as other treaty-makers have been appointed and approved; that he had not informed Congress in advance of the policy which he purposed to pursue, and thus had received neither approval of that policy nor authorization to commit the country to any policy whatever.

In those circumstances, we are told, he was accepted by Europe as the spokesman of America, and his views and policies were assumed to be the views and policies of the American nation. Did he personally tell the governments and peoples of Europe that such was the case? Did the cable service controlled by the Politicalmaster-General prevent the transmission of other views from this country to Europe; did it prevent the transmission of the truth about this nation's refusal to vote confidence in him? Did the creel's Committee of Information disseminate such official misinformation throughout Europe, as it had formerly done in America? Who is responsible for this cruel and ominous misleading of the nations of Europe?

Our Union and the League

THE proposed League of Nations is likened to our Federal Union. We are not quite sure who first suggested it. Perhaps it was General Smuts, who was the author of the pending Constitution for such a league. If so, we may almost pardon him the error, seeing his remoteness from and presumptive unfamiliarity with American affairs. If it was the President (who adopted General Smuts's scheme and has since been advocating it as though it were his own), or if it was any of his supporters in this country, pardon must be much more difficult, since the gross error of such attempted analogy ought to be obvious to every American. Whatever its origin, the thing keeps bobbing up serenely, as though quite unaware of its intrinsic absurdity. We find the following, for example, in a recent issue of the London, England, *Daily News*:

If any argument for America's support of a League of Nations were needed, it would be found in the very nature and origin of the American Commonwealth itself. . . . Is not the American Union compounded out of States that voluntarily limited their sovereignty and assumed extended responsibilities to create a whole that would be incomparably greater than the sum of all its parts?

We might pass this by, with a smile of pity for the British writer who could be so oblivious of historic facts were it not that precisely the same thing is being said here, and there is actually danger that it will impose upon many people as an utterance of truth and wisdom. Of course, the whole suggestion is grossly untrue, while the conclusion to be drawn from it on the supposition that it is true, or on the basis of whatever truth there may be in it, is one of the most conclusive of arguments against the League as now proposed.

The Thirteen States were all of identical origin, all British colonies; while the members of the League would all be of different origins. The Thirteen States had formerly all been under one government; while the members of the League have never been. The Thirteen States were homogeneous and similar in population, in language, in culture, and in government; while the members of the League are or would be as heterogeneous and as diverse as it is possible to imagine in all those respects. The Thirteen States were born together and they remained together. They came into existence under the common sovereignty of the British Crown; and before they began their effort to cast it off, they united themselves under the common headship of their own Continental Congress. From the moment that the settlements were made at Jamestown, Plymouth, and elsewhere, down to the adoption of the Constitution, they had always been united; a fact noted in the opening words of the Constitution itself, or of its preamble; which speaks not of forming a union, but of forming a *more perfect* union, implying that a union already existed. If there be anyone who cannot see the radical and essential difference between merely strengthening the bonds of union between homogeneous States which were already and had always been united, and creating a union between heterogeneous nations which have never been united, we commend him to the benevolent ministrations of an alienist. We have no time to waste upon his incorrigible obfuscation.

Waiving that, however, and turning to the indisputable

fact stated in the passage which we have quoted, that these States "voluntarily limited their sovereignty," what is the inevitable conclusion? Why, that this proposed League would require this nation to abrogate its sovereignty, to renounce its nationality; the very thing which its opponents have adduced as one of their chief objections to it and which many of its advocates have sought to deny. Read the Tenth Section of the First Article of the Constitution of the United States and observe the renunciation of State rights there declared. We are told that the nations should now assent to limitation of their national sovereignty in favor of the League, just as the States permit their sovereignty to be limited in favor of the United States. That would mean, then, that the United States should not enter into any treaty, alliance or confederation, coin money, or emit bills of credit; that it should not, without the consent of the League, lay any tariff duties on imports save such as were needed to pay the cost of inspection, and even such should be turned in to the treasury of the League; that it should not, without the consent of the League, lay any duty on tonnage, keep troops or ships of war in time of peace, or enter into any agreement or compact with any other nation.

It seems grotesque, no doubt, to suggest such a state of affairs. Yet that is precisely the condition which would prevail if we should follow literally and logically the contention of these League propagandists, who are clamoring for a union of nations on the basis of our union of States, and who are intimating that the nation should be willing to make, in behalf of the League, precisely such a renunciation of sovereignty as the States made when they adopted the Constitution. That, we repeat, is one of the most conclusive arguments against the scheme.

It is not unlikely that the council may elect President Wilson as its first Chairman. In that case he would be under the necessity of delegating the task to a substitute for the remainder of his Presidential term, for the council will probably sit continuously.—*Paris dispatch to the World*.

Nonsense! Only last week a brand new wireless outfit was installed on the *I. W. W.*, formerly the *George Washington*.

Is William Jennings Bryan for the League of Nations?
Is Vice-President Thomas Riley Marshall?
Is Speaker Champ Clark?
We who know confidentially ask.

HARVEY'S WEEKLY

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BY GEORGE HARVEY

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The Railroad Makeshift

THE threatened railroad crisis has been averted. Perhaps it would be more accurate, though less pleasant, to say that it has been postponed. We have escaped it for the moment, but it would be folly to say that all danger of it is past, or that it can be past until, through legislation, the transportation system of the country is placed upon a just, rational and practical basis, such as it has never yet enjoyed.

For the present relief, which is of simply inestimable benefit to the country, no thanks are due to the President. That is not a welcome thing to say, but it is the simple truth, and it is a truth which justice requires to be recognized. We shall not say nor suggest that the President sought to precipitate a crisis. That is unthinkable. But we must say that his course and his actions in the matter, however inspired and however intended, directly conduced to bringing us perilously near to the catastrophe.

We need not go back in the record beyond the first of December last, though some of his railroad policy before that date was extraordinarily ill-advised. At the opening of the late session of Congress, however, it was obvious that the railroad question was one of the most important, perhaps the most important, in our purely domestic affairs, and that it was in urgent need of thoughtful and courageous action. It was precisely the thing to which the President himself should have given personal attention in collaboration with Congress. But he had other fish to fry. He was itching to get to Europe, to preach the propaganda of his League of Nations. So he turned the whole thing over to Congress, admitting that he had no idea how the problem should be solved, but urging Congress to get busy and solve it right away quick; under penalty of having the roads incontinently dumped back upon their owners.

That was sufficiently shabby treatment of Congress and of an immensely momentous national issue. But worse was to come. Before Congress had time to get fairly started on the complex problem, an attempt was made by the Administration to take it out of its hands. Although the President in December had had no plan at all, he soon conceived a plan, all cut and dried and so full of eternal wisdom that it would be sacrilege to modify it by one jot or tittle. That was, that Congress should turn the roads over to government control for five years to come, with billions of American taxpayers' money every year to help the government in its benign scheme of socialistic government ownership. Even his usually pliant and obedient Congress balked at that, despite the threat of dumping the roads back and thus causing universal catastrophe; and the outcome was, that the session ended without the urgently needed legislation which the President had invoked in December, and which he had himself practically defeated or prevented in January.

The worst came last. Casually looking in upon the United States and its seat of government for a few days at the end of the session, the President observed that this great problem was left unsolved, and that the legislation which three months before he had recommended as urgent had not been effected. Earnest appeal was made to him to give the new Congress, lately elected by the people, a chance to deal with it. He re-

fused. With no reason save a stodgy pretext stultifying his own former assurances, he refused to call Congress together in special session. The railroads might go to smash and the nation be involved in appalling disaster. That was nothing to him. He wanted to jam his League of Nations through, and did not purpose to let a Congress with a hostile majority get together and discuss his fads a day sooner than he could help it. So he washed his hands of the whole business and went back to Paris.

Happily, one of his subordinates proved equal to his task. The Director-General would not fulfil the Administration's threat of dumping the roads, but immediately set about making the best of his chief's bad job by seeing what could be done to tide over the emergency until the people's representatives could, despite the dictatorial occupant of the Real Throne of Administration, get together to do the people's will. The result was a conference of government officials, railroad managers, and bankers, which agreed upon a plan for averting the threatened crisis and keeping the roads going. The stronger roads will be aided by the banks with loans, while the weaker roads will get help from the War Finance Corporation. Of course this will be merely a makeshift arrangement, and it may actually make the final and radical settlement more difficult and more costly than if it had been made when it should have been made. But it is probably the best way out of the difficulty, and for it we owe grateful acknowledgments to Mr. Hines, Mr. Meyer, and the railroad men and financiers who loyally coöperated with them. For the good that may be achieved, they are to be credited. For any unwelcome costs or embarrassment, responsibility and blame must rest upon somebody "higher up."

"My present duty," said Mr. Tumulty, "is to stay in Washington, where I may be of some little service to the great man whom I am trying modestly to serve. To go into the Governorship fight would mean a severance of my relations with him at a time when I believe I can be of some real service here."

Yes, 'tis better so from every point of view.

Wisdom from General Wood

COMING as it does on the eve of the Secretary of War's departure to join the rest of our government now indefinitely established in France, General Wood's earnest protest against the shabby neglect and ill-treatment our war-worn soldiers from the front are receiving is not only timely but impressive to a degree.

Were it not that Exalted Quarters had set the fashion of relegating mere American affairs, however locally important, to the limbo of the negligible, it would seem that there is in this situation regarding the plight of our splendid soldiers, as presented with so much sympathetic force by General Wood, enough to engage, for a time at least, the entire attention of the Secretary whose department is so responsibly concerned. But presumably Mr. Baker's powerful intellect is so imperatively demanded in the solution of problems touching Humanity in the abstract, that these concrete matters of injustice to mere American soldiers is quite secondary and of minor importance with him.

No high-ranking officer of our army has ever better

understood the American soldier than does General Wood. He is now, and ever has been, fairly idolized by the men of his command. And no wonder. Not excepting Roosevelt himself, no officer has been in closer and more sympathetic touch with the men in the ranks than has General Wood. Their comfort and happiness have been his special care. Their troubles he has made his own troubles. Their wrongs rankle as deeply in his heart as they do in the hearts of the immediate sufferers themselves. It was not in a spirit of anger that General Wood spoke, in his recent address in the Pennsylvania Hotel, of the neglect and misfortunes which have befallen our soldiers in this era of their home-coming. It was rather in a spirit of indignant sorrow. He saw in it, moreover, a distinct danger. It is an undermining element which threatens that splendid spirit of patriotism which animated our men at the outset of the war and during those hideous days of carnage at the front when they carried our flag with a light-hearted courage and dash worthy of all that is best in American military traditions. It distressed General Wood, as it may well distress any patriotic American, to think that the reward the brave fellows were getting for their generous offering of their lives for their country was calculated to dishearten and even embitter them. General Wood's own words, all the more eloquent for the quiet, all but melancholy, tone of their utterance, tell the unpleasant story best:

The streets of your city, the streets of St. Louis, the streets of Kansas City, of Chicago, are full of men without places to sleep, without food, without occupation. They are wearing the uniform of our country, which is as sacred as our flag. They wear the chevrons of honorable service and of honorable discharge. It is not right that they should be treated as they are.

Now they are broken up, they are suffering shell shock, they are nervous, irascible, they are unreasonable many of them, but they are all soldiers. We sent them over with every form of encouragement. . . . They have done their part of it splendidly. They have died in large numbers. They fought with a courage which has put them on the level with the best in our country's history.

And now they are coming home. They are coming back from the battle to which we sent them with so much enthusiasm and we are not receiving them with that practical kind of interest which we should exercise. . . . These men are mostly beyond our control. They have taken their discharge. Some of them have wasted their money. Thousands of them have been drugged and robbed.

I found two men the other day on the steps of my headquarters in Chicago, each with an arm off, who had been drugged and robbed of everything they had. Now the men are standing and selling papers, also soliciting money in the uniform in which they fought your war and mine, because it was as much our war as the war of any other country.

Imagine the feeling of a man who still has in mind a photograph of the great heaps of men in the Argonne, coming home robbed, selling papers in the street! Do you know what that breeds? It breeds a spirit we do not want to see in this country. We must wake up all these big, sleeping organizations. We must organize to receive these fellows.

If you can send them home in the right way they will appreciate what you did, and in every home throughout this country you will have a centre of patriotic impulse. You will have men telling how their work was appreciated and you will be building up a real spirit of patriotism. If you don't do it you may create a feeling of discontent in many thousands of minds, which won't do us any good. They have done their work, let us do ours.

No comment on these words of General Wood is necessary. They carry their own comment. Elsewhere in his address he quoted from Colonel Roosevelt. It needed not that reminder to stir the imagination to a suggestion of the flaming words of wrath that the facts brought out by General Wood would have drawn from the splendid loyal soul of Roosevelt.

"Concurrence" in Michigan

MICHIGAN apparently is to lead the way in "concurrence"—or non-concurrence, as the case may turn out—in the matter of prohibition legislation. It will be the first State to vote on the subject since the adoption of the prohibition amendment to the national Constitution, which Congress and the States have "concurrent power" to enforce with appropriate legislation. Congress has of course not yet exercised that power, and we have heard of no State doing so. But on April 7 Michigan will vote on an amendment, or rather an amendment of an amendment, of the State Constitution calculated to exercise that power in a decidedly radical manner.

It should be recalled that in November, 1916, Michigan adopted a Constitutional amendment absolutely prohibiting the manufacture, sale or possession, save for a few specified purposes, of intoxicating liquors, including "vinous, malt, brewed, fermented" liquors; an amendment which went into force on May 1 last. Now there is pending an amendment making it forever lawful to import, make, possess and use "every kind of cider, wines, beer, ale and porter," upon which the people are to vote on April 7. There is much public interest in the campaign, and the extraordinary efforts which the "Drys" are making indicate their realization of the strength of the proposed amendment and their fear that it may be adopted.

There arises the intensely interesting and important question of the bearing of this amendment—if, as is quite probable, it shall be adopted—upon the national amendment and its prescription of "concurrent power." Obviously this amendment will be Michigan's exercise of that power; and, we may add, a most rational exercise thereof. It will be an even more impressive and authoritative exercise of it than a mere enactment by the Legislature would be, since it will be a direct mandate of the people of the State through universal referendum. Other States may, and doubtless will, take different action. We assume that some will enact laws for enforcing the national amendment *against* the beverages which Michigan may legalize. What then?

Congress either will or will not exercise its "concurrent power" of legislating for the enforcement of national prohibition. If it does not do so (there is no compulsion upon it), but leaves the whole matter to the States, the Michigan amendment will stand, and cider, wine and beer will be legal beverages in that State, while in other States they are prohibited; and we shall have the discreditable and demoralizing spectacle of a provision of the national constitution meaning one thing in one part of the country and an entirely different thing in another part of the same country. We can scarcely imagine anything more pernicious, or more threatening to the respect and stability of American institutions than that.

On the other hand, if Congress adopts the alternative and does enact laws of its own for the enforcement of the national prohibition amendment, what then? It is quite certain that they cannot coincide with the various and widely differing laws adopted by the States. If Michigan, for example, adopts this amendment and legalizes cider, wine and beer, and Kansas prohibits those beverages, the laws of Con-

gress cannot agree with both. If they agree with Kansas, they must disagree with Michigan. Then we shall have the edifying spectacle of Congress and Michigan exercising the "concurrent powers" provided by the Constitution, but doing so in an antagonistic and contradictory manner; and each will have the Constitution of the United States as authority for its action.

Obviously, both cannot prevail. Either the act of Congress must nullify the mandate of the people of Michigan, or the constitution of Michigan must nullify an act of Congress. In the former case, we should have Congress under a certain provision of the national Constitution forbidding the people of Michigan to do something which that same provision of the Constitution specifically empowered them to do. In the latter case, we should have an act of the national Congress valid in one State and invalid in another. We submit that neither of these conditions would be edifying or would be conducive of good government, respect for the Constitution and the laws, or the integrity of our national union. But with one of those conditions, thanks to the purblind fanaticism of those who "jammed through" the prohibition amendment, we are quite likely to be confronted through the result of next month's referendum in Michigan. It is to laugh—or weep.

Brother Ford is having his troubles, too, as witness the following correspondence which happens to come our way:

The Dearborn Publishing Company. February 21, 1919.
Gentlemen,—I am today in receipt of your Circular Letter of the 17th, soliciting subscription to the *Dearborn Independent*. In the second paragraph you say:

"It is in no sense a trade paper, but owes its establishment to Henry Ford's desire to serve the new freedom of the future, to strengthen the social conscience, and bring a new sense of brotherhood and interdependence among men."

Now, this listens all right to the ignorant and credulous, but inasmuch as the news coming in from France and Switzerland, giving account of the dastardly shooting of Premier Clemenceau, is a fine example of the fruitage of this "new freedom" of the Ford-Brisbane brand, I prefer to spend my money in publications that combat and suppress all such propaganda as your paper represents, and am glad of this opportunity to acquaint you of this fact.

The Ford-Brisbane combination, coupled with the I. W. W. of this country and the Bolsheviki of Russia, are largely responsible for the present disturbed conditions, and the brutality and crime connected therewith, throughout the civilized world.

Yours very truly,

ROBERT H. LANYON.

P.S.—Believing you are honest, though mistaken, I enclose one dollar with this understanding—if you will print this letter and send me a copy of the issue you print it in, you may retain the dollar for a year's subscription; otherwise, please return the money to me.

R. H. L.

THE DEARBORN PUBLISHING CO.
Dearborn, Mich., Feb. 25, 1919.

Mr. Robert H. Lanyon, Chicago, Ill.

Dear Sir,—Your letter of February 21st received enclosing \$1.00 for a year's subscription to the *Dearborn Independent* which is being returned herewith as we cannot accept same under the conditions mentioned in your letter.

Very truly yours,

THE DEARBORN PUBLISHING CO.
E. G. Liebold, General Manager.

Now that was a spicy letter from Mr. Lanyon. Brother Ford ought to have printed it and kept the dollar. He may need it some day.

Keeping the Record Straight

THE WEEKLY of February 2 announced that Provost General Crowder had been reprimanded by the Chief of Staff, General Peyton C. March, and recounted some of the remarkable circumstances surrounding that unprecedented action. The press made much of the announcement. On the day of publication a score of newspaper correspondents asked General March for his version of the affair, but he declined to comment. First he replied that he had not seen the article, and could hardly be expected to discuss that which he had not read; and this, of course, was reasonable. He was then presented with a copy of the issue containing the article, but he put it aside, saying that he would not reply to an unsigned charge. Perhaps he knew what he meant by this, but, frankly, we do not.

Strange as it may seem, the newspapermen then sought the truth from Secretary Baker. He was either unavailable or non-committal at the time. But later—on February 4, to be exact—Mr. Pew, Secretary Baker's official press agent, assembled the newspaper correspondents and gave them orally what purported to be a complete statement of the case. The substance of the Pew interview was sent broadcast by the press associations and special correspondents, and was printed throughout the country the next morning.

The following report is taken from the *Philadelphia Public Ledger* of February 5, and is almost identical with the accounts printed in other publications:

*Public Ledger Bureau,
Washington, February 4.*

Major General Enoch H. Crowder, provost marshal general, never was reprimanded by General Peyton C. March, chief of staff, nor Secretary of War Baker, and reports that such official action had been taken against the man who built the selective service army are based on misinformation arising from an unfortunate incident in the department, according to an authoritative statement made today at the War Department.

Meanwhile Congress had shown unusual interest in the case, and Representative McKenzie of Illinois introduced a resolution asking for the complete correspondence between Secretary Baker, General March, and General Crowder. The resolution was referred to the Committee on Military Affairs, and there it was pigeon-holed by the faithful Dent—whether through connivance with Secretary Baker or on his own volition we do not know. So long as there was any likelihood whatsoever that the Committee would report the resolution, and that the House would adopt it, we deemed it proper to await the result without further comment. Now, however, as a result of the official denial from the War Department, we have received a number of letters from friends—and others—urging that we make good the original statement, or render justice to the Secretary of War by retracting it altogether.

With these requests we cheerfully comply, not unmindful, however, of the fact that some one has deliberately sought to deceive the public (to use no stronger term). We quote the exact language used in the official bulletin sent to every member of the General Staff:

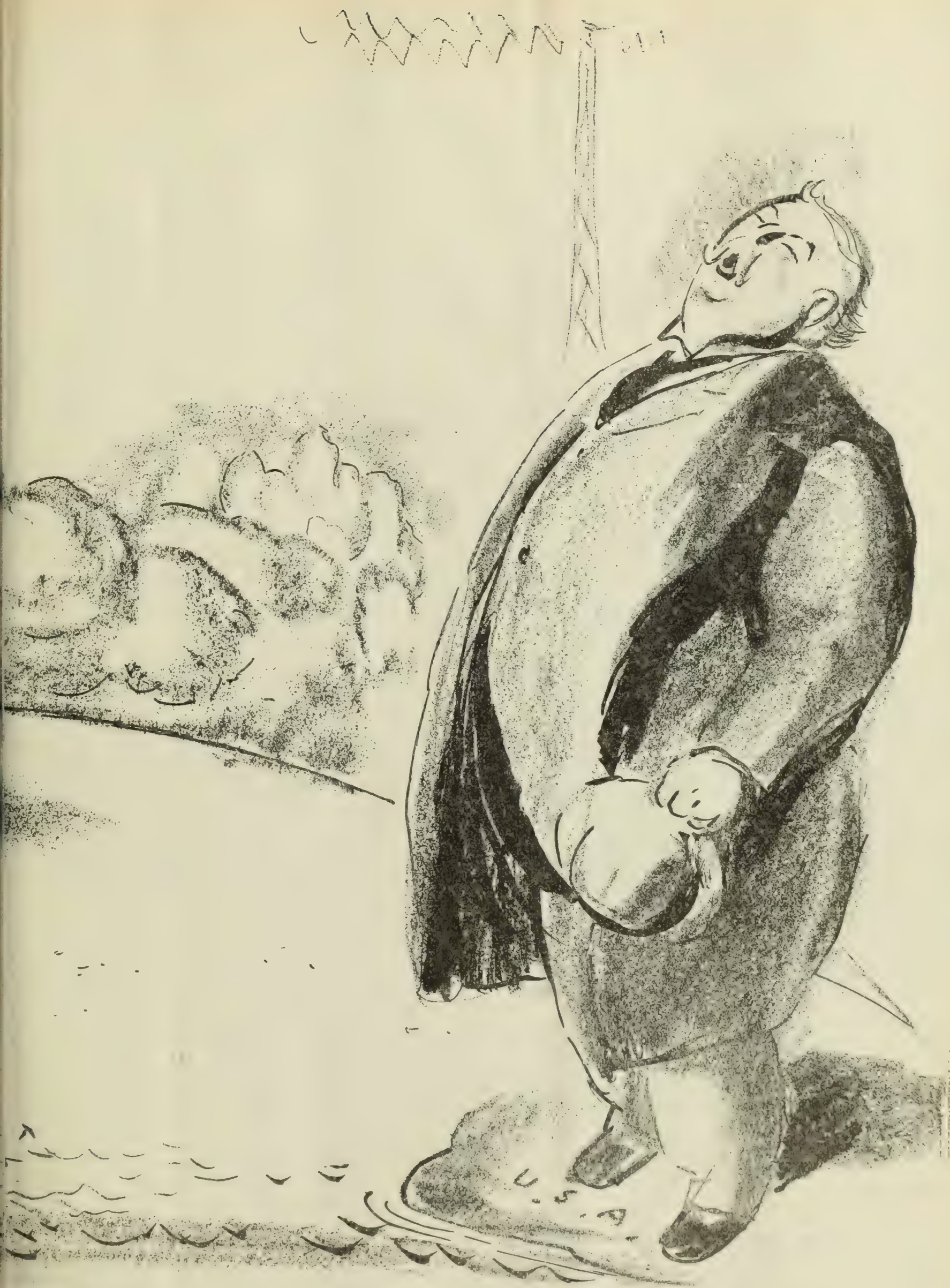
"THE CHIEF OF STAFF REPRIMANDS THE PROVOST
MARSHAL GENERAL

"The Chief of Staff reprimands the Provost Marshal General for having trespassed beyond his authority. He will revoke certain orders which he has issued and will issue none hereafter without authority from the Chief of Staff."



“Keep the Home Fires Burning”

WIRELESS



ARBLING

“Where is My Wandering Boy Tonight?”

The Week

WASHINGTON, March 13, 1919.

THE President, we are officially assured, has been enjoying an uneventful voyage, undisturbed by thoughts of revision of that marvelous Constitution of a League of Nations which he received, conveyed, or otherwise acquired from General Smuts, and, indeed, anticipating no fundamental alteration in that precious counsel of perfection. The ex-President, however, remaining on terra firma, is of a different opinion. After having, through some quite inexplicable obsession, been constrained to lend the authority of his statesmanship and the charm of his personality to the support of his successor's amazing vagaries, Mr. Taft has happily found himself again, with the result that he places himself in accord with those critics of the League whom he was recently condemning with a harshness incongruous with his kindly nature and judicial poise. He does not agree with the President's contention that, save for slight verbal rearrangement in a single passage, the Constitution of the League is insusceptible of improvement and must be adopted exactly as it stands under penalty of having the whole Peace Treaty defeated. Instead, he says:

Undoubtedly the covenant needs revision. It is not symmetrically arranged, its meaning has to be dug out, and the language is ponderous and in diplomatic patois.

That is a sweeping condemnation in general terms. But Mr. Taft is also specific. He tells us that there is in the Constitution no fixed and definite obligation upon the members to furnish any military forces to protect or uphold the covenants of the League. It is left to each nation to declare war or not, to send troops or not, in response to the call of the League. Now that—which we accept on Mr. Taft's word—may rid the thing of the objection of interfering with the Constitutional powers and functions of Congress in the matter of declaring war. But where does it leave the League, without power to enforce its decrees? In what way would such a League be better than, for example, the league formed at The Hague, which had precisely the same benevolent objects as this one, but—again like this one—no power to enforce them? And how long, we should like to know, would harmony prevail in the League if, when its Executive Council called upon the members to provide force for the fulfilment of its decrees, some of them refused to do so? We can imagine few things more surely designed to provoke ill-will, suspicion, and open strife.

The League Constitution needs radical revision in other respects, Mr. Taft further tells us. There should be a time-limit upon its obligations. Certainly there should be some provision for withdrawal at the will of a nation, unless we are to incur the peril of such a catastrophe as that which occurred when some States tried to withdraw from this Union. There should be explicit reservations made concerning the Monroe Doctrine, Mr. Taft not sharing the President's delusion that extension to all the world will be the best possible security for a doctrine whose essential principle is that it is not and must not be extended to all the world. Also, it should be made clear whether the Executive

Council, which is to have jurisdiction over "all international matters," must act solely by unanimous vote, or may act by a two-thirds or even a bare majority vote. That is a matter of much interest to us, since the Executive Council would have authority to order our immigration laws and tariff laws before an alien tribunal of arbitration. If a unanimous vote were needed, of course our one vote in the nine could block such reference. Otherwise there might be an eight-to-one mandate requiring us to open our doors to millions of undesirables and to abolish all protective tariffs.

The President complained the other day that the critics of his—and General Smuts's—scheme had offered no "constructive suggestions." But that was before Mr. Taft made the remarks which we have been quoting.

"The only clear, positive obligation of the members of the League," says Mr. Taft, "is to levy a boycott on the outlaw nation." The boycott has been widely regarded as an undesirable and, indeed, reprehensible method of compulsion, in industrial and social affairs, and we are not sure that it would be any more admirable in international politics. Nor have we any assurance that it would prove as effectual as some advocates seem to think. For example, this League is apparently to be formed at first without the Central Powers and Russia. Would a boycott declared by it against the latter combination be such a counsel of terror as would bring them instantly to their knees? We think not. Would a boycott have restrained Germany from war in 1914?

If we remember aright, such things have been tried before. The Holy Roman Empire had such a provision. An offending state was to suffer a boycott, and the emperor was to have all needed military power to enforce it; but we do not recall that the annals of that empire record unbroken domestic peace. We might also go back to the example of the Greek states, which were united in a League the members of which were pledged to stand together against any offending member. But Athens, Sparta and Thebes enjoyed no perpetual peace; and indeed the fall of Greece was the direct result of the intestine feuds generated and fomented by that very league.

A little while ago it was intimated that under the apportionment of "mandates," the United States would be required to take Turkey, Armenia and the Hedjaz under its tutelage, and now there is a demand that Albania and the Balkan problems generally shall be assigned to us. Wherever there is a knotty job that proves too much for the diplomacy of the other Powers, "Let George do it!"—America, of course, being "George." Years ago we saw a comedy in which a young man was continually being imposed upon by his companions, to foot all the bills and what not, under the rallying exhortation, "Oh, go on! Be the devil of a fellow!" But after a while he got tired and said to them, "Now, *you* be the devil of a fellow!"

The London *Globe* pertinently points out that the Peace Congress has acted so far as though the United States Senate did not exist, and as though the President, like the British

Prime Minister, could commit his country irrevocably to the League of Nations. Whatever the Peace Congress has done, that is undoubtedly the theory on which the President has acted, and which he has endeavored to impose upon his colleagues in Paris. If the Peace Congress is now unpleasantly undeceived, there can be no doubt as to the proper placing of the blame.

"When the German people have spokesmen whose word we can believe," said the President, "we shall be willing and glad to pay the full price for peace and pay it ungrudgingly." In response, Dr. Heinrich Albert is appointed by the German people's government as Under Secretary of State in charge of the Chancellery. He is the unchanged scoundrel who under a Red Cross mask was Bernstorff's financial agent in promoting strikes, fires, explosions and all manner of deviltry in the United States while we were yet a neutral nation. "A spokesman whose word we can believe"!

Now a big league of Coreans declares independence of Japan and asks the Peace Congress to listen to it and to make the Japs let Corea go. Let us hope that the matter will be settled before the President hornswoggles us into the Smuts-Wilson League of Nations, lest we be required by the League to send an army and navy thither to settle the dispute and then to take the Land of Morning calm—and Evening Ructions—under the mandatory wing of the American Eagle.

It is intimated that the United States will ask no indemnity from Germany for the expenses to which this country has been put because of the war, but will be content with reparation for the actual destruction of vessels and other property. This bill will amount to between \$700,000,000 and \$800,000,000, and as we have sequestered just about that value of German property in this country, the proposal is to "call it square." We are by no means convinced of the justice or the wisdom of that course. Why should we confiscate the property of certain German individuals and corporations to satisfy our claims against the German government or the German nation as a whole? And why should we, any more than any other nation, forego the right to demand indemnity for the wrongs inflicted upon us by Germany in compelling us to engage in a costly war? We do not say that we should insist upon the payment of such an indemnity before the others are paid. Indeed, if it were found that Germany had enough to pay only Belgium and France and Serbia, we should unhesitatingly say that they should be paid in full even if we got nothing at all. Their need is greater and their claim is stronger than ours. But we do insist that we should maintain the principle that a country which begins a war against its neighbors is to be held responsible for the costs to which they are put in providing for their self defence. We believe that universal insistence upon that principle would be one of the strongest deterrents against war. If ever any League of Nations is formed, that principle should be embodied in its constitution. Therefore, whether we are ever able to collect a cent of it or not, we would have this country prefer against Germany

a claim for reimbursement for every dollar of expense to which we have been put in the war on Germany's account, and have the validity of the claim approved, as it would be, by the Peace Congress.

Sir Josephus Daniels, it is explained, is going over to get tips from the British, French and Italian navy departments as to the best types of ships to build in that stupendous fleet with which the President purposes to scare England into disarmament, but which Congress has not yet authorized. We wonder to what extent European authorities will disclose their plans to a potential—indeed, a threatened—rival? Also, how long is it since Americans were able to design their own ships and to set examples for other nations of the world, instead of copying after them? So we can't help wondering if Sir Josephus isn't going over at least in part to see how it feels to rub elbows with other Sir Knights of high degree!

The Solicitor-General, arguing before the Supreme Court in defense of the governmental seizure of the cable lines, insisted that the President actually signed the proclamation to that effect on November 2, nine days before the making of the armistice, though the cables did not actually pass into the hands of the Politicalmaster-General until fourteen days later, or five days after the cessation of hostilities. Now, if, as he insisted, the cables "were taken over in reality" on November 2, but did not pass into the hands of Mr. Burleson until November 16, what was their status during the intervening fortnight? Something like that of Mohammed's coffin?

The organized workmen of Germany now waive their demand, so noisily made a little while ago, for the punishment of William Hohenzollern, Marshal Hindenburg, and General Ludendorff, and are quite willing to have those arch-criminals go unchanged. Yes; and they would all yell "Hoch! der Kaiser!" and welcome the Blond Beast back to his throne, if they were assured that he would be able to renew and to win the war.

Washington as the American seat of government becomes increasingly a mere tradition. There is no President here. There is no Congress in session. There is no Secretary of State. The Secretary without Portfolio, Colonel House, is absent. And now the Secretary of War and the Secretary of the Navy are going abroad. Why not send all the others, including the Supreme Court, and let Joe Tumulty run the whole show?

On his way westward the President sent a message in advance asking Congress not to say a word about his League of Nations until he got here. On his way eastward he sent a similar message to Colonel House and Secretary Lansing, asking them to say nothing until he got there.

. . . . I am Sir Oracle,
And when I open my lips, let no dog bark!

A Shipping Policy

CAN the wreckage of our Shipping Programme be salvaged and used successfully as the basis of a great American Merchant Marine?

The Chairman of the Shipping Board has announced that it can be done, but he has announced also, with commendable frankness, that he does not know how. To use his own words as quoted in the *Sun*, he "is drifting in search of a policy and hopes to drift right." That seems to be about all we can hope from that source for the present, at least, and we must say that it is less than satisfying.

Until the armistice was signed, the public generally accepted Mr. Hurley's promises that a great American Merchant Marine would inevitably result from the lavish expenditures made by the Shipping Board through the Emergency Fleet Corporation. It looked so simple, so natural, to turn the essential munition-carriers into the trade routes as profitable cargo carriers. There were the ships, there were the routes, there were the supplies; what could be easier than to get them together on a paying basis?

But in the cold gray dawn of the morning after the armistice, when the immutable laws of supply and demand began to supplant the abnormal conditions of war, the outlook changed considerably.

The same reasons that drove the American flag from the seas many years ago presented themselves as barriers to its return; these were, the cost of construction and the cost of navigation. They are far beyond similar costs to Europe or Asia. It would be impossible to compete in the ordinary trade routes with European or Asiatic bottoms, under any plan thus far proposed, without accepting a loss to the government in the form of a subsidy—no matter how thoroughly veiled that subsidy might be. It is fair to assume that the country would prefer any other method, whether the subsidy took the form of writing off the cost of construction, or of making direct allotments.

Three alternatives immediately present themselves: government operation; sale to private owners; and charter to individuals or corporations.

If experience is worth anything, it leads to the inevitable conclusion that government ownership would result merely in excessively high costs and extremely low efficiency. Every bottom would become a growing liability. Every voyage would add to the drain on the Treasury. The net result would be great loss; eventually, it would be compounded loss. In the end, the country would be without a merchant marine or anything to show for the ships except a deficit.

The second plan, that of selling to individuals or corporations, would entail a huge loss to the government, because the shipping market is in a bad condition to-day, and the attempt to make a wholesale transfer to competitors would drive the price to the bottom. Ships in numbers could only be sold at bargain prices, and the government would get the short end of the bargain. The immediate demands for bottoms cannot be estimated with a confidence justifying great expenditures, and the trade routes are so dislocated that many months must pass before traders will know in which direction their profits lie.

Virtually every objection made to direct sale lodges itself

against direct chartering in one form or another. No great number of ships could be guaranteed paying charters for an indefinite period under the conditions that may be ahead of us.

For the present, the most likely policy appears to be one akin to that pursued with great success by the British Government. This is no haphazard, hit-or-miss policy, but one established as a result of the incomparable experience of the great British Board of Trade. It amounts to a continuation of government ownership and general direction, coupled with private management. Such a policy would give to the government the benefit of the experience of the best shipping brains in the country. If they cannot make the ships pay, none can. With the details of the plan there need be no great concern for the present. The principles are extremely simple.

If such a policy were adopted, our government would merely establish a competitive system of turning the bare ships over to private management to be navigated on specified routes. The charterer would pay a flat rate on the bottom plus a percentage on the cargo carried, and in addition (this is absolutely essential) a bonus on all the freight handled by him, plus a minimum required as the consideration for his acceptance of the charter.

If such a charter, plus a bonus system, were adopted, it would give the greatest conceivable incentive for efficiency. It would mean that men might enter and continue in the shipping business assured that they could profit to the very best of their ability.

Such a policy would lend the needed incentive for the exercise of our much-vaunted American driving force; and every ounce of that national trait will be required to make the quick turnover which is the only hope we have of overcoming our economic handicap on the high seas.

The United States Government has ordered that life masks be made of all the members of the American commission to the Peace Conference—*Paris dispatch to the A. P.*

Now we know why \$5,000,000 was required from Congress for expenses. We speak for B. M. Baruch's.

Our Gas Service

SIR,—Your ability to unearth facts and your courage in stating them leads me to suggest to you that there is a strange dearth of information regarding the use of gas by our armies during the war. There is quite a propaganda of a general character explaining what wonderful gases we had up our sleeve and what we intended to do had the war continued until this spring. I have a nephew who was seriously gassed and who is still confined in a hospital in France by reason thereof, and consequently I am much interested, as I do not doubt many others of your readers are, in knowing the real facts as to whether, while our boys were being destroyed by the use of enemy gases, we were returning punishment in kind, or whether this whole gas matter was another fiasco.

Chicago, Ill.

JOHN C. EVERETT.

Mr. Everett's questions are best answered by a simple recital of the facts. When we entered the war the United States had no gas service. Secretary Baker had been too horrified by the results of the use of gas to consider the pleadings of those hard-headed officers who suggested plans for combating it in kind. America's pioneer divisions were sent to France without gas or gas shells.

During the first fourteen months of the war—from April,

1917, to June, 1918—our War Department supplied virtually no gas shells and only a negligible amount of gas, while the American forces drained the French and British factories. As with most other matters under departmental control at that period, lack of direction, decision, and organization, coupled with diversified control, nullified the efforts of men and bureaus who were working at cross purposes, and brought forth only confusion and chaos. These deplorable conditions were repeatedly exposed in the WEEKLY last year.

The Department of Ordnance, the Artillery, the Bureau of Mines, and the Bureau of Chemistry all worked at random to meet the suffocating Hun menace. Every few days during that period, reports were circulated to the effect that we had developed the most deadly fumes imaginable, which would wipe out the entire German Army, etc., etc. But they never materialized.

Finally, on May 11, 1918, six months to a day before fighting stopped, the Gas Service, commonly called the "Gas and Flame Service," was organized, with Major William L. Sibert at its head, and under his able direction the service made a brilliant record during its short life. He amalgamated conflicting agencies, established a central organization, and shipped gas in quantity to France within a remarkably short length of time. Thirty days after he took charge, fifteen tons of mustard, fifty tons of fosgene, and 700 tons of chloropicrine gas were shipped overseas.

Meanwhile the Ordnance Department had failed to furnish the necessary shells, and France, as a result of having supplied our divisions, had exhausted her stock. During the second month of General Sibert's administration, 200 tons of mustard gas were shipped to England and loaded into shells originally ordered for the Czar's Government. In all, 3,662 tons of American gas of various kinds was shipped and loaded into 1,600,000 shells; 1,000,000 75 mms., and 600,000 155 mms. So far as we have been able to ascertain, 7,500 shells supplied by our own Ordnance Department were loaded and shipped to France in August. This, we believe, represents the first shipment of strictly American-made gas shells. Whether they were ever delivered at the front or fired at the Germans is an unanswered question.

In addition to the munitions enumerated above, the Gas Service manufactured and shipped overseas 20,000 live drums filled with 275 tons of phosgene. A large percentage of these drums were exploded over German trenches.

This, then, is the record. General Sibert did his work, and did it well, after the snail-like War Department had given him the necessary power.

From the Philadelphia *North American*:

(1) Even Colonel Harvey slipped a cog a few months ago and planted a seed apparently for Mr. Hughes for 1920.

(2) I believe Will Hays, seconded by *The North American* and Colonel Harvey, will dig up a man fit to follow him who has left us rudderless.

C. G. FISHER.

Collingdale, Pa., Feb. 3.

(1) We did not. Mr. Hughes is not and will not become a candidate.

(2) Count us out. Never again!

A Master Gun-Maker

THE other day an inconspicuous news paragraph announced that Colonel John T. Thompson, Brigadier General, National Army, had been awarded the Distinguished Service Medal. We have had occasion so frequently to comment on the valuable services rendered by this officer, that we took the trouble to get a copy of the General Order under which the honor was conferred. It is as follows:

By direction of the President, under the provisions of the Act of Congress approved July 9, 1918, the Distinguished Service Medal is awarded, for exceptionally meritorious and conspicuous service, to the following named officer:

Colonel John T. Thompson, U. S. Army, for exceptionally meritorious and conspicuous service as Chief of the Small Arms Division of the Office of the Chief of Ordnance, in which capacity he was charged with the design and production of all small arms and ammunition thereby supplied to the U. S. Army, which results he achieved with such signal success that serviceable rifles and ample ammunition therefor were at all times available for all troops ready to receive and use them.

In these days of personal exploitation and self-advertising, it is indeed gratifying to find honest merit and sterling patriotism rewarded without benefit of political preference. From the day that the United States entered the war, Colonel Thompson was one of the few Division Chiefs at Washington who had his work well in hand, and who never failed to respond when called upon. An expert ordnance officer by virtue of years of study and unremitting labor, he had developed or contributed greatly to the development of America's best small arms—the Springfield rifle and the peerless 45 automatic, which played such havoc in the trenches.

When the crisis came in April, 1917, self-constituted critics, who knew nothing of the foundation laid by Colonel Thompson and his associates, alarmed the public with reports that we would never be able to supply our men with small arms. Calamity howlers made charges as numerous as they were absurd. Every aggrieved inventor and crank in the country helped to swell the chorus, assuring all who would listen that we would have had rifles and revolvers enough and to spare if the complainant's advise or his invention had been accepted. Congress took seriously a great deal of this nonsense, and loose charges were made and believed in the Senate and House and in their committee-rooms.

Throughout this period, Colonel Thompson was never heard from. He gave no heed to the allegations. Silently he worked, paying no more attention to the hysteria than to the calumnies. He knew his job, and was on it. When the new armies called for rifles, he supplied them by the millions.

His division made a record unequalled in history. The reward he has now received merely confirms the judgment of the British and French Commissioners that the services rendered by Colonel Thompson were absolutely invaluable to the Allied cause.

We congratulate the master gun-maker, and we congratulate the Board of Award at the War Department for having recommended the medal.

Mr. Arthur Durham writes to the editor of the *World* expressing "deep sympathy with your great paper in its strong and able advocacy" of the League of Nations—a kindly and thoughtful message in which we would participate.

To Marse Henry

ONE OF HUNDREDS OF GREETINGS TO MR. WATTERSON
UPON THE BEGINNING OF HIS MEMOIRS

(From the Louisville Courier-Journal.)

LET me see. It was on February 21, 1848, when sturdy old John Quincy Adams attempted to rise from his chair in the House of Representatives, suddenly quivered, grasped feebly and ineffectually at his desk and fell dying to the floor. "Stop, stop," a member shouted to the Speaker, who had just risen to put a question, "Mr. Adams!" Several members and clerks leaped from their chairs and rushed to the assistance of the stricken statesman. Among the first to reach him was the youngest and probably the most agile page on the floor. He was the son of the Hon. Harvey Watterson—I think it was Harvey; it ought to have been—and the lad's given name was Henry.

I say his father's name ought to have been and, of course, was that designated because "Marse Henry," as later he came to be and still is most generally called, and myself were born on the same day—that is to say, on the same day of the same month—February 16. There was a slight disparity in years, it is true, and for quite awhile he exercised to the full his prerogative, as the older, of lording it over me, but I kept creeping up on him, finally overhauled him and passed him, I should say, about the time Woodrow Wilson was nominated for President. He then became the younger of the two and has persisted so successfully in widening the gap that the disparity noted in ages mental and spiritual is now just about the same, in reverse order, as when, so far as I was concerned, the world began.

But what a span is that—from John Quincy Adams to whoever shall be occupying the White House when Marse Henry joins the rest of us in Abraham's bosom. And what an accumulation of things political he will have to spread before our greedy minds, now that he has really begun his vivid recital. If I am not mistaken—and I seldom am about Presidents—he once confessed to me that, since John Quincy, he had "broken bread" with all of our Chief Magistrates but two, although possibly that being some time ago, the number might now have to be increased to three. That is a record probably never equaled in the history of the Republic. Consider! There were Jackson, Van Buren, the first Harrison, Tyler, Polk, Taylor, Fillmore, Pierce, Buchanan, Lincoln, Johnson, Grant, Hayes, Garfield, Arthur, Cleveland, the second Harrison, McKinley, Roosevelt and Taft. I wonder who were the missing two. It seems to me that Frank Pierce was one; if so the loss was endurable. The other may have been Benjamin Harrison; but I am not sure. Doubtless he will inform us through Mr. Lorimer's paper, established by Benj. Franklin.

One thing I hope Marse Henry will do in the course of his remarks now to be printed. I hope he will tell us what he thinks he really is. What he says will be honest; it is always that; but it won't be so; there never yet was a great tenor who did not believe he was really a great baritone, and vice versa. And Marse Henry is such a variety! He may think that primarily and most distinctively he is an orator or a singer or an artist, or a composer or a novelist or a litterateur or a raconteur or a statesman or a philosopher or a politician or an actor or the Lord knows what all. And he is, too, each and every one of high and exquisite degree. But that is simply because what he really is comprises all these.

Marse Henry is nothing more nor less than a journalist. Think of it! He was an editorial writer—not a mere boy reporter, mind you, but an *editorial writer*—in 1858, sixty-one years ago, and has been at it ever since, although still waiting to cross the fourscore line. But what is a journalist? Like nearly everybody else, I have certain views of my own, but as Marse Henry himself has been heard to remark while engaged in a less godly pursuit, "I pass" that now; the variations are too many. Rather let me present a single phase as sketched by one who knew:

"Whenever, in the newspaper profession, a man rises up who is original, strong, and bold enough to make his opinions a matter of consequence to the public, there will be personal journalism; and whenever newspapers are conducted only by commonplace individuals whose views are of no consequence to anybody, there will be nothing but impersonal journalism. And this is the essence of the whole question."

This was the judgment, uttered with the unerring dexterity and rare succinctness which invariably distinguished his expression, of Charles A. Dana. It fits Marse Henry to a T. It fits nobody else now living. So may it not suffice the present purpose of extending a simple greeting, to place Mr. Watterson upon his own unique eminence as the last great personal journalist of his time and the best great personal friend of all who know and love him?

Of all the decorations conferred by France upon Americans none was more worthily bestowed than that which came with such grace and distinction through M. de Billy to Mr. Frank A. Munsey. We doubt, moreover, if any other has won to so great a degree the gratitude of our own soldiers, to whom the *Sun* and its readers sent more than half a million dollars' worth of cigarettes. Even so, the splendid service which Mr. Munsey is now rendering his country in leading the fight in New York against denationalization is far and away the most effective and most valuable ever contributed by himself or the *Sun* to a great and noble cause.

It is good to hear that so capable a citizen as Mr. Henry A. Wise Wood is forming a League for the Preservation of American Independence. The Internationalists have a barrel of money and are spending it like water in hiring speakers and trying to bribe papers with advertising. Those who recognize the need of combating such methods by paying the legitimate expenses incident to a nation-wide campaign for Americanism should communicate with Mr. Wood at No. 1 Madison avenue, New York City.

"I may add," says Dr. Albert Bushnell Hart with an air of authority, "that were Washington alive today he would be the first to repudiate his former conclusions and step into pace with the times." Maybe so; but what we should like to know is whether Moses would chuck the Ten Commandments and follow in the footsteps of the ex-Rev. George D. Herron, let us say. Any equally trustworthy information upon this point which undoubtedly Dr. Hart possesses will be gladly received if postage is prepaid.

The esteemed *World* twits the *Tribune* for failing to discuss the Pennsylvania special election. The *World*, without waiting for information, immediately gave vent to a partisan exultation. The *Tribune* preferred to ascertain the facts first.—*The Tribune*.

Quite so. And yet it is a fair guess that, if the election had gone the other way, the *Tribune* would have been the first to have given vent and the *World* the one to wait scrupulously to ascertain the facts.

It is but just to record at this time that the House of Representatives never had a fairer, squarer Speaker than Champ Clark and that all of the members, without exception, over whose proceedings he has presided longer than any of his predecessors, gladly attest the fact.

We have received many letters asking if wine was served at that White House dinner. It was not. A glass of White Rock. But there were some good ten-cent cigars.

Secretary of Commerce Redfield will urge support of the League of Nations on a speaking tour through the Middle West.
—A. P. Dispatch.

This is the best news we've had in weeks.

DANIELS AND BAKER WILL GO TO EUROPE.—*Sun headline*.
All right, all right!

A Washington Monument For France

SOME RESPONSES FROM NEWSPAPERS AND READERS TO OUR SUGGESTION OF A MEMORIAL TO OUR SOLDIER DEAD

A WAR SHAFT FOR FRANCE

(From the Rocky Mountain News)

We beg leave to call attention of our readers to an original and timely proposal contained in the issue of last week of HARVEY'S WEEKLY.

"What more fitting memorial to the gallant sons of America who fought and died abroad could be devised than an exact reproduction of the Washington monument," the editor writes, "to be erected through voluntary contributions by our whole people, upon the famous battlefield in France?"

The moment the suggestion is read there will be but one opinion, we think, from the general reader, that it is a most fitting idea typifying the spirit that sent us to France. It would doubtless be acceptable to France, and from the esthetic or artistic viewpoint nothing better could be desired. "The Washington Monument," as Mr. Harvey proceeds, "is our great, distinctive National creation. It is, moreover, our most notable work of art and it is unique. It typifies in its splendid simplicity the rugged and enduring spirit of America. It stands specifically as a testimonial to the grandeur of character of the Father of the Republic who put aside the proffered crown. It is a constant reminder of the undying gratitude of America to France and of the freshly stirred appreciation by France of the service now rendered in return by America. Its replica rising high from the historic ground where the blood of the Sons of the Sister Republics mingled in the death struggle for freedom and civilization, would strengthen the ever-living ties that binds securely the two great liberty-loving peoples and would be for all time an inspiration to both. It would be for Americans the load-stone of Europe, drawing them in millions to contemplate with pride their own magnificent tribute to their own honored dead and to deepen in their hearts their love of their own country."

No question but that France, through its government and its people, would co-operate to carry out the idea. The estimated cost is given at three million dollars. There should be no delay in raising that amount when the plan is rightly before the American public.

And if Denver lawyers would cease their quarrels in time, we know where the marble for the monument could be had—from the same quarry that was used to such excellent effect in the construction of the Lincoln Memorial at Washington.

A MEMORIAL IN FRANCE

(From the Iowa City Citizen)

It is evident that the American people will not allow this period to pass without devising a suitable memorial for the men who fought and died for the cause of democracy in the great war. In the main the suggestions that have been made deal with the proper kind of memorials, local, state and national, in this country. HARVEY'S WEEKLY makes an important suggestion on a different line. Colonel Harvey would have a replica of the Washington Monument erected upon the famous battlefield in France, as a memorial to the American soldiers who died there and elsewhere in that great struggle.

Colonel Harvey appeals to the newspapers and public men of the country to discuss this proposition, indicating that while HARVEY'S WEEKLY may give it a start it is beyond the power of that publication to do much more than that in carrying it out. An awakened public opinion, however, could secure results in a comparatively short time. He has an estimate from army engineers that the total cost of such a monument, in marble corresponding to that of the original at Washington, would not exceed \$3,000,000. In other words, 3,000,000 contributions of \$1 each would pay the bill.

There is something attractive about the idea of popular subscription for this proposition. Doubtless there are a number of wealthy men in this country whose sons have died in battle who would be willing to finance the whole project, but that would not be in the same sense a freewill offering of the whole people.

The Citizen believes that the suggestion of HARVEY'S WEEKLY is one worthy of the enthusiastic reception by the American people and will be glad to assist as far as possible in its own field if such an enterprise is undertaken.

AN INSPIRATION FOR THE FUTURE

Mr. Harvey's suggestion is well worthy of consideration. Such a monument erected by the free-will offering of the American people would be an everlasting tribute to the heroism and valor of their sons. It would be an inspiration for future generations

and a constant reminder of America's great sacrifice in saving the world.—*The Chelsea (Mass.) Gazette.*

"THE SECOND LANDING OF THE PILGRIMS"

SIR,—Referring to your article of February 22, "A Washington Monument for France," no other monument, no other testimonial, can have the significance that a monument such as you propose would have, and it should be a Washington Monument; for Washington, as no other individual, living or dead, symbolizes the birth of free government.

It was the achievement of Washington and what he stood for that made our soldiers in France possible.

Lincoln was the great commoner, and marks the high point of production of a Democracy which Washington symbolizes.

A Washington Monument in France means, as Rudyard Kipling has so aptly put it, the second landing of the Pilgrims, and such a monument would stand as a silent warning to all nations of the mighty power which stood back of the monument's creation.

In our enthusiasm for individuals we are often prone to consider their achievements, rather than the principle and epoch which they represent.

Let us hope that this monument will be erected and that it will not take so long in completion as the original.

W. D. McKINNEY,

Columbus, Ohio.

"THE BEST SUGGESTION"

SIR,—Referring to "a Washington Monument for France," as proposed in your WEEKLY of February 22d, the writer believes it to be the best suggestion offered, and one that, in his opinion, should be carried out.

I would like to suggest that you organize to handle the funds, and that contributions be made to you direct. Under the circumstances, I will be very glad to contribute \$100 to the cause, and at the same time extend my congratulations to you for the thought, and will appreciate the opportunity to contribute.

It is the consensus of opinion among my friends that no publication on national subjects has ever been so welcome as your WEEKLY.

F. A. PALEN,

Washington, D. C.

"HEARTIEST APPROVAL"

SIR,—As to your suggestion for a reproduction of the Washington Monument on one of the battlefields of France, I wish to register my heartiest approval.

No more fitting memorial to America's dead could be erected. With modern construction equipment it could, however, easily be built 200 feet higher, and with this added height it would be visible from far greater distances. It should be erected on one of the memorable hills of the Marne, where the American boys first turned the Hunnish tide and sent it back, never to return.

The writer will take pleasure in subscribing his share as soon as your project takes tangible shape. So will millions of other Americans.

PETER DAM.

Washington, D. C.

FOR ALL LOVERS OF LIBERTY

SIR,—A thousand thanks for the editorial in regard to the Washington Monument in France. It is a grand idea, worthy of your splendid Americanism.

I am one to subscribe and will cheerfully aid to secure others.

Let it be erected on the modern "Thames City"—the Marne, or Chateau Thierry—let it be a second Mount Vernon, where all lovers of liberty can pay their devotion. Why can't HARVEY'S WEEKLY appoint a special committee?

Washington, D. C.

SIMON WOLF.

FROM THE ADJUTANT-GENERAL OF WYOMING

SIR,—I deem the proposition to erect a duplicate of the Washington Monument in France in memory of our dead soldiers as the most sensible proposition put forth.

I have no doubt each of the 3,000,000 soldiers would be willing to contribute \$1.00 as you suggest. I have, or had, five sons in the service—one is now dead; but I will promise not only \$1.00, but if necessary \$10.00 for each of the five boys living or dead.

W. K. WEAVER,

(Adjutant General).

Cheyenne, Wyoming.

Letters From Our Readers

A FRIEND IN KLAMATH FALLS

SIR,—These are "parlous times," as you or Marse Henry Watterson or some other sage has said, and an old-line Kentucky Democrat as I claim to be knows not whither to go for "Democracy Unterrified and Undeified," or for those "true gospels" as he has learned them in Holy Writ, Biblical and Democratic," since that Grand Old Kentuckian has ceased to thunder forth his sound ideas and good-natured railery at those foolish enough to try to argue with him.

So I have turned in desperation to you, upon whom he has more than once set the stamp of approval, and whom I have come to appreciate for your own intrinsic worth through the pages of HARVEY'S WEEKLY and THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW. You, too, I believe, are "grateful ever for the approval and appreciation of the judicious," but "heartily enjoy the abuse of the groundlings, the ignorant, the intolerant, the bumptious, and the corrupt," and like to "flash your light upon a rogue, to see him jump and to hear him squeal."

So let the good work go on! We have all too little of it in this golden age of the time-serving, place-hunting politician; this age of fads and fancies and ill-considered new fangled ideas; this age of such wide general reading and such little thoughtful reading.

Hoping that all your readers will try and spread your good influence as I will try and do, I am,

W. M. DUNCAN.

Klamath Falls, Oregon.

TIME FOR ACTION

SIR,—The President has repeatedly stated that the war is really over, but he and his Cabinet have nevertheless continued to act under laws which were to be operative only during the war. The seizures of the cables, the telegraph lines, and the telephone lines, are clearly usurpations of power and impeachable offences, but our Federal Constitution unfortunately contains no provision by which Congress can assemble of its own will prior to next December, so that for nine months the Executive can continue his present usurpations and even undertake new ones without fear of impeachment. Surely our Constitution ought to be amended so that Congress may be able to meet without a summons from the President. The Legislative Department of the Government can hardly be considered independent under present conditions.

The only hope remaining is an appeal to the Supreme Court of the United States for a mandamus to compel the President to give up the control of the public utilities, which he has seized without real lawful authority. Why do not the Postal Telegraph and Cable Company take such action? If our courts are the Palladiums of our rights, as has been claimed, now, if ever, is the time for recourse to them.

D. P. FACKLER.

New York City.

ENOUGH SAID

Sir,—“May I not” ask you through your WEEKLY to explain to the people of “small vision” the masterly and constructive speech of President Wilson the other night at the Metropolitan Opera House? Won't you make it clear to them that changing the Constitution of the United States, giving up our sovereignty, Monroe Doctrine, immigration, entangling alliances, etc., etc., is a very small price to pay when you consider that those old women held up flowers to him while driving through the French country roads? Won't you explain to them how quickly (only three years) he saw the importance of the “Nations of the World” “Drawing together” to protect themselves from the “Outlaw Nation,” at the same time admonishing his doting subjects “To be neutral even in their thoughts,” and that we must have “Peace without victory”? Do, my dear sir, as only you can, show these people of small vision how dense they are.

BEVERLEY ROBINSON.

New York City.

AGONIES ON THE “CONGRESSIONAL”

SIR,—Last night I bumped my way, via the Government controlled Congressional Limited, from New York to Washington. Sleeping cars !?!—suffering shades of bygone comforts!—what a misnomer!

During my seven or eight months of destroyer service in foreign waters I have rolled and pitched about 'midst howling gales, but our little boat was luxurious in comparison with the bucking broncho tactics of the Congressional Limited.

Have you any dope as to when the Administration novices are to return the railroads to their former efficient management?

I am now endeavoring to pull myself together long enough to get to the hospital, where my wounds may be dressed and my bruised body massaged.

If I do not recover, please notify the R. R. Administration that roses are my favorite flowers.

GEORGE R. HANN.

New York City.

CONGRESS CAN CONVENE

SIR,—Replying to your query. I believe that Congress has inherent power to convene whenever the country needs its legislation. The Constitution provides that the President may call a special Congress, and that is a wise provision, but I do not believe that that is the only way in which Congress can specially convene. Congress is co-equal in authority with the Executive, and it is inconceivable that the Executive should have the determination as to when Congress shall function. The Executive apparently has unlimited authority to come and go and do about as he pleases; surely Congress must have the inherent right to get together and attend to business that is most urgent.

CHAS. B. HOBBS.

New York City.

“VICIOUS HONORS”

SIR,—The illustration of America's shame on the cover of THE WEEKLY for March 1st, and the illustration of other American citizens bowing their knees to any sovereign, not rising until bidden as “Sir” James Gerard and “Sir” J. Pershing, gives rise to the question, “Is there no provision in law to prohibit such disgraceful conduct on the part of members of the greatest republic in the world?”

We wonder what title may be asked or be conferred upon America's President by a foreign potentate, if no law exists to interfere with the acceptance of these vicious honors?

Thousands of real Americans would support you in an educational campaign to stand for American rights.

A. J. MOORE.

Minneapolis, Minn.

“QUICKENERS”

SIR,—I wish to add my little word of appreciation of HARVEY'S WEEKLY. It is very refreshing to read something that smacks of virility and intellectual snap in these days of big volume and little content in what we are privileged to read in the ordinary journal. Your WEEKLY contains in every issue quickeners for the circulation of the blood in the arteries of old-timers like myself. It is not my way to follow anything or any man blindly or to agree unconditionally with anyone on any subject; but I can unqualifiedly accept the proposition that the country is sadly in need of many more courageous and vigorous minds in the editorial chair, who can and will hand down opinion and comment on things that are doing or threatened to be done in times such as we are now confronted with. With best wishes,

D. FRANK PEFFLEY.

Creston, Wash.

FROM EX-GOVERNOR OSBORN

Sir,—I just want to be *one more* admirer to tell you what a carnivorous Americanism has been during the war and also since.

Also I wished to beg a copy of a speech you recently barraged on the “League of Nations” before some New York organizations. I have heard it supremely praised, but have not seen it. Where, please, can I procure a copy?

Here's to your haemoglobin!

CHAS. S. OSBORN.

Sault de Sainte Marie, Michigan.

GRATITUDE

Sir,—In my humble opinion—which, by the way, I know is not worth a tinker's dam to Mr. George Harvey or Mr. Anybody else for that matter—HARVEY'S WEEKLY is great stuff. I can't quite agree every time, but I admire the courage of your convictions, and the expression of these convictions makes me think. I am grateful, therefore, for one new wrinkle added to the gray matter that is supposed to occupy the uppermost cavity of the terrestrial dwelling-place of my soul—and for one God-given man who is unafraid.

Thank you, Mr. Harvey.

M. N. CULLUM.

New York City.

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America Accepts the Challenge

AMERICA accepts the challenge. The President would have it so. Again and again, with patriotic patience and persistence, for the last six months, the American people and their chosen representatives have pleaded, argued, remonstrated with him for a more reasonable and, if it must be said, a more upright course. They have asked the President to be frank with them, to disclose to them the plans which he purposes to ask the nations of the world to accept in their name, and to let them consider those plans. They have asked him to listen to their respectful and constructive comments upon them, and to take counsel with them for their perfection in accordance with the principles upon which our government was founded, with the vital welfare of this nation and indeed of all the world, and above all with the sovereign will of the American people,—to which in the last analysis even the occupant of "the Real Throne of Administration" must be as subject as the humblest private citizen.

All has been in vain. Wrapped in the impregnable arrogance of over-weening egotism, the President has refused to take counsel with the people. He has scorned with personal contumely the advice of those whom the supreme law of the land constitutes his official advisers. Apparently relying upon the pernicious machinations of official control of the means of communication, to prevent the truth from being known in Europe until it is too late for such knowledge to thwart his sinister designs, he has to an astounding degree misrepresented the sentiment, wishes, and intentions of the United States and his own relation thereto. Ignoring even the plainly expressed wishes and will of his European colleagues, he has similarly misrepresented them to his own countrymen. It would be difficult to find in all the literature of high official communications two more misleading statements than his announcement to the people of Europe that the American people strongly supported his Constitution for the League of Nations,—made immediately after a singularly impressive demonstration to the contrary,—and his report to the people of America that there was

no basis whatever for reports that a change was contemplated in the decision to put the League Constitution in the Treaty of Peace—made without the advice or even the knowledge of his colleagues in the Supreme Council who have the majority voice in all such determinations, and who have, as a matter of fact, been favorably considering precisely such a change of programme as that which he denies.

Worst of all, in practical purport, he has declared that there must be no modification whatever of his precious Constitution, save some minor rearrangements which he himself will indicate, and that the thing just as it is will be so interwoven with the Treaty of Peace with Germany that both must be accepted or rejected together. We must abrogate the Constitution of the United States in favor of the Constitution of the League of Nations, or remain at war with Germany. We must denationalize America in favor of internationalism, or peace shall not come to the world.

Very well. The alternative will if necessary be accepted, repugnant as it is. The spirit of American patriotism was voiced the other day by Senator Brandegee in his telegram to the Editor of the *New York Sun*, in which he uttered this ringing challenge:

If the President submits the proposed League of Nations plan in anything like its present form, so linked with any treaty that the two cannot be separated by amendment in the Senate, then I shall unhesitatingly vote to reject both treaties. I shall never be imposed upon by such an apparent trick; I shall never be intimidated by such an outrageous attempt at coercion. If the President can make the Allies believe that a just peace can be more quickly obtained by that course of procedure, both he and they ought to have timely warning that they are sadly mistaken. "He shall not pass."

We believe that a majority of the United States Senate will agree with Mr. Brandegee and will pursue the same course that he has prescribed for himself, and that an overwhelming majority of the American people will support them in so doing. This nation is weary of war. It passionately desires peace. But it still has enough of the spirit of Patrick Henry to refuse any peace which must "be purchased at the price of chains and slavery," whether it be the slavery of a Holy Alliance, of a Hunnish Kaiser, or of

a hybrid League of Nations. It did not hesitate two years ago to accept the dread alternative of war, rather than to submit to the arrogance of the autocrat of Potsdam. It will not hesitate, if the wicked choice be forced upon it, to accept the repellant alternative of a continued state of war, rather than to denationalize itself at the bidding of a peripatetic autocrat.

The winning battle-cry of the war was "Unconditional surrender!" The President himself has given us the winning battle-cry in the controversy which he seems resolved to force upon us. God knows this nation has been willing and eager to take counsel with and to coöperate with its President. But if he will not take counsel with it, if he will not listen to the judgment and the will of the people who made him President, to be not their Kaiser but their Chief Executive, then the issue must be joined. If he will not meet them on the ground of reason, harmony, and mutual confidence, then he must meet them, soon or late, upon the ground of victory for them and of humiliating defeat for him. It will be "No compromise! No surrender!"

The Misinforming of Europe

THE misinformation of Europe concerning American sentiment, particularly in relation to the League of Nations, to which we referred last week, has been taken up by Mr. André Cheradame in a manner which we should not think it would be possible for those whom it concerns to ignore. Mr. Cheradame, who is an eminently well-informed, thoughtful and authoritative writer, explicitly declares that there is reason to believe that a censorship over news exists somewhere between America and France, so that neither country is permitted to know the entire truth concerning the other. Here are some of the facts which he cites in support of this belief:

At the end of last year—that is to say, after the American Politicalmaster-General arbitrarily took possession of all means of telegraphic communication between America and Europe, for reasons which he declared to be most urgent but which he never disclosed—French newspapers published violent criticisms of the President's sacrosanct Fourteen Commandments. Mr. Cheradame was in America at that time, but he saw none of those criticisms reproduced in the American press, not even in those papers which, because of their opposition to some of the Commandments, would doubtless have been glad to reflect French views on the subject. The American public was thus kept in ignorance of French opposition to the President's plans, and thus was made to suppose that the Commandments were meeting with universal approval.

Again, last month the *Echo de Paris* published a cable dispatch from this country concerning the vote on the Naval Appropriation bill with this note appended: "Twenty-five lines suppressed:" and later explained to its readers that all comments on the President's policy and expressions of American opinion were subjected to the censorship "aided by two American experts," with the result that France was "led to believe the policy of Wilson was that of all America." Once more, as late as March 5 another dispatch from Washington to the *Echo de Paris*, relating to the opposition to the

President's policies and the demands of Congressional leaders for the calling of a special session, was mutilated and partly suppressed by the censor.

In view of these facts Mr. Cheradame with good reason inquires at whose instance "this unbelievable and inadmissible addition of 'two expert American censors' has been made to the French censorship in order that news from the United States to the French press shall be censored." It would be interesting, indeed, to know in whose behalf this suppression of legitimate and essential news is being or has been effected. Whose schemes and ambitions would be imperilled by letting France know what is being said and done in America, and by letting America know what is being said and done in France?

It is also recalled by Mr. Cheradame that when it was proposed that a delegation from the American Congress should be sent to meet with the Interparliamentary Union in Paris, the President declared against it, saying that "it might cause confusion." Did that mean simply confusion to his own selfish schemes? Yet the President has been reported as believing it necessary to receive delegates from the Russian Bolsheviks, to consult with them concerning the settlement of the issues of the war. It is of course inconceivable that he prefers Bolsheviks to American Senators and Representatives; though he repelled the former and was prepared to welcome the latter.

In the face of these things the President has returned to France to tell the people that the great majority of Americans approve his policy and are in favor of adopting his—or General Smuts's—Constitution for the League of Nations. Does he feel secure in doing so because two American experts coöperating with the French censorship will prevent the French from learning the truth? He is understood to be desirous of having the project of the League discussed all over this country. But is he willing that those who discuss it here shall know what the French think of it, and that the French shall know the character and the results of the discussion here? It would be intolerably unwelcome to suspect the President of the United States of conniving at or of countenancing in any way suppression or perversion of the truth. But it must be said frankly that the best method of forefending against any such suspicion would be to meet frankly and to explain satisfactorily the statements made and the pertinent inquiries raised by Mr. Cheradame.

The Menace of Bolshevism

IT WOULD be folly to ignore the menace of Bolshevism. We do not mean Bolshevism in Russia, where it is busy "nationalizing" women and murdering men who wear clean linen; nor in Germany, where it has "come home to roost," to the grave peril of the government; nor yet in France and Great Britain, where "they order this matter better," and are doubtless able to protect themselves. We mean Bolshevism in the United States, as an irreconcilable enemy of our whole democratic system of government.

Revelations have been made which ought to cause every

patriotic citizen literally to "sit up and take notice. We are officially assured that there are numerous organizations scattered all over the country which are confessedly plotting the overthrow of the republic through a violent and bloody revolution. Meetings are held, schools are conducted, speeches are made, and many papers are published in various languages, all to that end. The government has secured proof of these things, and additional proof of the strongest character has been secured in the raiding of disloyal gatherings in various cities.

We do not believe that the Bolshevik revolution which is planned will succeed. But we believe that it cannot be defeated merely by trying to ignore its existence, or by scoffing at it and repeating the parrot cry that there is no danger of such a thing in this country.

Years ago, we remember, writers and orators used to say that Socialism could never make headway or even gain a foothold in America. It might develop in the effete monarchies of the Old World, but there was no reason for it here, and in American air the thing could never flourish. But it did take root in this country, and for years has been flourishing here as perhaps nowhere else in the world, its influence reaching even into the White House and the Cabinet.

In the days of John Most it was confidently declared that Anarchy could never flourish here. Yet to-day there are perhaps as many professed Anarchists in America as in any country in the world. We used to jeer at Russia as a land where the ruler's life was unsafe, and we thanked God that we were subject to no such evils. Yet we have had a President assassinated by an Anarchist, just as flagrantly as was the Russian Czar.

We used to decry restrictions upon immigration, boasting of our national ability to assimilate all comers; yet in recent years we have learned the error of that boast and have endeavored to find a way of protecting ourselves from the evil which we so lately were scoffing at. It is still of recent memory that many men of presumptive light and leading insisted that there was no need of any preparation for war, since a war that would imperil us—a war between us and any great European Power—was impossible. Yet the war came, and it found us unprepared.

Our happy-go-lucky disposition and practice give opportunity for Bolshevism, if they do not actually propagate it. It is true that the Supreme Court has confirmed the sentence of Debs, who regards Lenine and Trotzky as the world's greatest statesmen and presumably approves of all their doctrines. But we must remember that there are hundreds of abler men than he at large, openly advocating subversion of our government and the erection of Soviets upon its ruins. They comprise university professors, clergymen, and editors; and some once respected journals, of critical and literary authority, are supporting them and urging the substitution of Bolshevism for Republicanism.

It would be folly to ignore the menace. It would be worse than folly: it would be a crime against the Republic. No man can afford to warm and to nourish a viper at his earthenstone, even though it seem a small one. Some snakes grow rapidly. No nation can afford to ignore or to tolerate conspiracies against its own integrity.

The Great Joy Ride

THEY are gone—gone or going—the old familiar faces. Sir Josephus, N. C. B., is sailing the ocean blue. The gifted Baker is to follow soon. Mr. Lansing is already there. The President and his annex House are on the mind-matching campus. And all of them with their suites, their sisters and their cousins and their aunts, to say nothing of their wives and daughters and sons-in-law. It is stupendous. We have had eleemosynary junkets galore charged up in the past to the ever genial tax-payer. But they were as nothing—mere cheap round-trip excursions compared with this one. They were of the effete days when we counted our money only by the tens of millions. But in these billion dollar days we have ceased to be pikers.

Of course, the little bill will have to be met. But the tax-payer is a patient soul. He doesn't care. It is only another item in his high cost of living. It will teach him to be thrifty. He will *have* to be thrifty. If you are going to have your whole Administration family making a splash in foreign capitals you must make up your mind to pay for it. Such frills naturally are expensive. Added to the billions required to keep the home fires burning in Washington, no matter how quiet it may be on the Potomac with the Administration population on their travels, the whole foots up to a figure which should have a properly steadying effect on the tax-payer when he digs down in his clothes for the wherewithal to meet it. Serves him right. Let him cut down on his own gaddings about. Let him cut down on his food. He eats too much anyway.

But when so many are on the grand tour, why are any left behind? There is Redfield, for instance. How gladly we could part with Redfield! How fondly he'd be missed! And that pious patriarch of multitudinous families, the virtuous and somewhat reverend Herron, where is he hiding his coy blushes? Is he adorning the chaste festivities of Montmartre, or is he plink-plunking his soulful guitar under the Seraglio windows of Istamboul? And there is our Secretary of Labor, Mr. Wilson. Why is he not among those present? Surely his zealous bolshevistic understudy, Mr. Post, could keep the red flag flying in his absence!

And then there is Burleson! If we can not have a permanent deliverance from Burleson, why can we not, oh, why "may we not" have a Burleson vacation? Take him to Paris, take him to Timbuctoo, take him anywhere so it's a long way back! It would be money in the tax-payer's pocket to keep Burleson perennially on his travels.

And, in addition to all these, there is the Attorney-General and his suite and his and their families and friends! Why are they left out of the Paris Joy Ride? Why discriminate? Why is Mr. Glass overlooked? Why not round up the entire Administration outfit and all their families while we are about it and ship them to France in regiments and divisions? Then we could all join cheerily in the rollicking doughboy chorus:

"Hail! Hail! the gang's all there!

What the hell do we care! What the hell do we care!"

But why, oh why, did the creel come creeling back?

The Logic of Sinn Fein

WHAT shall be done with or for Ireland?

Sinn Fein, now overwhelmingly in control of the politics of the island, and presumptively entitled to speak for it, demands that Ireland shall be made an independent state, and that her title to such a status shall be considered and confirmed by the Peace Congress at Paris, just as Poland, and Czecho-Slavia, and The Hedjaz, and various other lands, are being treated.

Very well. But it is to be observed that no countries are thus being considered, or are to be considered, which have not been involved in the war, as belligerents. If, therefore, Ireland is to come before the Peace Congress it must be as a late belligerent. Doubtless Sinn Fein would have no difficulty in qualifying on that ground. If we remember aright, there was a considerable degree of active belligerence in Ireland, particularly in and about Dublin, one Easter time during the war. So on the ground of belligerence Sinn Fein seems entitled to enter the Congress.

But on which side was the belligerence? Obviously, on the German side. The Sinn Fein uprising was against England. It was, indeed, in sympathy and in active coöperation with Germany. Therefore, as a belligerent, Ireland must rank with the Central Powers, and in that status she cannot at once enter the Congress, but must wait outside, as Germany is doing, until the Congress has decided her fate, when she will be called in to listen to the judgment of the court.

So far, the Sinn Fein proposition for the solution of the problem. Now for President Wilson's contribution.

It was the President's contention that peoples shall have the right of self-determination. If Ireland wants to be separated from the United Kingdom, as Sinn Fein declares, she should, according to that doctrine, thus be set free. But the President also contended, and it is writ large in his—or Jan Smuts's; don't forget Jan Smuts!—Constitution for the League of Nations, that the states thus newly formed, because of their initial weakness and inefficiency, shall be placed under the tutelage and direction of some of the real grown-up Powers, which shall thus act as the mandatories of the League.

Then if Ireland as a belligerent is to be disposed of by the Peace Congress, and as a pro-German belligerent is to be thus disposed of at the will of the Congress and not her own; and if under the President's principle is to enjoy the right of self-determination, and is to be protected and guided in the exercise of that right by some senior Power, then, where are we at? It follows that Ireland must be made into a republic or a Soviet or something or other, and then be placed under the tutelage of a mandatory of the League, which mandatory, obviously, must be Great Britain. *Quod erat demonstrandum.*

Just how that would suit Sinn Fein, we prefer, in the Lenten season, not to say. We are not sure that it would altogether suit the President, since he is understood to have insisted at a certain White House dinner that Ireland was not sitting in the game at the Quai d'Orsay at all. What Jan Smuts thinks about it, however, might be interesting. That eminent Afrikander may be "slim" enough to have

fixed up the League Constitution that way just o' purpose, and to have passed it along to the President without warning him that it was loaded. Who knows?

What is indisputable is, any way, that the inexorable logic of the Sinn Fein demands and of the President's notions requires that Ireland shall be put indefinitely, as to time, but very definitely, as to fact, under the protection and guidance of Great Britain. And, as Holmes remarked on a memorable occasion, "Logic is logic."

Mr. Villard is Unhappy

MR. VILLARD, interviewed in London for the *Labor Leader*, of that city, is dissatisfied with pretty much everything and everybody on this side of the water. "Liberal opinion" is what he calls this state of mind, and he has no patience with the President for having cast this same liberal opinion to the winds just when he might have massed it behind The Commandments. On this subject Mr. Villard speaks with some warmth. He says:

The stupidity of the actions of our Government is apparent from the fact that now the President is in need of liberal opinion to support his fourteen peace terms, it is scattered, disorganized and in places rendered speechless, and men like myself who are enthusiastically for his peace terms find ourselves unable to speak for him with the enthusiasm we should like, because of the dastardly outrages upon liberty and constitutional rights perpetrated by Mr. Wilson's subordinates.

The "dastardly outrages" to which Mr. Villard refers consist of the prosecution and punishment of pro-Hun propagandists, draft evaders, and all that precious crew of conscientious objectors whom Mr. Villard's fellow pacifist, the Secretary of War, recently sent on their way rejoicing with honorable army discharges and from \$300 to \$600 apiece in their pockets.

As for Mr. Wilson, of whom the Editor of the *Nation* erstwhile was so ardent an admirer, he is now described as "an idealist one moment, breathing the highest aspirations of democracy, clothed in the most beautiful language, and then utterly autocratic in government and wholly unmoved by the sufferings of the conscientious objectors."

The death of Mr. Roosevelt Mr. Villard characterizes as "a great piece of good fortune for the President, whom he bitterly and unjustly assailed at all times." He was "distinctly imperialistic, believing in navies and armies."

So he did, Heaven rest his great, loyal, patriotic soul!

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BY GEORGE HARVEY

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Is the Republic Played Out?

CURRENT events are an unmistakable reminder of the fact that now for the first time in our history there is a formidable proposition to transform our system of government. We do not now mean the I. W. W.-Bolshevist conspiracy for a "bloody revolution." We mean a far more dangerous movement, led by some of the foremost members of the government, for a *revolution under the forms of law*.

This is, we say, the first time in our history that such a thing has been seriously undertaken. We have always had two major political parties, differing widely on details of government. But they have always been agreed upon essentials. They have both stood for the maintenance of American independence and the retention of a republican form of government; for coordinate powers among the three departments of government; for impersonal and representative government; for the upholding of the Monroe Doctrine; and for vindication of the principles and prescriptions of the Constitution.

Now the leaders of a great party not merely propose but work for reversal of all these things. They propose to supplant Democracy with a form of Socialism. It must be borne in mind that the President and some of his chief colleagues are more Socialistic in their beliefs and policies than many avowed Socialists, and that they have already contrived to foist upon the country measures and systems which the Socialist party would regard as extreme. It is proposed to impair if not to abolish American independence, by subjecting it, in some of the most essential things, to alien dictation.

It is proposed, at least indirectly, to abolish the coordinate principle by making one department of government supreme over the others. That is, of

course, in accordance with the President's notion that he is the only real representative of the people, that his chair is the real Throne of Administration, and that it has been all wrong for Congress to assume such powers as it has. It is proposed to establish a system of irresponsible personal government, under which the President shall have the powers of a British Prime Minister without any of his accountability.

It is now for the first time proposed to abrogate the Monroe Doctrine. True, the President denies this, insisting that the Doctrine is really to be confirmed by extending its provisions to all the world. It is, we assume, quite obvious to every other man in the country that this insistence of the President's is in fact the strongest proof of the very proposition which he denies. The essence of the Monroe Doctrine is, of course, that it is *not* extended to all the world,



"DRY" HUMOUR

President Wilson: "Our Future Lies Upon the Water!"
 Britannia: "Alluding, I Presume, to Your Prohibition Movement?"—From Punch.

but is reserved exclusively for the United States and its neighbors in this hemisphere. To extend it to all the world would be the surest possible method of destroying it.

Nor is the attack upon the Constitution less obvious. The President himself is taking the lead in seeking annulment of some of its most essential provisions. He would deprive Congress of its war-making and army-creating powers, and of its authority over immigration, tariffs, and other matters. He would even deprive himself and the Senate of the treaty-making power, or at least would have alien restrictions put upon that power. For there can be no question that adoption of the League of Nations scheme which he borrowed from General Smuts would, if adopted, do these things. The President of the United States is supposed to know what our Constitution is, and to be pledged to its maintenance, and when he advocates measures which conflict with it we must assume that he is in favor of its radical amendment.

That does not, of course, mean treason or disloyalty. Every citizen has a right to advocate, by legal and orderly means, any changes in the constitution or laws that he may desire. It would not be a penal offence, we suppose, for a man to advocate the substitution of an hereditary king for an elected President. But what is eminently desirable is that we shall recognize the purport of the changes that are proposed, and that the changes shall be proposed so openly and frankly that there will be no uncertainty about them. If the President really thinks that the American Republic is played out and should be replaced by a Socialist autocracy, let him go to it; but let the people understand precisely what he is trying to do.

Was the Navy Ready?

ADAMIRAL HENRY T. MAYO, Commander-in-Chief of the Atlantic Fleet, has been frequently criticised because of his support of the policies and official actions of Secretary Daniels. The criticism has emanated generally from the "big navy men"—the officers who have fought for increases in material and personnel. They have taken the position that Admiral Mayo might have been of great value to the service and the country if, in years gone by, he had used all of his influence for preparedness.

In this criticism we have never joined. We have always looked upon Admiral Mayo as an officer of the very highest type, and we believe the country is greatly indebted to him for the services he rendered during the war. His loyalty to his Chief is to be admired. If he had not been loyal he would not have been fit to command.

So much for the criticism. It is referred to merely to show that Admiral Mayo is not an "anti-Daniels" man. He is one in whom Mr. Daniels has implicit confidence; a friend, not an enemy. His statements concerning the Navy and the condition of the Navy would never be questioned by Mr. Daniels or any of his most ardent supporters. In view of these circumstances, we believe that the importance of Admiral Mayo's testimony before the House Committee on Naval Affairs cannot be exaggerated.

We regret that it cannot be reprinted here in full. It is too long. A few of the important paragraphs follow:

"Speaking of the condition of the Navy, I think we might

go back to the beginning to the war, when we had our best battleships in commission, and our best destroyers in full commission. Our older destroyers and older battleships were in reserve, or with reduced crews. At that time, after a good deal of reorganization in the fleet, a good deal of change in methods obtained, both in the battleship forces and in the destroyer forces, and in my own forces, we felt reasonably assured that the unit ships that we had were, so far as organization and training, target practice, and battle efficiency generally were concerned, in very good shape, but that has to be qualified by saying that was not the Navy, but was only the part of the Navy which was in full commission. The Navy, as a whole, was not prepared for war, because the ships which were not in full commission were not in readiness, nor did we have the personnel to man the ships which were not in full commission. But we did feel assured that those in full commission were well trained and as ready for battle as they could be, with the peace complement, so called, that they had at that time. It was found necessary afterwards to expand these complements in order to put them in real fighting shape.

"Before the war even started, as far as the United States is concerned, the Administration adopted the policy of furnishing armed guards to be placed upon merchant vessels. The only source from which they could get these armed guards with sufficient training then was from the ships already in commission, so even before the war started the trained men began to be drawn from the ships in commission, and the draft was somewhat extensive. When we went into the war ourselves every possible ship we had was rushed into commission, crews had to be furnished, and again the only source of supply for the trained men to put these ships in and get them licked into any shape at all were the ships in active commission, again causing drafts on the trained men and trained officers.

"For instance, on the dreadnaughts, where we were entitled to have 38 trained officers, it got down finally to only 14, many of them being extremely young men, decidedly fresh from the Naval Academy, and it was finally decided that it might be necessary to take all our trained officers, except what we call the heads of departments. I presume the committee is familiar with what that means. It means the chief engineer, the navigator, executive officer, and gunnery officers, etc., and first lieutenant. We did not quite get to that. I am telling you all this simply to indicate that we had owed a tremendous debt to Great Britain at that time, because if Great Britain had not been there with her fleet to hold the German fleet, or in other words, if we had been alone, anticipating a meeting with the German fleet, we would have been in a very bad way, very bad, indeed."

So much for the record; now for the responsibility.

From the day that Josephus Daniels was misplaced at the head of the Navy Department, the General Board, the commanders of the various fleets, and the ranking officers of the Navy generally besought him to urge Congress to enlarge the personnel. Assistant Secretary Roosevelt, and Rear Admiral Bradley Fiske, who, incidentally, was forced from the Navy because of his attitude in this matter, brought all the force they could upon Congress to increase the naval academy and the enlisted personnel. Their

efforts were unavailing. Mr. Daniels blocked every proposed increase.

Anyone who will take the trouble to read the testimony before Congressional committees during the last five or six years will find that Mr. Daniels invariably refused to support his advisers and persisted in maintaining the personnel at a minimum. As far as we are informed, exactly one ranking officer in the service supported Mr. Daniels in this fight. It was Captain, now Rear Admiral, Victor Blue. As chief of the Bureau of Navigation, Captain Blue was responsible for personnel. All of his testimony at the Capitol was diametrically opposed to that of the admirals of the fleets and members of the General Board.

When we entered the war Captain Blue was sent to sea and Rear Admiral Leigh Palmer was made chief of navigation. The Navy applauded the change, and Admiral Blue began a vigorous campaign to get the necessary men.

Possibly no better example of the remarkable mental processes of Mr. Daniels can be given than the fact that he has again appointed as head of the Bureau of Navigation Rear Admiral Blue, the officer who, more than any other man in the service, was responsible for the pitiful conditions exposed by Admiral Mayo. What does it mean? Is it any wonder that the members of Congress who are familiar with the facts believe that the President and Mr. Daniels are insincere when they talk of building a great Navy and ask for huge sums to be spent at some future time?

Still Exterminating Towns

THE Politicalmaster-General goes steadily on exterminating cities and villages. Only a few weeks ago we recorded the fact that he had wiped out the largest city in South Dakota, Sioux Falls—a flourishing metropolis of some 25,000 or 30,000 inhabitants. The geographical experts of the Politicalmaster-General's remarkable aggregation of congenital imbeciles managed to establish the existence of the State of South Dakota, but the effort to locate the largest city in that prosperous commonwealth was too much for them. They gave it up. A letter from Chicago plainly addressed to Sioux Falls was sent back branded with the legend: "Returned to Writer. No Such Office in State named."

That settled it for Sioux Falls. Sioux Falls was wiped off the map. And now the Politicalmaster-General has abolished another town. It is in Michigan this time. Dreuthe, Ottawa County, Michigan, is a small place, to be sure, although it has been on the Post Office map for 47 years. But, big or little, everything is game for the Burlesonian blunderbuss. It has blown Dreuthe out of Michigan just as it blew Sioux Falls off the face of the South Dakota earth. With apologies to Betsy Prig for variation of her classic phrase, "there aint no such places as Sioux Falls and Dreuthe." A letter mailed in Chicago and plainly addressed to the Superintendent of Schools, Dreuthe, Ottawa County, Michigan, was "Returned to the Writer. No Such Office in State Named."

So it is good-bye Dreuthe, just as it was good-bye Sioux Falls. Both, alas, are gone! They are no more! And the Bur-

leson steam-roller still trundles remorselessly on, leaving darkness and void where once were flourishing communities. It is depopulating the country at a prodigious rate. It is worse than a Hun invasion. The Huns at least left wreckage to mark the sites of the towns they destroyed. The Politicalmaster-General leaves not a trace. When his geographers torpedo a city or village, that city or village is *spurlos versenkt*.

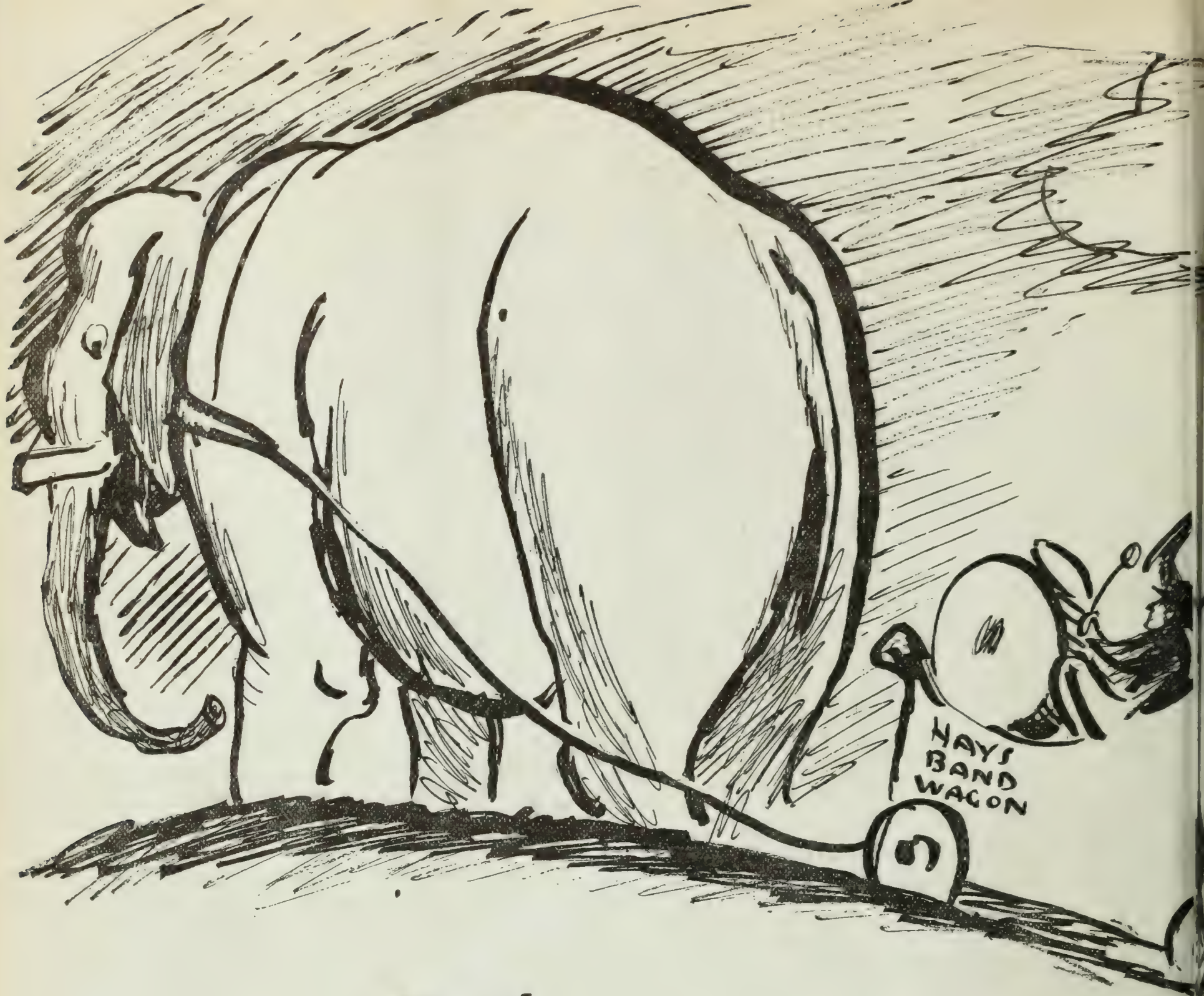
But in Washington, D. C., the Politicalmaster-General's own headquarters, things in his Department move with a constantly accelerating rapidity. A letter of inquiry addressed to the Post Office Department in that city, written and mailed there November 8th, 1918, was answered in February, 1919. The answer was dated February 3 and was delivered to the Washington address, a few blocks away, on February 8th.

This is unusual. Indeed, it is an all but revolutionary improvement on the standard established when a letter reached its destination there something like two years after the person to whom it was addressed had attended the funeral of the person who wrote it. Obviously, Washington local mail delivery is speeding up.

It Can't Be Done

WHAT European statesmen will doubtless bear in mind, even if the President affects to ignore it, is that it will be one thing to "jam through" the League of Nations at the Quai d'Orsay, and quite another to repeat the process in the Senate of the United States. And after all, it is the latter that counts, both to us and to Europe. We are told that the European Powers regard America's participation in the League as an absolute *sine qua non*. They want the moral, economic and military support of the United States. Without it, the League of Nations would be vanity of vanities, and they would never take the trouble to form it. That we believe to be entirely true. (Incidentally, it suggests the extent to which they would expect us to complicate ourselves with the affairs of all parts of the world.) Nor can we in the least blame them for it. Their attitude is from one point of view exceedingly complimentary to us. They trust us, and they appreciate our strength.

But is it conceivable that, being thus minded, they will agree to a course which they must know will certainly debar us from entering the League? They must know—if they do not already, they will before the Congress at Paris adjourns—that the present Smuts-drawn Constitution will never be ratified by the United States Senate, while a rational treaty for coöperation among the nations, following as a sequence or a complement to the peace treaty, would be cordially approved. We can scarcely suppose, then, that they will be so extraordinarily obsessed by the President's egotistical insistence as to adopt a course which will certainly defeat, perhaps for all time, the very end which they have in view and which they supremely desire. To force the present Constitution, unamended, upon the Senate would not only mean its certain rejection, but also it would probably mean the refusal of the Senate for an indefinite time to come to consider any other such proposal.



"Wait a



nute!"

The Week

WASHINGTON, March 20, 1919.

THE good ship *I. W. W.* having successfully completed her voyage, our peripatetic President promptly resumed the congenial task of putting the brakes on the process of peace-making until his League of Nations (sired by Jan Smuts) could catch up with the procession and get so mixed up with it that all would have to go through the gate together. Fulfilling the menace of his farewell address, he assured everybody over there that he had the whole American people, excepting a few pigmy-minded Senators, behind him; presumably trusting to the efficiency of the Politicalmaster-General's control of the cables to prevent Europeans from learning anything different. Moreover, according to the very explicit and lucid dispatches to the *New York Sun*, he insisted that the Smuts Constitution must stand without amendment. There must be no recognition of the Monroe Doctrine; there must be no provision for the withdrawal of any nation from the League; there must be nothing, we suppose, to indicate whether decrees of the Executive Council must be by unanimous or merely majority vote. No change. Just "Wilson; that's all."

That seems to us somewhat unkind to the Hon. William Howard Taft, who has gone far out of his way to be the President's most serviceable supporter in this matter, but who frankly declares that the Smuts-inspired Constitution needs pretty radical revision in several essential particulars. But perhaps the President thinks that Mr. Taft's declaration to that effect can be suppressed by the American experts who are assisting the French censors in determining what news from America shall and what shall not be published in *La Ville Lumiere*.

Our own impression is that Messrs. Clemenceau and Lloyd George will think long and deeply before they permit the President's scheme to be "jammed through" just on the strength of his personal declaration that the American people are with him in it. It is impossible that they have not pretty comprehensive knowledge of the magnitude of the American revolt against the autocratic attempt to denationalize the United States and to send the policies of Washington, Jefferson and Monroe to the scrap-yard. We can scarcely suppose that the Politicalmaster-General's rule extends to the communications between the French and British embassies here and their home governments.

Day by day the mischievous if not the disastrous results of the delay in peace-making become more apparent, and are more openly acknowledged even by those responsible for the delay. Mr. Lansing has been saying publicly that the delay has brought the world to the verge of an indescribably grave crisis; which is doubtless quite true. Yet the President's foremost spokesman in the American press, Mr. David Lawrence, plaintively wonders if "the League of Nations is to be sidetracked to make way for the Treaty of Peace." What we should like to know is, whether the distinguished gathering at the Quai d'Orsay is a Peace Con-

gress or a League of Nations Congress? We had supposed it to be the former.

Here is the logic of this attempt to force the League of Nations Constitution into the Peace Treaty: The President pretends that the American people and all the peoples of the world want the League. Yet he is afraid to submit the proposal to them separately, on its own merits. So he seeks to attach it, as a "rider," to the Peace Treaty. He thinks that they are so eager to adopt the latter that they will take it even with the objectionable "rider." That was precisely the plan that he adopted in the case of the Prohibition law, which was made a "rider" on an agricultural appropriation bill. This latter job succeeded in our Congress. But it may be that a Congress of the nations of the world will be less inclined to engage in that sort of trickery, particularly when it is made clear that its result would probably be not to carry the rider through on the treaty, but to break the Peace Treaty down under the weight of its unacceptable rider.

Nothing could be more characteristic of the President's arrogant persistence in putting the cart before the horse than the proposal, which we are told he heartily favors, of having the League Constitution publicly debated all over the land. He knows, of course, that unless the proceedings at Paris are inexcusably delayed and prolonged, it will be impossible for such a campaign to be prosecuted in time for its results and its revelations of American public opinion to be known before the adjournment of the Peace Congress. The debates can therefore afford him and his colleagues no criterion by which to judge the American attitude. His programme is, to adopt the thing first and discuss it afterward; like the Queen in *Alice in Wonderland* with her "Sentence first, verdict afterward."

That means, of course, that he wants the debates to be not a means of reaching a right conclusion, but a mere propaganda for enforcing a conclusion already arbitrarily formed.

It is a noble service that the *New York Sun* is doing, in urging nation-wide organization, and very active and aggressive organization, against the Smuts-Cecil-I, W. W. scheme for denationalizing the United States. It may be regrettable that it is necessary to call for such action through the forces of the Republican party, for when the integrity of the Republic is imperilled or menaced there should be no partisanship. Unfortunately, the President long ago injected party politics into the matter by demanding of the country a Democratic Congress on the ground that it alone would be subservient to his will and enable him to carry through his schemes. Of course, however, there are Democrats, in the Senate and elsewhere, and many of them, who are just as resolute against the scheme as any Republicans, and of course the Republican leaders are sufficiently broad-minded and patriotic to welcome the coöperation of all Democrats who believe in democracy and national independence and have not been seduced to autocracy and denationalization.

Senator Calder, of New York, pertinently suggests what is after all the gist of the matter. He reminds us that at present, according to its own terms, the Constitution of the United States is the supreme law of the land, and asks whether we are willing to make, instead, the Smuts-Cecil-Wilson-God-Knows-Who Constitution of the League of Nations the supreme law of the land?

All the world is weary of war and is longing for peace, and most of the nations have sent their chosen representatives to Paris to end the war and to make peace. But the self-appointed representative of a minority of the American nation blocks the way with the demand that an irrelevant and impertinent fad of his shall have first consideration and shall be approved as a *sine qua non* of peace. To the prayer for peace he replies, "My League first! My League, or no peace!"

Years ago there was a man named Addicks, who aspired dubiously to a seat in the United States Senate. He could not get it, but his supporters in the Legislature were able, while not electing him, to prevent the election of anybody else. So they raised the cry, "Addicks or nobody!" For a time they succeeded. It was "nobody," and a Senatorial chair stood vacant. But it was never Addicks. So it may be possible to raise and for a time to make effective the cry, "League of Nations, or no Peace!" Thus peace may be postponed. But there will be no League.

Does anybody remember what was the fate of the Dog in the Manger in the old fable?

One point which should not be overlooked by the advocates of a League of Nations is that presently there will arise "a king who knew not Joseph." There will presently come into control of the affairs of nations men who were not directly concerned in the great war and who are not moved by the spiritual exaltation which animates those who are now discussing its issues. It may seem very well in the flush of present emotions to enter into certain obligations, with a happy-go-lucky confidence that they will always be properly understood and acted upon. But "in the cold grey dawn of the morning after" how will these things appear? Will other men interpret and apply them in the same fashion as the men of to-day?

Three years ago it was: "He kept us out of war!" Now it is: "He *will* keep us out of war!" But did he keep us out of war? Not by a long chalk. Then why should we put any more confidence in the promise that he and his Smuts-Cecil-made Constitution will keep us out of war hereafter? A pretence which proved false is a poor recommendation to a promise that on the very face of it is worth no more than the breath which it takes to utter it.

Poland is to have a "corridor" across Prussia, to give her access to the sea. Then Prussia is to have a passage-way across Poland's corridor, to connect East Prussia with the rest of Hunland. Then we suppose Poland will have a right of way across Prussia's passage-way, so that the corridor will not be blocked. And of course Prussia will

need at least a footpath across Poland's right of way—and so on *ad infinitum*. All of which will of course immensely simplify the new map of Europe. It is easy to understand why Poland is entitled not merely to a corridor but to a broad zone across Prussia; because every rood of that land is really the property of Poland and was stolen from her by the Prussian Huns under Frederick II. To give it to Poland now will be merely to give her back her own. But why is Prussia entitled to passage across it? She has no title to it. East Prussia was entirely separated from Pomerania until the rape and partition of Poland. We cannot see why a thief is entitled always to enjoy the fruits of his stealing.

With the same fine courtesy and exquisite taste with which he characterized the minds of the nation's representatives in Congress as a "slum," the President's creel now announces his intention of engaging in the "de-lousing" process of which, he says, our public life stands in need. He neglects to specify whether his activities in that respect are to be subjective or objective, but we should naturally assume them to be the former in view of his statement that he has resigned his official place. Certainly the process to which he so gracefully occurs could not be more efficiently and gratefully promoted than it would be by his own retirement from public life. To that end we must hope that the President, at whatever cost of personal regret, will not delay further to accept the creel's resignation.

Our contemporary the *Nation* seems to think the whole business of the Peace Conference is beneath contempt because it has actually considered the terms of peace which are to be dictated to Germany, instead of sitting up o' nights to remodel the economic, social and metaphysical constitution of all the world. If only it had begun by hailing the Soviets as a new Avatar of Vishnu! There would have been a Peace Congress worth while!

The war has, we are told, about quadrupled the French budget, causing a deficit this year of more than \$4,300,000,000. That is all Germany's fault. That is the burden which she wantonly and wickedly imposed upon France. That is the wrong which she committed against the French people. Yet there are those who still cry "No indemnities!" and whine over the hardships which "poor Germany" will suffer if she is compelled to repay even a portion of the Allies' war costs.

Doubtless it is well to make some provision for keeping the Huns from the starvation which they have brought upon themselves. But it would have been better if the American delegates at Paris had been as eager many weeks ago to prescribe peace terms for Germany as they now are to feed that country.

"His voyage to the United States was not in vain," says the Geneva, Switzerland, *Journal*. Quite true. It resulted in the disclosure of the real attitude of the American people toward the League of Nations.

That Farewell Address

GREAT utterances deserve study, analysis, comment and annotation; as witness Magna Charta, the Declaration of Independence, Washington's Farewell Address, and the Constitution of the United States. It will be of interest and profit to apply the process to an utterance which, judged by its author and its occasion, should rank with these in dignity and moment. In his Farewell Address to the American nation, before setting out on the most momentous errand ever undertaken by an American President—an errand which, as he declared, was not to end until "it's over, over there,"—Mr. Wilson said:

The first thing that I am going to tell the people on the other side of the water is that an overwhelming majority of the American people is in favor of the League of Nations. I know that that is true.

In nine days, after two and a half months' absence from the country, Mr. Wilson had learned more about the American people than was known by men who had been here all the time and had been incessantly studying the will of the nation! What he pretends to know to be true is known by innumerable better informed men to be untrue. Again:

We have listened to so clear and admirable an exposition of the main features of the proposed covenant of the League of Nations that it is perhaps not necessary for me to discuss in any particular way the contents of the document.

Consistent, at least. Never, at Paris on introducing the "constitution," at Boston on reëntering this country, or at New York on speaking his farewell, did he venture to discuss the thing in detail or to do more than to rhapsodize in "glittering and sounding generalities." But has not the nation the right to expect that he, of all men, will most explicitly discuss this step-child of his genius? Again, referring to the critics of his scheme:

I have heard no counsel of generosity in their criticism. I have heard no constructive suggestion.

When he made that astounding statement he had fresh in mind the address of Senator Knox which was as noteworthy for its "constructive suggestion" and for its "counsel of generosity" as it was for its remorselessly destructive analysis of the Smuts-Wilson abortion. And he added, as if in a frenzy of cynical defiance:

Nothing has to be explained to me in America, least of all the sentiment of the American people.

Perhaps the sentiment of the American people toward him was made so clear at last November's elections as to need no further explanation. And perhaps he thinks that because he does not need to have anything explained to him, he is under no obligation to explain anything to the American people, not even his own acts in relation to their honor and vital interests. But we have not reached the end of the Rhetorician's Progress:

It is one of the agreements of this covenant that it is the friendly right of every nation a member of the League to call attention to anything that it thinks will disturb the peace of the world, no matter where that thing is occurring.

As Dominie Sampson would say, "Prodigious!" That is the nearest approach to concrete discussion of the terms of the covenant that he permitted himself in all his rhapsody. But we should have liked him to complement the astounding announcement by telling an eager world precisely when it was not the right of every nation to do precisely that thing,

without being a member of any league. Our recollection is that not only has the existence of that right long been recognized in international law, but also most of the nations in the world have long been under the voluntary moral obligation to exercise it. There are innumerable other points equally worthy of comment, but we must not make the line stretch out to the crack of doom. One more must suffice. President Wilson said further:

We know for a certainty that if Germany had thought for a moment that Great Britain would go in with France and with Russia she never would have undertaken the enterprise.

Then there would have been no need whatever of any League of Nations, for the world's biggest, most wanton, and most wicked war would have been prevented without it, through the benign influence of just one of those old-fashioned alliances or balances of power upon which the President is wont to pour the vials of the wrath of his most austere condemnation. According to his own showing, all that was necessary was for Sir Edward Grey to act with the promptness and resolution with which Albert of Belgium acted, and there would have been no war.

No wonder that thinking men in Europe regard with amazement the spectacle which the President made of himself while in this country. No wonder they are doubting whether he really represents the will of the American people as he pretends to do. No wonder they are coming to the conclusion that the treaty of peace had better be completed first, and the League of Nations be left for after consideration. If by his extraordinary utterances here the President has caused them thus to open their eyes, he has, though unwittingly and in opposition to his own intention, performed the greatest service in his entire Peace Congress escapade.

Eleven Pertinent Questions

PREFACING his remarks with the statement that he was a businessman rather than a lawyer, Senator Frelinghuysen of New Jersey propounded in the Senate eleven questions which he declared every intelligent and patriotic American should ask before committing himself to the convention of the League of Nations advocated by President Wilson—a view to which we believe every intelligent and patriotic American will subscribe. Mr. Frelinghuysen's questions are as follows:

1.—Is it true that if the League of Nations, as proposed, be entered into, some of the parties to it can keep secret treaties made between them prior to its adoption?

2.—Is it true that in the League of Nations, if adopted in its present form, Great Britain will have more votes than the United States of America?

3.—Is it possible that if the League of Nations is adopted as proposed, people who were formerly subject to our enemies shall have the right of self-determination, but such right shall be denied to people who are subject to those who fought with us against our enemies?

4.—Is there anything in the proposed League of Nations which will prevent some of the parties to it from uniting in an agreement before its adoption as to the personnel of the secretary-general?

5.—Are the people of this country satisfied to have a council, made up of representatives of governments the majority of which are of a form different from ours, pass upon such a vital question as the size of our army or our navy?

6.—To what extent will the United States part with its right to determine the size of its own army and navy should it enter into the League of Nations as proposed?

7.—Assuming that the League of Nations as proposed had been in effect at the time of our Revolution, could France have assisted us? Had it been in effect at the time Texas became attached to the Union, could Texas have become a part of the Union? Had it been in effect at the time of our war with Spain, would Cuba now be free?

8.—Must all questions, irrespective of how they affect our honor, or the lives and property of our citizens, be submitted to arbitration; and if so, is it not possible for the offending nation to continue the insult or the invasion of our rights pending arbitration?

9.—Would it be possible, in the event of a war in which members of the League took part against an American nation, for some or all of the members to insist on and secure part of the territory of the American nation as compensation, and to colonize such part in violation of the Monroe Doctrine?

10.—What will be the functions of the proposed permanent bureau of labor, and by whom and how will such functions be determined, and what effect may such functions have upon the rights of labor in the United States?

11.—What would have been the probable effect upon the controversy between the North and the South during the Civil War had the League of Nations then existed?

It was in vain that one looked for answers to practical questions such as these in the "rhetorical rhapsody" which President Wilson delivered at the Metropolitan Opera House just before he set sail for France.

German thoroughness and efficiency show up admirably in the latest revelations made from official political papers seized at Brussels. It appears that the Imperial Government organized and chartered five big corporations for the express purpose of stealing all they could in Belgium and destroying all the rest. How well the corporations did their work is indicated by the fact that down to the end of last April they had stolen and shipped to Germany nearly 36,000,000 tons of iron and 507,242,000 square metres of other materials, such as wood, glass, copper, tin and what not. This is cause for no surprise, of course, seeing that all Prussian wars have been primarily predatory. It does not, however, seem to make the time particularly opportune for renewing the cry "No indemnities!"

Propagandists of the League of Nations are filling the air with reiterations that only the League can avert wholesale famine and world-wide Bolshevism. It would be interesting to know whether they really think so, or are just saying so in an effort to make any other settlement of the food and Bolshevik problems impossible.

"Strict Accountability"

IF we have thrown away what we have won in the war, if Germany emerges from the turmoil still defiant, still unconquered, the responsibility rests technically upon the Peace Conference which has not made peace. Actually it rests upon Woodrow Wilson. He will then have won that for which he contended from the first. He will have attained his beloved "Peace Without Victory."

When the Huns came, hat in hand, to Marshal Foch and begged for an armistice, they were defeated. They knew it. Three days later they would have received a blow, already planned to the last detail with that deadly certainty of success characteristic of the great French General, which would have wrecked Germany's powers of resistance in toto. For the Hun armies there would then have been left nothing but unconditional surrender. The road to Berlin would have been wide open. Thither the Allied forces could have swept unimpeded. There, right in the pestiferous centre of all the scoundrelly plottings and intrigues which brought this horror upon the world, right there in the Hun's own Sodom, a peace could have been dictated which would have brought the brutes to their knees whiningly grateful for terms which would have rendered them impotent again to organize world-wide brigandage raids for untold generations to come. The black threat of the renewal of the world war would then have been removed.

This would have cost precious lives—thousands of them. We are not going to condemn the decision which saved those lives. Far from it. But, in the alarming pass to which things have been permitted to come during the weeks and months which have been frittered away over Mr. Wilson's vision of a world super-Government with himself at the head of it—in the critical status which this pottering has brought about in our relations with a Germany daily increasing in determination to resistance—the question if those precious lives really have been saved may be fairly raised. Will they not yet have to be sacrificed before Germany is brought to that consciousness of utter, hopeless defeat without which we shall not have won that victory for which millions of men gave up their lives?

Dr. David Jayne Hill, who knows the Hun soul down to its foulest depths, recently asked the question, Who are the victors in this war? Such a question asked by such an authority answers itself. If such a question from Dr. Hill is possible five months after the Hun hordes lay helpless in Foch's grip of steel, then the answer is that, up to the present at least, the victory is with the Hun. It is either total Hun defeat, in terms confessed and in ironclad conditions of penalization made secure, or it is a Hun victory. There is no middle ground. The war was fought to wreck and destroy once and for all the most formidable organization of brigands the world has ever known. Unless that has been done, unless that organization has been exterminated root and branch as an organization, then the appalling sacrifices civilization has made during four years of agony have been made in vain.

If any such disastrous result comes from the precious time lost, from the disputes and bickerings precipitated by a

futile international conclave, then, of a certainty, somebody is going to be held to a "strict accountability."

As to who that somebody is, there is not the remotest doubt. It is Woodrow Wilson. But for him, peace with victory complete and triumphant might have been proclaimed by mid-January. A President of the United States, wrongfully absent from his post of duty at a time when such absence meant, and has resulted in, confusion and worse to his country, just that President of the United States, animated by sheer vanity of opinion combined with inordinate egotism and greed for power—just that President, and nobody else, is responsible for the peace fiasco to date, and will be held responsible for failure to attain the ends for which the war was fought. He and he alone will be held to that "strict accountability" about which he was twittering so sweetly in the days of his "May-I-not" finger-shakings at the Hun who was then murdering our men, women, and little children on the high seas.

Mr. Hurley's Failure

WHEN Edward N. Hurley, chairman of the Shipping Board, went to Europe last December he announced that his mission was to pave the way for the successful operation of the American merchant marine by inducing the European nations to raise the wages and equalize the conditions of labor of their seamen to a point which would eliminate the disadvantages under which American shipping is now operated. In the WEEKLY of December 14, we expressed surprise that a man of Mr. Hurley's business acumen should have undertaken so extraordinary a mission, and we predicted that it "must prove a failure, even though he enjoys the support of the omnipotent Gompers."

Mr. Hurley has returned, and confesses that his mission failed dismally. He asserts, however, that this is a matter of no moment because Great Britain is now paying her sailors practically the same wages that are paid Americans—an assertion which is by no means borne out by the fact. We pointed out, when Mr. Hurley went abroad, that in 1914, on three vessels of practically equal horse-power and tonnage, the wages paid on the American ship amounted to \$3,720 a month, on the British, to \$1,308 a month, and on the Japanese, to \$777 a month. And while the payroll on all three may have been increased somewhat since then, we have no reason to believe that there has occurred any material difference in the proportionate expense.

Nothing daunted by the failure of his mission, however, Mr. Hurley is still seeking some excuse for the continued employment of a great army of federal employees in the construction of ships for which there is, under existing laws, no prospect of profitable operation. Three of the five members of the Shipping Board, including John A. Donald, the only practical shipping man on the board, have declared themselves opposed to government operation. Shipping men and their organizations on both the Atlantic and Pacific coasts have declared that the government cannot make a success of ship operation. Great Britain, the most success-

ful shipping nation in the world, long ago decided that it cannot operate ships successfully, and has, since the signing of the armistice, denationalized its shipping, offered its ships for sale to private shipmasters and its shipyards to private enterprise. All the testimony worthy of consideration is against a government-operated merchant marine, and yet Mr. Hurley persists. His latest efforts in the direction of procuring sanction for his policy is a propaganda conducted among the farmers, designed to induce them to advocate government-owned and government-operated ships with a view to procuring better transportation of their crops. And the net result of this propaganda thus far has been severe condemnation by the agricultural press.

It is not clear whether we owe Mr. Hurley an apology for attributing to him business sagacity, or whether he is merely subordinating such business sense as he may possess to orders from "those higher up," who believe they perceive in the expenditure of vast sums for ship-building and in a federally operated merchant marine an opportunity to curry favor with labor and make votes at the polls. But it is certain that, whatever may be the occasion of it, the United States bids fair to be mulcted of the greater portion of the sum of \$3,000,000,000 for a shipping programme the only tangible result of which will be, possibly, further to endear the present Administration to organized labor—at least until labor learns that ultimately it must foot the bill.

At the end of a lengthy analysis of the ship-building fiasco, *The Army and Navy Register*, an extremely conservative journal, reaches this conclusion:

A step which should be taken in the interest of ship construction is the removal of Mr. Hurley as head of the Shipping Board. He has failed to accomplish the task to which he was assigned. What he has lacked in tangible achievement of enduring importance and value he has sought to supply by a publicity system that is energetic and enterprising and evidently the only perfect mechanism in his administration. A more capable management of the affairs of the Shipping Board is a somewhat belated acquisition, but it would improve the situation in a direction greatly to be desired and would save further unwarranted expenditures at a time when the termination of the emergency makes economy an essential and profitable factor, for, while it was possible to justify in some degree the excessive cost of the Shipping-Board ships as a war measure, there is no reason for indefinitely continuing the profligacy.

We hate to talk about ourselves, but in the very first number of the WAR WEEKLY, and in many subsequent numbers, we urged similar action. If it had not been for the British Admiralty and the British Merchant Marine, which convoyed and transported more than 60 per cent of our troops overseas, public opinion would long ago have forced the President to end Mr. Hurley's ungratifying tenure.

The cumulative testimony against the Bolsheviks and their Soviets for almost incredible crimes has finally been capped with that of the American Ambassador to Russia, who in the fullest possible manner confirms all that has been said about the betrayal of Russia and her Allies, the reign of terror, the murders and massacres, the suppression of free speech and the press, the wholesale looting, the abolition of marriage and the "nationalization" of women. A more hideous story was never told. Yet we suppose that in certain quarters we shall continue to hear clamorings for "Hands off Russia!"

A Washington Monument for France

Some Responses from Newspapers and Readers to Our Suggestion of a Memorial to Our Soldier Dead

WHAT more fitting memorial to the gallant sons of America who fought and died abroad could be devised than an exact reproduction of the Washington Monument, to be erected, through voluntary contributions by our whole people, upon the famous battlefield in France?

That is a question which we submit for the consideration of our readers, and we ask for candid responses.

We have obtained from our army engineers an estimate showing that the total cost of the Monument, built of marble corresponding in quality and color to that used in the original, would not exceed \$3,000,000. More than three millions of Americans were engaged in the war. Is it conceivable that they themselves and others for them would fail to produce the equivalent of one dollar for each? We cannot believe it. But even so, it is a large sum.

It goes without saying that this modest journal could not hope, even with the most energetic assistance of its exceptionally devoted constituency, to achieve so great an undertaking. But would not some of our leading patriotic newspapers throughout the country lend their cooperation in the carrying out of a plan designed to make the subscriptions as widespread as possible, approaching in number as closely as possible the twenty millions who comprise the vast army of the Red Cross?

We should appreciate wholly frank responses from our readers and indications of the attitude of our newspapers.

(From the WEEKLY of Feb. 22, 1919.)

A Beacon in France

(From the Cleveland News)

A Washington monument is proposed for France. It is to be an American monument, paid for by Americans. It will be an exact reproduction of the noble shaft which rises 555 feet in our national capital—the highest masonry structure in the world.

The plan is to build this new Washington monument at some point where American soldiers fought and died in the great war for France, no less than for America, and for the freedom and safety of the world. It is to be a memorial, to endure forever, in its simple majesty, of the part America took in fighting for liberty in France, as France fought for liberty in America long ago.

Washington was very near and dear to Lafayette. To that gallant and generous Frenchman the first great head of the young republic of the new world was ever the embodiment of all that was fine and inspiring in manhood and public service. There could be no more suitable monument to America, in France, than a second Washington monument to duplicate the one which is today, as it has been since its completion, the noblest structure of its kind in the new world.

Col. George Harvey, of the WEEKLY, known through the war period as the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW'S "War Weekly," is the author of this plan for a great and inspiring memorial to American soldiers and the country they served in France. He urges that the monument be built by a multitude of little contributions from millions of Americans, since millions were in the war and two millions actually went to France for war work. Engineers say that the splendid shaft in Washington can be duplicated, at a suitable spot in France, for not more than \$3,000,000, and if 3,000,000 Americans gave \$1 apiece the money would be provided. Six millions, at half a dollar apiece, would be better still.

Here is a project worth pushing through to complete success. It has dignity, simplicity, permanence, artistic merit and international significance and inspiration. There could be no finer visible proof of enduring brotherhood between France and America. There could be no more majestic monument to the Americans who fought and died in France for their own country, for both countries, for humanity, freedom and justice.

Colonel Harvey's Suggestion

(From the Rochester Post-Express.)

Colonel Harvey suggests that for a memorial in France we erect an exact duplicate of the Washington monument. At once this is seen to have many reasons for consideration. If we are to place a memorial of this war on French soil, it should be one worthy of the motive. In all our memorials we have none more inspiring than the Washington monument. It has a superb simplicity and dignity; it has a finality of semblance and the solidity of a great memorial construction. There would be ample spiritual significance to make this an appropriate memorial to stand on French soil; France was Washington's great helper and friend in building here the nation that went to her aid in this war. The cost of this project would be large but the result would be worth while and this nation would far rather pay for a project that brought satisfaction in permanency than to waste money on one that

proved unsatisfactory and one that had no particular significance to the peoples giving and receiving the memorial. It is far better to wait until we are sure of doing a dignified thing, because the absence of a memorial until this assurance comes is dignified enough. The American people would know what they were doing in erecting a second Washington monument on French soil and so would the French. Colonel Harvey makes an excellent suggestion.

A Memorial to Our Dead in France

(From the Syracuse Post-Standard)

What more fitting memorial to the gallant sons of America who fought and died abroad could be devised than an exact reproduction of the Washington Monument, to be erected, through voluntary contributions by our whole people, upon the famous battlefield in France? —George Harvey's Weekly.

The most impressive, the most satisfactory and the most familiar of all memorials erected in America to any person, cause or occasion is the obelisk reared in Washington by popular subscription to the memory of George Washington. In the capital where architects and sculptors have done their best and worst in monuments to our national heroes this slender shaft surpasses all in its simple beauty and majesty.

There could be indeed no more fitting memorial to our sons dead in France. There could be no more fitting memorial of the new friendship for France, resting upon our common sacrifices in a common cause.

A Memorial to France

(From the Rochester Democrat-Chronicle)

Colonel Harvey is energetically advocating erecting a monument in France in honor of the American dead in the form of "an exact reproduction of the Washington monument to be erected, through voluntary contributions by our whole people, upon the famous battlefield in France." The Washington monument, he says, is a notable work of art, typifying in its splendid simplicity the rugged spirit of America. Engineers have made an estimate that the total cost of such a memorial, built of marble corresponding in quality and color to that of the original, would not exceed \$3,000,000. This amount, collected in small sums from the whole body of the American people, would not be a heavy burden. The idea is worthy of consideration, at any rate. Some sort of an American memorial will, of course, be erected in France in due time, and it is important that the design should avoid offending the artistic sensibilities of the French people, and should also worthily commemorate the deeds of American soldiers on the soil of the French republic.

From an Ally

SIR,—Having been for quite a long time an attentive reader of HARVEY'S WEEKLY, I have often wished to meet you personally, or to write to you, in order to express my appreciation of your courageous and splendid standing in all questions which interest the really patriotic people of America.

I take occasion now from your article appearing in the issue of February 22d, suggesting "A Washington Monument for France," and want to tell you that I do not think a better suggestion has so far been made to give a fitting memorial to our boys who fell on the bloody Field of Honor and of Glory to defend the rights of Free Men.

This paper will be more than glad to coöperate in any way you may suggest for the success of your idea; and I myself want to assure you that you may count upon the hearty support of all patriotic Americans of Italian birth or descent of this section of the country.

A. CAPECELATRO.
(Editor Il Pensiero Italiano.)

Utica, N. Y.

A "Splendid" Suggestion

SIR,—I have just read the last issue of THE WEEKLY, in which you ask the readers to express themselves upon the suggestion of erecting in France a monument on the plan of our Washington Monument in memory of our boys who have fallen in France.

Your suggestion is a splendid one and I should like the privilege of subscribing. I am sure that many of our periodicals and papers would join heartily in the plan. I hope you will start the plan at once.

JOHN D. DUFF.

Letters From Our Readers

MR. WELLMAN AND MARCH HARES.

SIR,—Inasmuch as the enclosed letter from Mr. Wellman came accompanied by certain literature advertising one of his books, I feel that I am doing no violence to any possible personal confidence in sending the letter to you, accompanied by a copy of my reply to it.

With continued good wishes and assurance of my hearty agreement and sympathy with your views,

GEORGE H. VAN STONE.

Santa Fe, N. M.

[Enclosure.]

February 23.

G. H. Van Stone, Esq.,
Santa Fe.

Dear Sir: I like and admire George Harvey as much as you do, and I have known him for years.

But he is obsessed with his (no doubt justifiable) hatred of My Lord Woodrow, and his obsessions makes him as mad as a March Hare on the great issues of the hour.

Sincerely yrs.,

WALTER WELLMAN.

Mr. Walter Wellman,
New York City.

Dear Sir:—

Receipt of your letter of February 23, 1919, is acknowledged.

If George Harvey is obsessed with a hatred of My Lord Woodrow (as you call him) and that obsession makes him as mad as a March hare on the great issues of the hour—then George Harvey has a mighty big lot of mighty good company, the number of whom is hourly increasing.

But, if you will pardon me for so radical a difference of opinion, I feel quite certain that George Harvey and the many men who think as he does (whether they speak out in meeting or not) are not obsessed and are not as mad as March hares.

Out this way there is a quite commonly held thought that it is a certain darling of the gods who is the obsessed one and that the said darling of the gods is even madder than the proverbial March hare, the said madness being due to the attention of the said gods and to their legendary methods of first making mad those whom they would destroy.

What all good Americans may now be profitably thinking over is this: that they and their beloved country may escape the destruction surely lying in wait for the said darling of the gods.

Very truly yours,

GEORGE H. VAN STONE.

Santa Fe, March 5, 1919.

[The letters are piquant at any rate. In truth, however, the tradition of the March hare is based wholly upon superstition. His eccentricities are only those of all whose Springtime fancies lightly turn to fascinating thoughts. So at least we were once assured by a gentleman who spoke somewhat unintelligibly but authoritatively through the shadow of a harelip. We doubt if either Haywood or Cervantes ever saw a March hare. As for Brother Wellman, the dear old chap has never been quite the same since he got back from the North pole.—EDITOR.]

AN ASTONISHING INQUIRY

SIR,—Apropos of the "Finnigin" cartoon, will you kindly tell a fervent, faithful, and appreciative reader who is the chap at the right of Mr. Taft?

GEORGE HIRAM MANN.

New York City.

[We are surprised at you. The Rev. Dr. Henry Van Dyke. It was a perfect likeness.—EDITOR.]

WE MENACE THE CHURCH

SIR,—What next? The WAR WEEKLY dated Saturday used to arrive on the following Tuesday or Wednesday. Now that the "War" has been eliminated from the title, it arrives on Saturday as dated. Can it be that the "War" portion of the title put on the brakes in the same manner that it effected the War

Department and the War Risk Bureau? The change is well come, although I fear the new arrangement will decrease church attendance to an alarming degree.

Regarding the comments of yourself and others on the time it took the War Risk Bureau to take care of the soldier's allotments, I have met many who complained of from four to six months' delay, and some apparently never received any allotment. In fact I have never talked with anyone who failed to have some complaint to make in this respect.

A. M. JOHNSON.

Portland, Maine.

SAN FRANCISCO'S BURLESONIZED MAIL SERVICE

SIR,—San Francisco's mail service, under the present Administration, is beautifully shown up by the following facts:

Today, Saturday, is Washington's Birthday. Tomorrow is Sunday—both holidays. There is no mail delivered in San Francisco from 5 o'clock Friday night until Monday morning—in other words; two days elapse without a mail delivery.

This would not be so bad, because a business house expecting important mail could send to the postoffice; but the postoffice is also closed, and mail which may have accumulated there has to remain, because they refuse to open the office to deliver mail Saturday or Sunday. Of course, we don't expect mail to be delivered on Sunday by carrier, but you would think it would be possible for a business house, as it has been customary until recently, to call during certain hours on holidays or Sunday for important mail.

EARLE C. ANTHONY, INC.

San Francisco, Cal.

SALVAGED

SIR,—Please accept my congratulations on the splendid purpose you achieved through your WAR WEEKLY, and are maintaining in its successor. I rejoice in the courageous patriotism, the outspoken, fearless, and impartial comment, and amazing intellectual industry shown in your weekly editorials since the beginning of the war.

There cannot be the slightest doubt that through the appeal of your earnest logic and inimitable satire, many lives and much treasure were salvaged from the waste of egotistic official incompetence that has characterized the present lamentable Administration.

We need your extraordinary gifts in the days at hand and those to come, and I can not forbear this expression of my appreciation.

W. K. ROGERS.

Columbus, Ohio.

AMERICANISM

SIR,—You are a busy man, I know, but I am going to feel lots better for simply writing to say how much I appreciate your WEEKLY. Your Americanism stands out as a pilot light and will assist greatly, I pray, and help us all to be such "good Americans" that we may more than live up to the standard set by our great leader who has so recently crossed the river.

Best wishes for your success and the cause you are fighting for.

C. E. KELSEY.

North Tonawanda, N. Y.

WHY THEY WERE HELD

SIR,—THE WEEKLY of December 7, January 11, January 18 (January 18 still missing) were all three received in Paris on February 15, evidently held up in the P. O. until after the arrival in Paris of the Presidential party, joyriders, et al., and the splendid succession of regal ceremonies in honor of Czar Woodrow.

AMERICAN ABROAD.

Monte Carlo.

IN CELEBRATION

SIR,—I know of no better way of celebrating the retirement of the present Congress than by renewing my subscription to HARVEY'S WEEKLY. Long Live Col. Harvey, but a lot of us hope he will not make any more Presidents.

JOSEPH J. DEVLIN.

Toledo, Ohio.

NOTHING AT ALL

SIR,—“Itinerant Government” and “Perambulating President” are good, but what is the matter with “President-at-large”?

W. D. BELL.

Columbus, Ohio.

THE INDIANAPOLIS SPEECH

HARVEY'S WEEKLY

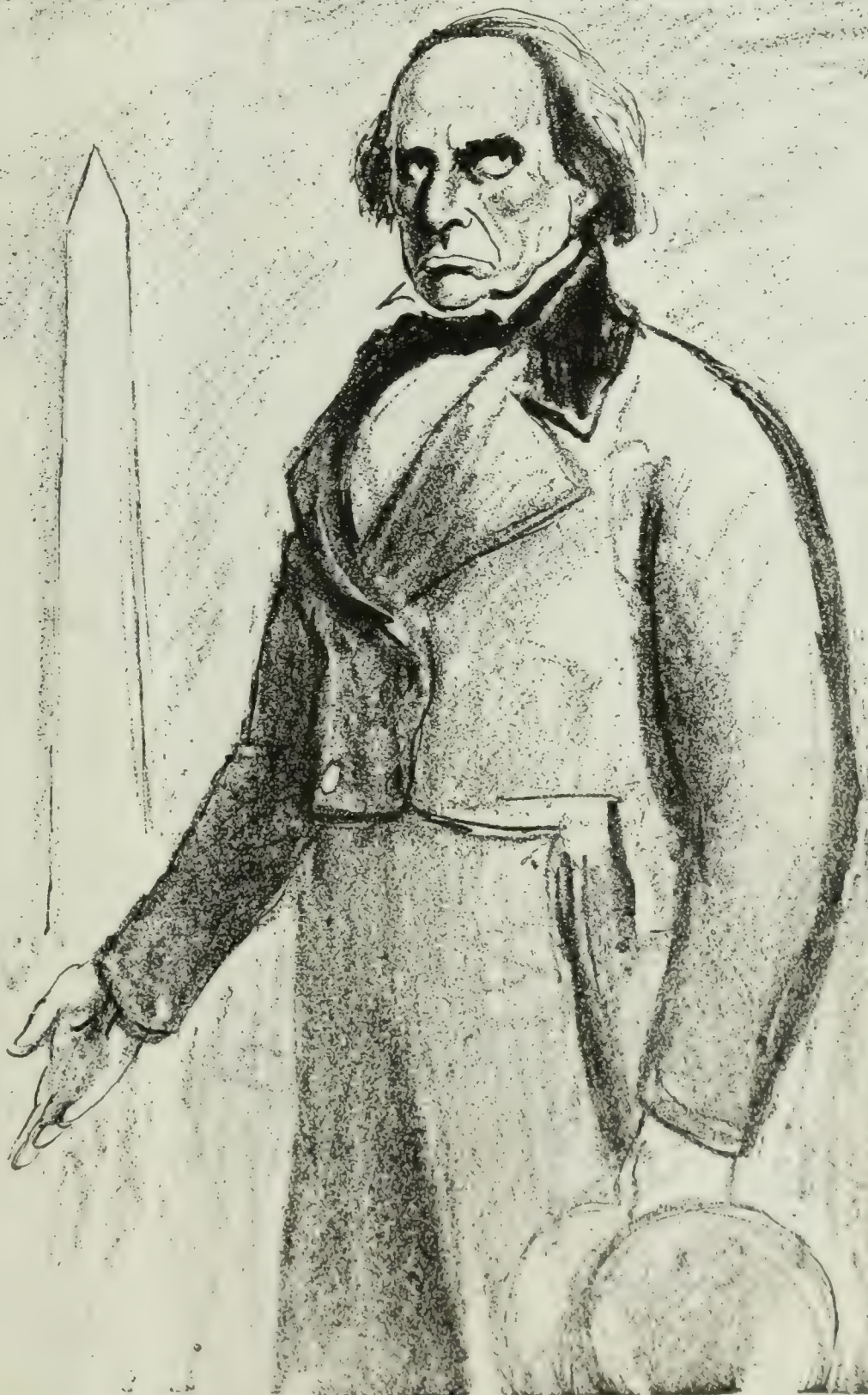
Four Dollars a Year

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VOL. 2

WEEK ENDING MARCH 29, 1919

No. 13



“Thank God, I—I also—am an American!”

—Daniel Webster

The Lesson from the West

ALL agree that a proposal such as the League of Nations ought not to be or to become a partisan issue. There do arise, however, conditions in the process of solving national and international problems which cannot be controlled by individuals or political parties because they are necessarily subject to circumstances existing. The present instance is one of that kind. The Republican party has no more option in the matter than it had when last year the President announced that politics was adjourned. That is to say, the President is in a position to make and must necessarily make the League of Nations the real issue in the forthcoming campaign.

The reason is quite simple. The Democratic party for the time being has ceased to exist. It is held tightly in the President's vest-pocket. This means, of course, that he can and will utilize the great body of both practical and theoretical Democrats in the fulfillment of his cherished ambition. There can be no fair criticism of him for pursuing this course. The complete surrender of the Democratic party to an individual was voluntary, and it must necessarily abide the consequences. It may happen, of course, that the covenant will be so thoroughly revised and amended that the President will be able to coerce even the Republican Senate into accepting it. That was the thought expressed the other evening by President Lowell who inferentially presented as strong an array of reasons for rejecting the present proposal as have appeared up to date. When you read carefully the many amendments suggested and virtually insisted upon by President Lowell you will discover that there is not enough left of the original document to put through the eye of a needle. Whether there be any truth or not in the familiar adage that "Lowells talk only with Cabots and Cabots talk only with God" one fact is quite certain; that is that President Lowell, irrespective of restrictions upon his conversations, certainly does not talk with President Wilson, despite the report as heralded with great exultation by Administration newspapers that President Wilson has been hailed by the masses throughout Europe as a "second Messiah."

The night before the President sailed he announced that the first thing he was going to say to the people abroad was that he had behind him in America an overwhelming majority eagerly supporting his special project. Whether he kept this pledge and gave them such assurance we are uninformed. If so, the fact has not yet developed in the published reports, although that is anything but conclusive evidence because of the continuing existence of a rigid censorship. What we do learn with every semblance of authority is that the President has succeeded in obtaining the acquiescence of the other Powers to a degree sufficient to enable him to incorporate in the preliminary peace treaty the covenant itself, substantially as written originally in precise accord with his declaration that this is what he is meant to do and fully intended to do, regardless of the sentiment of this country, except as he personally should see fit to interpret it.

Now to those who are familiar with the attitude of the United States Senate nothing could be more certain than that the covenant as it stands will never be ratified by two-

thirds of that part of the treaty-making power. The probability is that, despite the President's ingenuity in intertwining the League notion in the peace treaty, the document itself will be susceptible to disentangling to such an extent at any rate as to enable the Senate to ratify the portion bearing directly upon the peace settlement without perhaps even passing upon the remainder concerning the League of Nations. If so, the League of Nations will continue to be a subject of contention and the President, having staked his all, both as a matter of present accomplishment and as for making his definite place in history, will almost inevitably carry out his announced program or threat, or whatever it may be called, of going straight to the people. Should he do so, the issue thus raised by him would be so far reaching and so overwhelming that it would simply dwarf all other partisan questions. There would be left then no escape for the Republican party from accepting the challenge of internationalism against nationalism, of sentimentality, not sentiment, against patriotism.

It follows therefore that if this situation should arise, as it most probably will arise, the conclusion reached as the result of a most acute and convincing analysis in the *Sun* a few days ago is correct. Mr. Munsey summed up his carefully drawn and convincing deductions in these words:

Organization must be met with organization. There is no other way. There is no other force save the Republican party capable of meeting the Democratic hordes on the fields of combat and scattering them to the four winds. Disorganized opposition to the Wilson League will count for nothing against the highly organized Democratic party, answering to the party whip wielded by the strong right hand of the President.

To say at this stage of the proceedings that the Wilson League scheme should not become a party issue when it is already a mammoth party issue with the Democratic party is to say in effect that the League should have no opposition at all.

Such a conclusion may be good enough for some of us, but, thank God, it is not good enough for all of us. There are some Americans still among us, the men and women of the great Republican party as a whole, who ring true to the ideals of the fathers who founded this free and independent nation.

With the Republican party the die is cast. It must go and sustain its great party leaders of the United States Senate, men of courage and patriotism who have pledged themselves to overthrow this Wilson scheme. It is to do this or through inaction of indecision commit political suicide. "The League of Nations" is a gripping phrase, meaning the elimination of war, but the Republican men and women of America are now awakening to the full meaning of this denationalizing covenant that Mr. Wilson with his Democratic party at his back is determined to force through.

The 1920 campaign is already on. The League of Nations is the great issue. The Democratic party, led by its Democratic President, has sounded the call to battle. If the *Sun* knows the American people, if the *Sun* knows the kind of stuff the Republican party is made of, it has no doubt as to the kind of answer it will hurl at its lifelong enemy, the Democratic party.

We believe that this comes as near being an exact statement of the issue, the overwhelming issue, which is bound to confront the country in the next national campaign as could be devised, not only because it will make for a final determination as between internationalism and nationalism and as between sentimentality and patriotism, but because interwoven in internationalism are all the threads of Socialism and Bolshevism, and the sooner the Republic takes an unqualified stand upon all of those allied fallacies, the better it will be for our own country and for the entire world.

There is another reason why we welcome the test. We have in mind from instinct and faith, tremendously intensified by the uprisings of great audiences in the Middle West,

that the ultimate result will be one of which no American need be ashamed. Unless we wholly misread the determination of the great body of patriotic citizens who occupy that controlling section of the country, neither next year or ever will the American people vote to denationalize their Republic.

All that it is essential to do is to see to it that the issue be made absolutely clear and be presented with full comprehensiveness to the twenty-five millions of thinking men and women who alone have the right to decide whether the alien government of the United States advocated by Mr. Wilson shall supplant the home government installed by George Washington and upheld to the uttermost by every patriotic President through the long line down at least to Mr. Roosevelt.

That is the lesson brought back from the Middle West.

Colonel Harvey calls attention to the "inflexible rule" that for every gift accepted by royalty one equal, at least, in value must be returned, and he sees that the twenty-four large crates of gifts which the President and Mrs. Wilson are bringing home on the *George Washington* may become embarrassing to the extent that they are valuable. He suggests that Congress promptly make an appropriation to enable the President to pay off his present and future debts of courtesy to the kings, queens and other officials in Europe. He thinks \$1,000,000 will be enough, but that is a guess. We have heard very little about the number and value of the gifts received by the Presidential party, but they are likely to be worth much more than \$1,000,000.—*Hartford Courant*.

Quite likely; but we covered the point by suggesting addition of the words "more or less, as may be required." The announced transfer of \$150,000 from the President's special fund to be expended by Mr. B. M. Baruch without an accounting makes Uncle Sam look like a piker—unless, of course, it is to be used for some other purpose not yet revealed.

"He Kept Us Out Of Peace"

"HE kept us out of war" was the phrase under which the President's election was urged by his partisans.

"He kept us out of peace" may be the opprobrious verdict under which that second term will pass into history.

It is no longer possible to deny that it is because of his obstinacy that we are not now at peace with Germany under a treaty satisfactory to the Allies and to justice. That testimony comes from many sources, and is writ large and unmistakable in the records of the Peace Congress. It comes from French and British and Italian sources as well as from American. From the very beginning of that Congress the President's attention has been given almost exclusively to other things than the Peace Treaty, and so far as it has been in his power to effect it—and it has been very largely in his power—the attention of the Congress itself has been thus diverted from its most urgent and most important business.

Indeed, that was true before the Congress met. In that extraordinary campaign of speech-making, band-leading and kiss-throwing which the President conducted in various European countries just before the assembling of the Congress, he had little or nothing to say about the Treaty of Peace. The burden of his harangues was the League of Nations.

The otherwise uninformed listener or reader might well have supposed that the formation of such a League was the President's prime object in visiting Europe and the prime object of the congress which is to meet in Paris, and the making of peace with Germany was merely an incidental and negligible detail.

So it came to pass that so long as the President remained in Paris we heard little about the Peace Treaty. It was not until he started on his flying visit to the country which he should never have left that the Congress got really at work on the Peace Treaty. We are told that while he was away, more was done on it than had been done in all the time before, so that upon his return the preliminary draft was practically completed for his inspection and approval.

Then something happened. It does not appear that he greatly objected to the terms of the Treaty. But he did immediately insist that his League of Nations scheme should be taken up again and interwoven with the Peace Treaty as he had threatened that it should be, so that it would be impossible for the United States Senate to separate them, but would be necessary for that body to accept or reject them both together. The statesmen of France and Great Britain objected to that, both on the principle that it would be illogical and incongruous and on the practical ground that it would certainly cause delay and might perhaps result in the rejection of both measures. But the President was as stubborn and as wilful as he once described a little group of Senators to be, and was insistent, under the protecting shield of a censorship which prevented the truth from being known, in declaring that there would be no delay and no rejection, since the overwhelming majority of the American people was behind him and only a few "pigmy-minded" Senators—like Messrs. Lodge and Knox and Borah and Brandegee and Cummins and Chamberlain—opposed him.

But the result of this action of the President's was more delay at Paris. The minor and neutral Powers very rightly protested against being ignored in the formation of the League, and everything had to be halted until they could be heard from. Then the delegates to the Congress laid the Peace Treaty on the shelf and set to work trying to transmogrify the Smuts-Wilson Constitution into a form that would be acceptable to the Senate, or to enough Senators to let its ratification squeeze through, and yet that would save the President's face and not—as he himself insisted—cause him to lose any tricks in the partisan political game which he was playing at Washington.

So the work of peace-making drags, with the President himself applying the brakes with his sullen and stodgy insistence, "No League, no Peace!" France, glorious France, the savior of humanity, is suffering fiscal prostration and is restrained from the supreme work of restoration of her ravaged provinces, because peace has not yet been made. Great Britain is suffering an economic and industrial crisis of indescribable gravity, because peace has not yet been made. Germany is suffering civil war and danger of general anarchy, because peace has not yet been made; while Bolshevism has taken charge in Hungary and insolently challenges the Entente governments. Even our own affairs are topsy-turvy and demoralized, because peace has not yet been made.

And clear as the writing on the wall, traced by a hand of flame, stands out the fact that peace has not yet been made because the President would not permit it. He stood in the way with something else which he insisted should be done first. The nations longed for peace, cried out for it, were ready for it; but he denied it to them. "No League, no Peace," he said. The prerequisite to their having peace was that they should denationalize themselves. Now it is at last intimated, presumably because the truth of American sentiment is beginning to get past the censorship and to be known in Europe, that he is willing to accept revision of the thing which he once declared to be insusceptible of improvement. But that is too late to avert the mischief which has already been done through unreasonable and inexcusable delay; for which delay and for which mischief the President must be held accountable.

He kept us out of peace!

The Great Debate

MR. WILSON'S adherents have been remarking upon what they seem to consider Senator Lodge's "conversion." He was persuaded, they say, to admit that he was in favor of a league, alliance, society or what not of the nations for securing the world so far as possible against war. Marvelous, indeed! Pretty soon some Gifted Hopkins will discover that Thomas Jefferson was opposed to "entangling alliances," or that Abraham Lincoln believed in "government of the people, for the people, by the people."

So much for that red herring. Now for the real trail, which leads straight to the very impressive conversion of President Lowell from a vague and generalizing advocate of any old league of notions into a trenchant and destructive critic of the Smuts-Cecil-Wilson covenant. We must remember that the debate was not on the general question of peace, or international coöperation, or anything of that sort. It was on the specific question of the merits of the Smuts-Cecil-Wilson covenant; whether the instrument which the President is trying to jam through at Paris and at Washington without amendment or modification is the best thing that could be devised for the purpose, and whether it is a thing that ought to be accepted by the American nation.

Let us recall what the President himself said about it, after submitting it to the American people and just before going back to Paris to force it, if possible, through the Peace Congress. He said:

Each article was passed only after the most careful examination by each member of the committee. There is good and sufficient reason for the phraseology and substance of each article.

If that meant anything at all, it meant that the Covenant was as nearly perfect as the collective wisdom of the committee of the Peace Congress, with the President at its head, could make it; and that therefore, as the President himself also said, it was not to be considered as subject to revision or amendment, save perhaps for a slight verbal rearrangement of one passage. Well, we all know how soon Mr. Taft revolted at that pretension of perfection, and insisted that the thing was decidedly imperfect and must be pretty

radically revised. Let us see to what conclusion President Lowell was brought through the keen analysis and persuasive logic of Senator Lodge. Here are his own words:

In the first place, I want to agree most heartily with Senator Lodge that this is a very badly drawn instrument. . . . The whole of this business, I will admit, has not been thought out. It is badly drafted; it is very easily misunderstood, and has been very much misunderstood. . . . I assume that of course this thing will be redrafted. . . . In places it is so obscure that the meaning is often inaccurately expressed and sometimes doubtful. . . . Do they agree to go to war? It seems to me that that is doubtful and again badly drawn.

Thus all the way through. Why, one might readily and plausibly suppose that President Lowell was talking on the other side, was attacking with destructive criticism this Covenant of which he was in fact assumed to be the supporter. And what an indictment, what a blistering, scathing condemnation, he was thus compelled to make of that marvellous document!

"Each article," says President Wilson, "was passed only after the most careful examination by each member of the committee."

"It is," says President Lowell, "very badly drawn. It is badly drafted. It is so obscure that the meaning is often inaccurately expressed and sometimes doubtful."

"There is," says President Wilson, "good and sufficient reason for the phraseology and substance of each article."

"It has," says President Lowell, "not been thought out. It is very easily misunderstood."

We must, then, assume that President Wilson, with his logical mind and his phenomenal gift for clarity of expression, passed and approved, after the most careful examination, article after article that had not been thought out, that was badly drafted, and that was so obscure that its meaning was a matter of doubt. We must assume that there is in President Wilson's mind "good and sufficient reason" for drawing the Covenant badly and so obscurely that it is easily misunderstood. We must assume that there is some imperative need of jamming through, without amendment, an international Covenant which has not been thought out, which is badly drawn, which is obscure, and which is easily misunderstood.

And that Covenant is presented to us as the most important international instrument in the history of the world, and upon the basis of it we are asked to abrogate our national independence and sovereignty and to throw the Constitution of the United States and the Monroe doctrine into the discard!

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The Burleson Bust

GEORGE WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY has the singular distinction of being the only seat of learning in this country, or the world for that matter, to be adorned with a bust of the Politicalmaster General. On Friday last, with proper dedicatory ceremonies at which the wife of Mr. Burleson was the principal speaker, a lady, described in the Washington dispatches as "Mrs. John B. Henderson, wife of the late former Senator from Missouri," presented the University with a bas-relief bust of the historical Burleson which was the artistic work of Mrs. Henderson's own hands. As to the material in which the revered features of the Politicalmaster General are to go down to future generations of George Washingtonians, we are not informed.

But, relatively, this is unimportant. It is not so much the enduring quality of the bust itself as of the inscription under it that is of prime consequence. That inscription should be graven in letters of brass. It should distinctly immortalize Albert Sidney Burleson as unqualifiedly the worst Postmaster General ever known in the history of the United States. Thus distinguished, a bas-relief memorial to the Politicalmaster is an entirely fitting contribution to the historical collections of George Washington or any other university.

There are degrees in incompetence. They range all the way from those which inspire contempt to those which awaken emotions of awe and reverence. That the gifts of varied and all-round ineptitude which the Politicalmaster General has so long exhibited to a suffering country are of the latter class, is axiomatic. They mark an epoch. They establish a standard. Hopelessly beyond possibility of being matched, they will yet remain for generations unborn a measure and a fixed high-water mark of postal incapacity by which to establish for ages the relative impotence of the Politicalmaster General's successors in office. As such, the consolatory nature of such a memorial is not to be overlooked. For all time to come, no matter how vile may chance to be any future mail service, the sufferers, howsoever bitter may be their complaints, may be silenced by pointing to a mural tablet of the immortal Burleson and by a rebuking reminder of what were the sufferings of their ancestors as compared with their own.

We heartily approve the inspiring gift of a bas-relief bust of the Politicalmaster General to George Washington University. We would even rejoice to see the happy suggestion develop into a national movement. Why restrict the bas-relief presentation to one institution? Why not have all our great seats of learning, all our public school rooms adorned with a Burleson mural tablet emblazoned with a snail somnolent as the interpretive crest? As a matter of course, every postoffice, cross-roads or metropolitan, should have its Burleson Bust, at least, if not some more impressive memorial. Full length statues in some of the larger centres would hardly be excessive manifestation of public sentiment towards the Politicalmaster General's achievements in mail service paralysis. As for Sioux Falls, South Dakota, we fail to see how the citizens of that bustling mid-western metropolis can

be satisfied with anything less than some imposing outdoor monument, some towering shaft, to the only postal administrator who ever succeeded in wiping the largest city in a great State completely off the map.

The Real Cause of Delay

SO the League is not after all the cause of delay in peace-making. That is what we are now being told by the agitated apologists of the Administration, with an elaborate affection of indignant surprise that anybody should ever have thought of such a thing. There are half a dozen other things that are in the way. There are the question of reparation, the union of Austria with Germany, the proposed Rhenish Republic, the German food and blockade question, the new German boundary lines, and the Fiume dispute. These are what cause delay, and not the Smuts-Cecil-Wilson Covenant.

Well, let us see about it. The President stated at the outset, before the Congress began, that there should be no peace made until the League could simultaneously be formed. Not even the toadiest toady of the Administration will deny that. And although the President gave almost his entire attention to it, he was unable to get the League Covenant in shape to present to the Congress until just a few hours before he started on his return trip to this country. That also is an indisputable fact of record and admission. Obviously and indisputably, also, the Peace Treaty could not be completed in his absence, and of course it could not be adopted until he got back to Paris with his League Covenant, which was to be inextricably interwoven with the Peace Treaty and adopted simultaneously with it.

We have, therefore, the President's own authority for it that because of the League of Nations it was impossible to complete the Peace Treaty earlier than the middle of March, a full three months after the President's arrival at Paris. For all delay down to that date, the League was absolutely responsible. Nor did the League's delay cease then. Despite the President's disingenuous boast that all America was for the Covenant, he knew when he returned to Paris that radical revision of the thing was necessary if it was to stand any chance at all of being ratified. He therefore set himself to work on such revision, even to the neglect of other duties at the Congress, and his work of revision is not yet completed. He has not yet got that "ill-drawn and not thought-out" instrument into the shape which he will dare to present to the Congress for final acceptance and to our Senate for ratification. Why, only last week all the neutral nations were only just beginning to be heard from concerning it. Yet until the Covenant is completed to the satisfaction of all, the Treaty of Peace must wait. What patent insincerity to pretend that the League has "little or nothing to do with the delay"!

It is also to be observed that nearly if not quite all the other issues which are alleged to be responsible for the delay never arose until a little while ago; until after the League Covenant had been pushed to the fore. Some of them never would have arisen at all if the Peace Treaty had been made promptly. They have arisen because of

the delay. They are not causes; they are results. As for the others, which have existed from the beginning, they would without objection have been held in abeyance until after peace had been made if only the latter process had been expedited. They have been forced into untimely prominence and have been invested with exaggerated importance solely because the League business has so scandalously delayed the making of peace.

We believe it to be well within bounds to say that if it had not been for the President's egotistical insistence upon putting the League of Nations before everything else, the Treaty of Peace would have been made, signed, and ratified weeks ago, and the nations would now be making progress in their work of restoration after the war—a work of the very greatest civic, social and economic importance, but one which cannot be carried beyond the preliminary stage until the settlement of peace. More than that, these other issues, which are now falsely alleged to be the causes of the delay, would also have been disposed of by this time, if indeed they had arisen at all.

Excuses and specious pretences will not serve. Responsibility for the delay in peace-making, and therefore for all the evils which have arisen from that delay, rests directly upon the League of Nations scheme and its infatuated sponsor and advocates.

"The difficulty," Secretary Baker concluded, "is that we have not looked war in the face."

Quite so!

It is a part of the fine irony of irenics that Switzerland should urge an amendment to the League of Nations Covenant for the specific confirmation of the Monroe Doctrine. The American delegate and his assistants would not, so Switzerland did it. Must we leave it to foreign lands to appreciate and to uphold our national principles?

If the League of Nations Covenant is to be united in any way with the Treaty of Peace, probably the best or the least objectionable way would be, as some have proposed, as an appendix. The thing is sufficiently vermiform to play the part; and amputation of the appendix is a familiar and often successful surgical operation.

The Overpowering Issue

(From the Troy Times)

The *North American Review* coincides with the view expressed recently by the *Troy Times* that American politics will divide on the question of internationalism against nationalism or, as the *Review* phrases it, Socialism against Americanism. Colonel Harvey says: "Gradually but irresistibly the overpowering issue of the coming campaign is forming itself in perfect conformity with the President's activities abroad and his partially formulated program at home. The issue will be Socialism against Americanism." Mr. Harvey believes that the Democratic party will bow to its "ruler," but that the Republican party will step forward to save the Union. He welcomes the test and says that it may as well come now as later.

The Republican party, which has fought successfully greenbackism, Free Silver and other cults, may well take up the fight against the internationalism of the Socialists. And the Democratic party can never win as the sponsor of a surrender of America's political integrity.

Do the Next Thing

THE quaint old precept comes forcibly to mind as one which the members of the Peace Congress and many others might most profitably have had in mind long ago. "Do the next thing." But never before, in circumstances of comparable moment, was the wise rule so flagrantly or so generally ignored.

The "next thing," away back last Fall, was to make a Treaty of Peace. Obviously, a treaty of peace was to be a compact between the Allied belligerents and the Central Powers, prescribing the terms on which the war was to cease and the penalty which the beaten Huns were to pay for their irremediable wrongs against the Allies and the world. That was all. Of course there were many other and important issues directly or indirectly growing out of the war. But they were not "the next thing." They could afford to wait until peace had been made. Indeed, in the very nature of the case it was desirable, if not in some instances necessary, that they should thus wait.

But what has been done instead? Ignoring "the next thing," men have been reaching out and over for all manner of remote and irrelevant things. They have been seized with an irresistible mania, apparently, for meddling with everything under the sun. As though the problem of making peace were not sufficient, they have been hunting up and inventing all sorts of other problems and dragging them in to be disposed of simultaneously with, if not actually in advance of, the treaty of Peace. They seem to have a perfect itch for taking the world apart and reorganizing it incidentally to the making of peace with Germany.

The President took the lead with his fad of a League of Denationalized Nations. Others jumped in with prohibition. Others sought to internationalize the various problems of capital and labor. Just because we should have to make a treaty of peace, the occasion was deemed opportune for every faddist to ride his little hobby into the Congress and demand a chance to display his paces.

The results are delay, confusion, dissension, and menace. The essential principles of a just peace have largely been lost sight of in the bedlam of rival fads. Seldom does anyone in authority or interest ask what reparation Germany shall be compelled to make, and what guarantees she shall be required to give, though really they are pretty nearly all that the Congress was intended to deal with. But they want to know to what extent the League of Nations will meddle in domestic affairs, and what the attitude of the international labor bureau will be toward picketing in Hester Street, and whether there will be an international prescription of the permissible strength of beer. Many have become so obfuscated over these things that they have forgotten the guilt of Germany and the wrongs of her victims, and are inclined to abandon all demands for reparation in favor of enacting their pet fads.

There ought to be some leadership at Paris sufficiently masterful to move the Congress to "do the next thing." It ought not to be permitted to go on record that the great international congress summoned to make a treaty of peace at the end of the world's greatest war formed a League of Nations, and regulated the international liquor trade, and

adjusted the difference in wages between the United States and Japan, and adopted a universal daylight-saving rule, and discussed the ethnological, philological and theological differences between Tweedledum and Tweedledee, and—oh, yes!—we had almost forgotten: incidentally, it made peace with Germany.

The world wants Peace, on an assured basis. With that achieved, it can readily go on to the settlement of other issues and the making of other agreements; but until that is done, the other things of real importance cannot be done. You cannot build the superstructure until the foundation is laid, and the greater the superstructure is to be, the more substantial must be the foundation. In the present case the foundation is peace. That is "the next thing."

"Open Covenants"

FURTHER light is shed upon a dark spot by some very direct and categorical statements in various newspapers, including some most favorable to the President and his schemes at Paris. The New York *Sun* on Saturday last reported with much detail the censoring, deleting, and mutilating of one of its editorial articles which had been cabled over to the *Echo de Paris*. The latter, it will be recalled, is the very important Paris paper, at times the semi-official organ of the French Foreign Office, which, according to Mr. André Cheradame, has hitherto suffered greatly from such censorship; as described in our columns last week. The editorial which was thus withheld from the French reading-public was, as might be supposed, one relating to the President's League of Nations scheme. It was in fact that very notable and admirable article of last week to which we have hitherto referred, urging the Republican party to take up the President's challenge and to form a nation-wide organization for an aggressive campaign against his denationalization scheme.

The case was a flagrant one; so flagrant that other papers, the rivals and political opponents of the *Sun* and thick-and-thin supporters of the President, were forced to take notice of it. Thus the New York *Times* on the same day had a special wireless dispatch from a correspondent in Paris to precisely the same effect as that in the *Sun* itself. It declared that the incident was a demonstration of "the French government's inclination to suppress newspaper criticism of President Wilson's attitude in regard to the League of Nations." The *Sun* also, as a necessary matter of form, charged the act against the French censorship, which is of course nominally responsible for it.

It is pertinent to inquire, however, whether the French government is really so solicitous for the success of the President's scheme as to do these things at its own desire and initiative. We remember quite well that only a little while ago M. Clemenceau was little short of hostile to the Smuts-Cecil-Wilson League, openly declaring his preference for an alliance of select nations, or "balance of power." We should be interested to know by what means he has been so passionately converted to Wilsonian denationalization as to order or countenance such exercise of despotic power in its behalf.

Mr. Cheradame, as we have already recalled, states ex-

plicitly that "two American experts" are working in the office of the French censorship, and he most reasonably assumes that their special function is to censor news from the United States to the French press. It is indeed impossible to imagine any other plausible excuse for their being there. The inevitable assumption is, therefore, that it was they who mutilated the *Sun* editorial last week. The pertinent inquiries therefore rise: Why did they do it? At whose instance were these "American experts" attached to the French censorship? Whose interests are they serving in preventing the French public from knowing how strongly the President is opposed in his own country? We confess that it would tax our credulity to believe that M. Clemenceau is so enamored of the President's scheme that he has ordered suppression of all unfavorable criticisms of it. But it does not seem at all improbable that a man who would go back to Paris to make untruthful representations to the French government and public should be earnestly desirous of preventing corrections thereof from being known, at least until after his misrepresentations had served their purpose. It seems also quite possible that the French government would courteously grant a request from the United States government that "two American experts" be attached as aids to its censorship; and we have no doubt that two such expert aids could be found who would carefully suppress anything that the President did not want published.

Meantime the Peace Congress, with its always "open" meetings, appears to have abdicated its authority to the Supreme Council, familiarly known as the "Big Five," which meets privately and issues reports of its proceedings which are models of terse and convincing non-information; and the "Big Five" has in turn delegated its authority to the "Big Three," which meets in profound secrecy in the home of the President or in the apartment of Colonel House. We can imagine the members of this triumvirate, arriving at the Hotel Crillon separately, entering furtively, and gaining admission to the Colonel's apartment with password and countersign. When all are in, the shades drawn, the keyholes guarded, the walls sounded for concealed dictaphones, and voices attuned to confidential whispers, the President inquires:

"Are the two experts at the censorship creeling successfully?"

"They are, Your Excellency."

"Then, MAY I NOT recommend Open Covenants Openly Arrived At?"

Organized Injustice

SENATOR CHAMBERLAIN'S letter to Secretary Baker on the subject of court-martial injustice is one of the most vigorous contributions to the discussion of that important topic which has yet been made. Mr. Baker is a shifty gentleman; adroit indeed in squirming out of tight corners. But in getting out of the hole in which his aggressive fellow Democrat, the Senator from Oregon, has placed him he has his task cut out for him, with no alternatives but to tackle it in the open or to evade it altogether.

Of Mr. Baker's skill in evasion Senator Chamberlain sets

forth some impressive instances. When General Ansell was demoted to a Lieutenant Colonelcy for making public some of the more notorious court-martial infamies and his own vain efforts to abate the evil, he made a statement answering Mr. Baker's statements to him. This document has never been made public. It has been kept buried out of sight. Senator Chamberlain demanded it in a firm but very courteously worded telegram. He asked for it in the interests of the army itself, as well as in the interests of those thousands of enlisted men and their families who have suffered from court-martial sentences so disproportioned to the delinquencies charged as to qualify them as opera bouffe pranks were they not, unhappily, very grim tragedy to the unfortunate victims. It was and is entirely proper that the public should know what General Ansell wrote to Mr. Baker. Aside from the just claims of the public in this matter, it is no more than justice to General Ansell himself that it be spread before the people of the country in whose behalf he made so loyal a stand.

Mr. Chamberlain plainly and directly asked Mr. Baker for the Ansell statement. To that plain request Mr. Baker made the following shiftily evasive answer:

Your telegram received. More than a year ago I asked the Military Committees of both the Senate and House to correct the faults in the present court-martial system. I shall renew the request when Congress re-assembles. There would seem to be therefore no controversy on the merits of the subject. Have not seen the letter in question and cannot imagine any reason why my consideration of it on my return will not be time enough.

In other words, the Secretary of War will not give up the document, and dodges the request for it by an indefinite suggestion about looking over it at some future time.

"It is painful to me, Mr. Secretary," writes Mr. Chamberlain in reply, "to find you fencing upon a question which means so much to the tens of thousands of enlisted men who have suffered injustice under the present system, a question which means so much to you, the army, the nation."

Mr. Chamberlain then calls attention to Mr. Baker's inconsistencies and self contradictions. In the statement just quoted Mr. Baker says that he recognized court-martial evils and requested legislation to remedy them. On the 10th of March last he wrote a warm approval of the existing court-martial system and apparently was quite blind to any deficiencies therein. On this occasion Mr. Baker said he had not been brought to believe that justice had not been done under the present law. The "justice" to which the Secretary gives his hearty approval is the justice of sentencing mere boys to from twenty to forty years imprisonment at hard labor for disrespect to some cocky young upstart of an officer, or for going without leave to a dying parent's bedside and then immediately reporting back to camp for duty.

"Organized Injustice" is what Senator Chamberlain calls a system under which such enormities are possible, and the victims thereof he describes, with equally entire propriety, as immolated on the altar of this Organized Injustice.

Could not have won war without women, says Philip Gibbs.
—*The Tribune*.

Couldn't even have started it, say we.

A Study in Blundering

THAT Mr. Wilson was riding for a fall was evident from the moment he landed in Boston on his recent flying visit to his post of duty. He seemed to have thrown discretion to the winds. His ever latent self-sufficiency apparently had developed into an extravagant egomania. It found expression in terms all the way between insufferable arrogance and ill-restrained vituperation. Mr. Wilson swaggered and threatened at every stage of his journey from the *George Washington's* deck in Boston to her deck in New York when he sailed away. In Boston he boasted of his "fighting blood" being up. In Washington he sneered at the "pigmy minds" of Senators representing the very best we have of American legislative statesmanship. He was so violent in his language that those among his own friends who heard him would not venture to tell all he said. In New York he uttered the flat inexactitude that the "overwhelming majority" of the people of the United States favored his preposterous League of Nations constitution. Then he boastfully threatened that that League constitution would come back so interwoven with the treaty of peace, for which the whole world is crying aloud, that the one could not be separated from the other. Lashed as a rider to the peace treaty, the Smuts League constitution was to be jammed down the throats of the American people whether they wanted it or not. Either that or indefinite continuance of a state of technical war and indefinite delay in the return home of our soldiers.

All this, of course, is fresh enough in everybody's mind. It is not repeated to emphasize one of the most humiliating exhibitions a President of the United States has ever made of himself. Our purpose is not to dwell needlessly upon so painful an episode. It is solely by way of recalling various stages to that inevitable fall from a grotesquely high horse for which the President has been so obviously riding, from the moment he made the fatal error of breaking all precedents and traditions by self-expatriation and abandonment of that post of duty to which his country had assigned him. From that moment, every vestige, not only of prudence but of ordinary tact, seems to have left him. His entire career from that day to this has been one series of blunders. Needing a full two-thirds majority of the Senate to attain his ends, he set out to win that majority by contemptuously ignoring the Senate in a body, and by reviling its most honored members individually. Wishing to shake off Senatorial debate of his impossible League proposition by refusing to convene Congress, he spread that debate from rostrums all over the country, instead of confining it to the far less effective rostrums of the Senate Chamber itself. More than that, the very absence of debate in the Senate has smoothed the way for a concentration and organization of Senate opposition probably otherwise unattainable. And back of that organization there has been massing a cumulative growth of popular indignation at the President for delaying peace, mainly, it would seem, from motives of personal vanity and pride of opinion, which inevitably will count heavily and disastrously against him in the final show-down.

Furthermore, by his very threats, he has made a certainty of what will follow if those threats are fulfilled and the

peace treaty and the League treaty come to us closely interwoven. In that case either the one will be dissected from the other, or, failing that, the entire document will be rejected.

A bitter humiliation to inflict upon a President of the United States, no doubt, but an humiliation for which the sole responsibility will rest upon the President who suffers it, and upon him alone. Historians detached from the emotions of the present day will study it, no doubt, as among the most curious problems on record in the psychology of political blundering under the stimulus of acute megalomania.

Whose Fault?

DAY by day it becomes more apparent that the President's League of Nations is not, as the President himself described it in advance, an organization for affording guarantees of political independence to great and small states alike. Instead it is designed to be a concern bossed by a few big states for impairing the political independence of all states save those which are lucky enough to command a majority of the Executive Council.

Neither is it, as Mr. Taft fondly hoped and designed, a League for Enforcing Peace, but rather a League for Promoting War. We have hitherto pointed out the likelihood of its provoking war among the nations. The news of the day convicts it of already provoking serious dissension in the Peace Congress and of engendering suspicion and animosity between nations which otherwise would have remained on terms of confident friendship.

"Signs are appearing," says one correspondent, "that the unanimity of the Peace Conference is cracking under the strain of the League of Nations plans." "Just at the moment," says another on the same day, "when everything seemed to be favorable to harmonizing the differences over the League of Nations Covenant, Peace Conference circles were disturbed," etc. Then there were reports that Italy and Japan had both threatened to withdraw from the Congress if certain concessions were not immediately granted to them. These reports were denied, reaffirmed, re-denied, and what not. But it is ominously significant that they ever arose at all.

If possible, still more regrettable is the development of international alienations, both popular and official. Says a correspondent of the *New York Sun*: "The British have become alarmed by dispatches from their American correspondents stating that an anti-British tide is rising in America as the result of the covenant." For this there is unhappily only too much ground. We do not mean that there is cause for animosity between the two countries, nor do we believe that all the marplotry of the President, whether maladroit or malign, will cause a breach of friendship between them.

But it is natural and inevitable that when the President tries to jam down the throats of the American people a thing of British invention, the effect of which would be to the great advantage of Great Britain and the disastrous disadvantage of America, there must be revolt

and resentment against the thing itself, and those feelings must in some degree be reflected upon the country in which the thing originated. We do not say, we do not think, that Great Britain deserves to be the object of American suspicion or antagonism. She does not. She has been and still is our loyal and immeasurably valuable ally, saving us with her fleet from German invasion and conquest and conveying and conveying our soldiers across the sea. We cannot blame her for seeking her own advantage, and for assuming that we have sense and patriotism enough to look out for our own. There ought to be in peace-making all the mutual confidence and cooperation between the two countries that there was at the crisis of the war. If there is not, if there is "a little rift within the lute," if the Allies are beginning to look askant at each other instead of presenting a united front against the common foe, the fault is with the attempt to impose upon us this ill-conceived and ill-framed device for denationalization and universal meddling.

That is the thing which has delayed peace, which has filled the Peace Congress with bickerings and animosities, and which threatens to cause suspicions and estrangements among the nations.

It is a sardonic reflection that the President has done more in a few weeks to cause ill-feeling between America and Great Britain than all the German propagandists were able to do in all the four years of the war.

German sailors refuse to operate ships which are to be turned over to the Allies. All right. No ships, no food.

WELL MEBBE SO—I DUNNO

By J. P. McEvoy

They tell me these here Fourteen Points
Will pacify the war-like joints,
That there won't be no war no more
An' no more gas an' guns an' gore
An' all the pugilistic hicks
Will put away their knives and bricks—
Well, mebbe so,
I dunno.

They tell me that this here, now, League
Will put an end to all intrigue,
That all the birds on land an' sea
Will in their little nests agree,
An' 'stead of treating others rough
Will bill an' coo, an' all that stuff,
Well, mebbe so,
I dunno.

The Bolshevik, I'm told by some
Is not so altogether rum,
An' others say the geek's a curse
While still more say he ain't so worse,
An' some say this, and some say that,
Do all these guys know where they're at?
Well, mebbe so,
I dunno.

"It is the war" they told us guys
When all the prices hit the skies,
An' now when prices still increase,
These eggs retort "It is the peace":
Some cry "Supply"—some yell "Demand,"
They say we boobs can't understand,
Well, mebbe so,
I dunno.

(From "The Slams of Life," *Chicago Tribune*, March 16, 1919. Copyright, 1919, J. P. McEvoy.)

The Civil Service Débâcle

FERDINAND FOCH, then, is not the only Generalissimo. We have a Politicalmaster-Generalissimo who can see him and go him one better. As witness the recent turn-over, clean sweep, débâcle or what not in the Federal Civil Service Commission. That body since the days of Grover Cleveland has been supposed to be quite independent of politics. That is what it is for, to stand as a barrage, a Verdun, against the spoilsmen. Hitherto it has done so. But not until the present Administration has it had to contend with a Politicalmaster-Generalissimo. Hence this smash. *Ilium fuit.*

According to the New York *Evening Post*, the authority of which in Administration matters no mere mortal must venture to dispute, the President recently demanded the resignations of all three Civil Service Commissioners, and they, being men prudent in their generation, stood not upon the order of resigning but resigned. Forthwith the places of two of them were filled with others, such action in the case of the third being delayed only by the earnest intervention of various Senators. The cause of the ruction, we are assured by the same authority, was a disagreement between the Commissioners and the Politicalmaster-General. They wanted to run their Commission according to law, quite independently of politics, holding examinations impartially and purely on the merits of the candidates. The Politicalmaster-General, however, wanted to put one of his confidential agents—euphemism for political understrapper—behind the scenes in every examination, presumably to make sure about the political affiliations and activities of the candidates, and to have his recommendations count for four times as much as the actual examination in determining the rating of the candidates. Of course, this was to make the whole business a ghastly farce.

The Chairman of the Commission appears to have acquiesced in this scandalous plan, but the other two members protested. Thereupon the Chairman ran things alone for a time, holding meetings of the Commission with only himself present, and at times coming close to physical encounter with his colleagues. The latter two carried the case to the White House and appealed to the President. But the Politicalmaster-General "intervened and prevented any action." And finally the President "demanded" that the Civil Service Commissioners who would not kow-tow to the Politicalmaster-General should get out and make places for others who presumably would be more compliant.

We are told, too, that "trouble has been brewing in the Board for two years." Of that we have been well aware, and we have been well aware, too, that it has all been due to the "intervention" of the Politicalmaster-General, backed up by the President. It was in 1916, a little more than two years ago, that the National Civil Service Reform League, under the direction of Richard H. Dana, Joseph H. Choate and other eminent citizens, requested to be permitted to inspect the reports of examinations for fourth-class postmaster-ships. This was an entirely proper and usual request, provided for by law, and always thitherto unhesitatingly granted. It was assumed that of course it would be granted under the

Administration of a President who had declared that his hobby was the hobby of publicity for all public business. But the request was refused by the Chairman of the Commission, on the ground that if the records were thus opened to inspection, "it might lead to such criticism of the Administration as would seriously embarrass it." Against this monstrous display of cynical contempt for decency the League appealed to the President, and the President backed up the Chairman of the Commission in refusing to let the records be inspected.

We are not at all surprised, therefore, to find that the same Chairman who wanted public records kept secret for fear of embarrassing the Administration, two years later sided with the Politicalmaster-General in letting political manipulators dictate the results of supposedly impartial competitive examinations. Neither can we feel much surprise at finding that the President who sustained that Chairman in his former conduct now backs up the Politicalmaster-General in his campaign for making the Civil Service system a third-assistant-deputy-adjunct to his political machine.

Great, indeed, is the Politicalmaster-Generalissimo; and Woodrow Wilson is his President!

Doktors of Kultur

A UNIQUE light is cast upon what we may call the incorrigible Hunnishness of the Hun by the recent message of the Universities of Leipzig and Heidelberg to all the Universities of France, asking the resumption between them of the relationships which existed before the war.

This almost incredible piece of Hunnish effrontery is of course ostensibly based upon the theory that there are no racial or national demarcations in the world of intellect, but that science and truth are universally the same. That theory is correct, but misleading. It depends on the professors.

It is notorious that the university professors of Germany, and the so-called "intellectuals," have long been foremost in supporting the infamous designs of the Hohenzollern dynasty, and in promoting that "Kultur" which is a German euphemism for savagery.

In the face of those things, what colossal impudence, what indescribable effrontery, what monumental lack of a sense of common decency, were involved in this recent request of the two Hunnish universities!

The response of Bordeaux University to this Hunnish mis-sive is worthy of reproduction and remembrance. It requested the German professors to ask the people of the battle zone in France what they thought of resuming relations with the Germans, and declared that the whole German people were guilty of atrocities and crimes, and did not in this generation deserve the resumption of relations with the civilized world. "Perhaps," it added, "we may change our mind regarding the next generation." That the Germans do not generally take any such view of the case, that they do not appreciate the enormity of the moral wrong committed by their universities and intellectual leaders, is one of the most scathing indictments that can be framed against them.

The Reconstruction of Poland

THE remaking of the map of Europe is bound to be one of the most difficult tasks in all the settlement of the issues of the war. At almost every point there are all sorts of conflicting claims, historical, ethnological and what not. According to the principle of self-determination, ethnological claims would naturally have foremost place and chief weight. Yet they are those which clash most. There is not a district in which two or more races are not intermingled, and if it be assigned to any one of them, the others will feel aggrieved.

But the task is not only difficult. It is of supreme importance, not only that justice may be done as perfectly as possible but also that pretext for and danger of future wars may be averted. And in no quarter of the continent, probably, is the right solution of the problem more important than in the case of Poland, and of the boundary between Poland and Prussia. That is because it is from Prussia, the chief of the Hunnish states, that land is to be taken and that the future menace, if any there is, will come, and also because of the supremely important position which reconstructed Poland will occupy, as the buffer state which is to prevent German exploitation of Russia and the East.

We must regard with especial interest, then, if not with apprehension, the reports of the proposed establishment of boundaries between Poland and Prussia. It has, for example, been stated that the Peace Congress is inclined to give Poland her old port of Dantzic, connected with the mass of Polish territory by a narrow strip running down the valley of the Vistula. Now that would be just, so far as it goes, because it is necessary for Poland to have her own free and independent access to the sea, and the only place where she can properly have it is at Danzig, which she formerly owned. And along the banks of the Vistula, in its lower reaches, there is still a large Polish population, nowhere less than 25 per cent and often approximating 50 per cent.

It should not, however, escape attention that in a considerable zone west of the Vistula, comprising the whole Pomerellen district of West Prussia and even the eastern part of Pomerania, there is a much larger Polish population, never falling below 50 per cent and often rising as high as 75 per cent, while in some extensive parts of West Prussia, such as the valleys of the Radaune and Brane rivers, the population is from 80 to 90 per cent Polish. Obviously, if for the sake of giving Poland access to the sea, she is to have the Vistula valley, with not more than 50 per cent Poles, on racial grounds alone she is entitled to the greater part of West Prussia, where Poles form an overwhelming majority of the population.

To deny Poland this would be something more than a mere act of inconsistency and injustice. It would plant the seeds of future controversy and conflict. Indeed, it requires no stretch of the imagination to suppose that precisely that purpose is in the minds of those Prussians who are suggesting such an arrangement. Doubtless Prussia would hate to give up the Vistula and Dantzic, as some German papers are saying in far from temperate terms. But shrewd and far-seeing Hunnish plotters may well reckon it good policy to do that on condition that West Prussia is retained by

Prussia, in order that discontent and disturbances may prevail throughout that region and give pretext for a future clash.

This feature of the case ought surely to commend itself to the careful consideration of the map-makers at Paris, and the result should be the cession to Poland of a territory extending from Posen to the Baltic which will not be a mere "wasp's waist" but rather a spacious zone, comprising all ethnologically Polish districts in that region, and thus leaving no provocation to further boundary strife.

The Occultation of the Creel

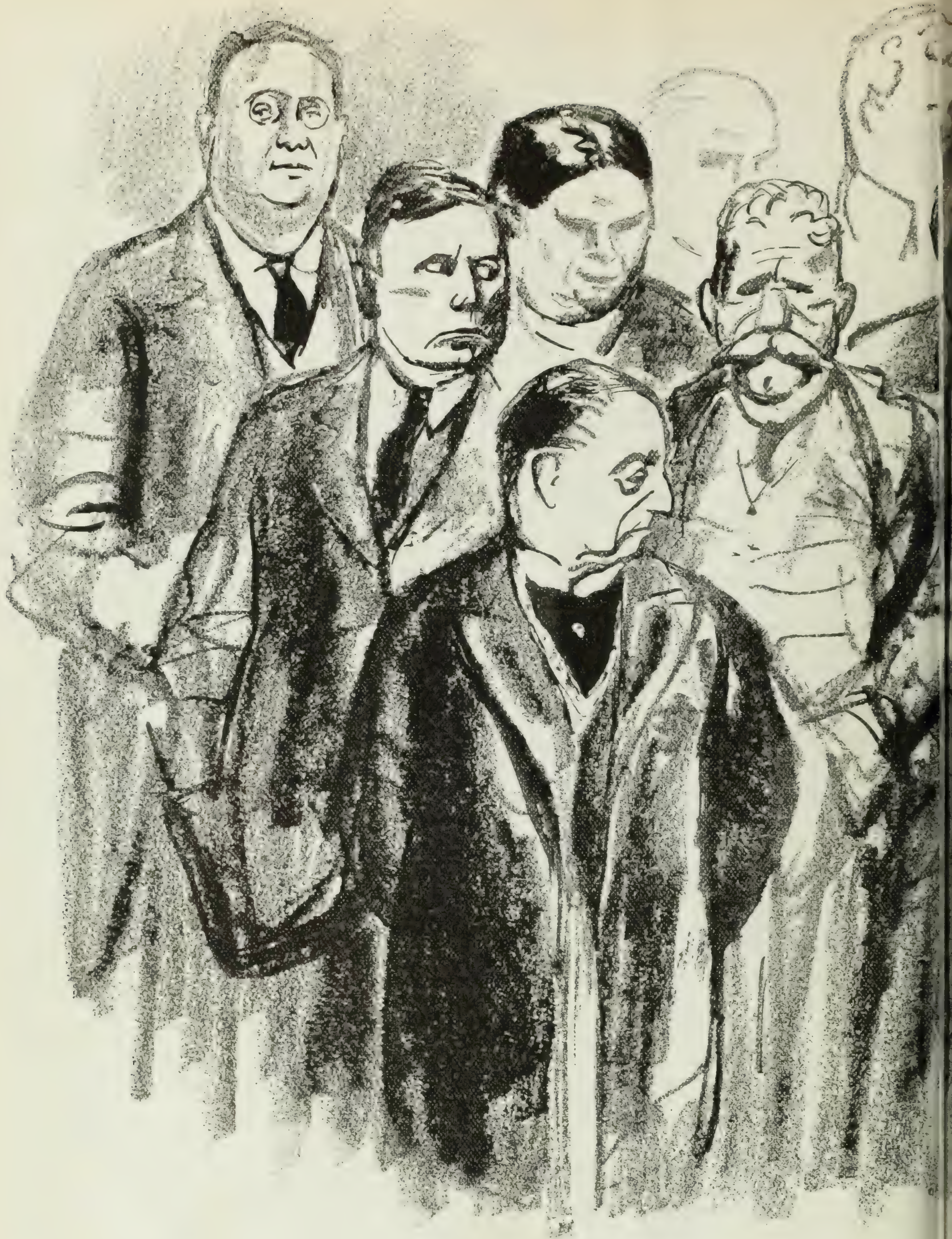
A CERTAIN mystery seems to envelop the occultation of the once glaringly present creel. He disappeared from the limelight comparatively soon after the arrival of the American mission in Paris. Then came rumors of strained relations between him and an Exalted Personage. This was followed by the wholly incredible rumor that the creel had resigned and was coming home. This was followed by another rumor that he had involuntarily "severed his relations" with the Public Information concern. A certain atmosphere of verity was thrown around this last report by the fact that the creel emphatically denied it.

The next we heard of the creel he was on his travels. He invaded Italy, Switzerland and Czecho-Slovakia. After this the creel again submerged. For weeks and months nothing was heard of him until quite recently he was accidentally discovered among the unconsidered human trifles cast out upon a New York dock from an incoming steamer.

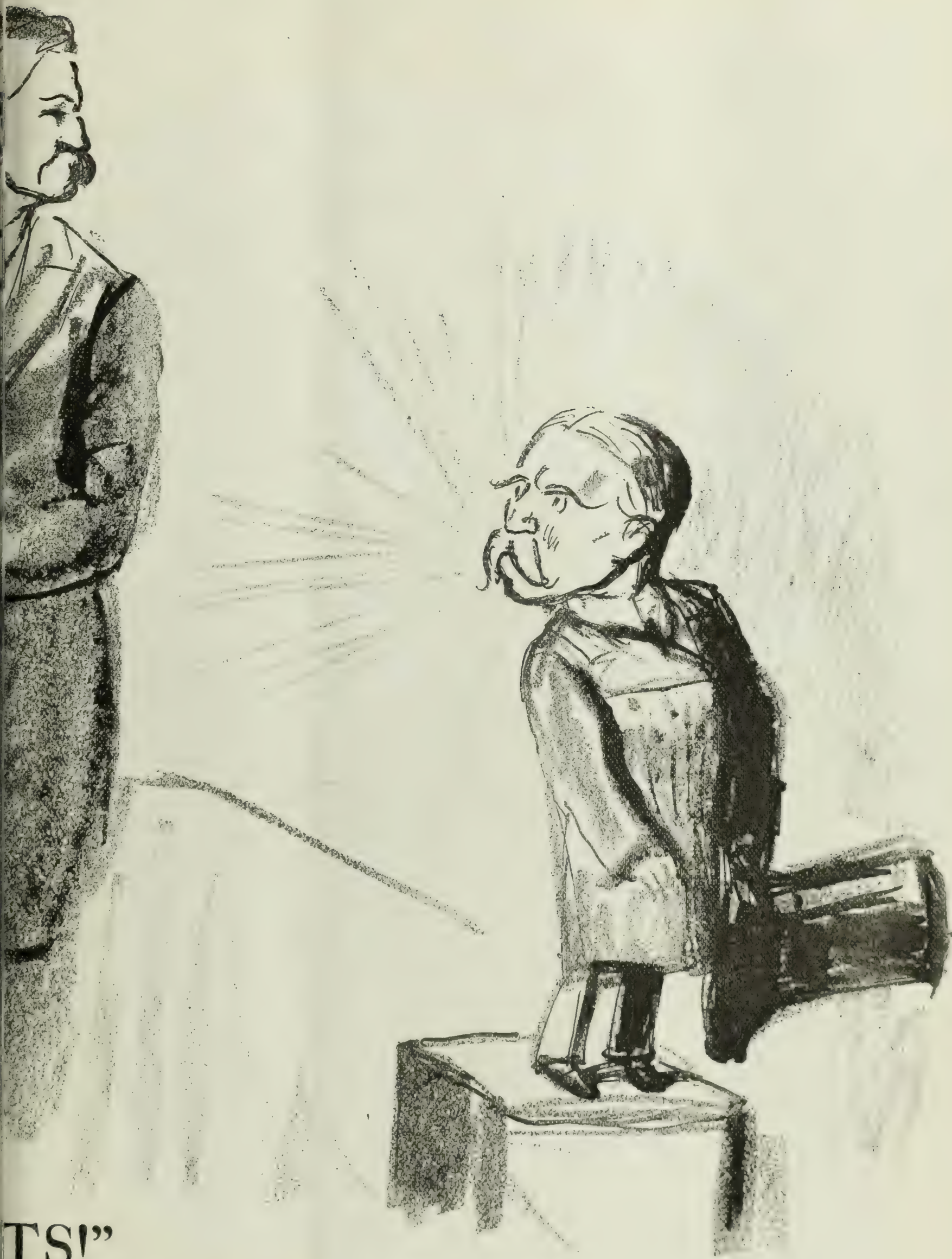
Whatever doubts may have been entertained as to the accuracy of the reporter who alleged that he had personally found and identified the long mislaid creel were quickly dissipated by the creel himself. He opened his mouth and spoke. After that there could not possibly be even a trace of uncertainty. The creel was with us once more. He conversed freely. He always conversed freely. He told his present mission. It has to do with vermin. He is to "delouse" things, as he put it. For the creel, it was a remarkably short flow of language. In fact it was devoted to two topics only—cooties and the tenderly cordial relations existing between the creel and the President.

This brings us to another phase of the creel mystery. The all but cynic insistence by the creel that the President and he are on particularly cordial terms, quite convincingly supports the suggestion by Mr. David Lawrence, in a recent article in the *Evening Post*, that the creel and the President are out. The creel, it seems, felt that he was the logical person for the President to select as private secretary in Paris, a view in which the President did not concur. From that moment, apparently, the obscuration of the creel began. But, whatever the cause, it was undeniably an obscuration, and an obscuration tragically complete.

And now, after departure from our shores with all the stirring blare of trumpets, how strange a home-coming! Unannounced, unheralded, discovered by accident wandering on a home steamship dock! A dark, unfathomed mystery, this occultation of the creel!



“INS



TS!"

—Rev. Dr. Henry Van Dyke to
the Senate of the United States.

The Week

WASHINGTON, March 27, 1919.

COLONEL HOUSE says that the Peace Treaty with the League Covenant inextricably interwoven will be ready for signing on March 29, and he expects to see the German envoys at Versailles to receive it not later than April 11. On March 10, as we remember, the American delegates expected to be ready to call in the Germans to hear their sentence by March 20, while their British colleagues, more conservative and deliberate, thought that the first week of April would more probably be the date. Both seem to have been over-sanguine. That was while the President was still sailing the ocean blue in the *I. W. W.*, and matters at the Quai d'Orsay were bowling merrily along without the brakes. Promptly upon his re-arrival in Paris there was a perceptible slowing down; with the resultant postponement of the dawn of peace as already noted.

It appears that in spite of the President's blithe and jocund announcement that all America was favorable to his League of Nations and to the Smuts-Cecil-Wilson Covenant thereof, he realized in the recesses of his own mind and heart that the thing really wouldn't do. It was, as President Lowell of Harvard declares, ill-thought out, badly drawn, obscure and uncertain in meaning. So the President stayed home from the Peace Congress and the movies and the golf links, and devoted himself to contriving such amendments of the thing as would, he fondly hoped, induce some Senators to repudiate their pledge against it. The result of that assiduous incubation is that there is now talk of polishing the thing off by the end of this week and of inviting the Huns to inspect it week after next. Why that delay, deponent sayeth not; unless it be to give time in which to persuade the Huns to toe the scratch.

The latest reports are that there is a strong disinclination on the part of the German government to send its delegates to Paris or Versailles at all, unless they are to be permitted to talk back to the judge and discuss the sentence in an interminable talkfest. If they cannot do that, what's the use in sending four or five men across the continent? Why not ring up a telegraph messenger boy and send him to receive the document and fetch it to Weimar? That might not be exactly courteous to the Peace Congress; but what have Huns to do with courtesy?

Whether the German delegates go to Versailles for the treaty, or have it sent to them at Weimar by messenger or parcel post, it is expected that they, or the responsible heads of the German government, will signify their acceptance of its terms, and sign it. But it will not be merely the Treaty of Peace that they will accept and sign. It will be also the Covenant of the League of Nations, since the two are to be inextricably interwoven. The question then arises, Is Germany to be one of the charter members of the League? If so, that will certainly be contrary to all expectations and

intimations. But if not, the Congress will be asking the German government to approve and sign a covenant in which it is to have no part nor parcel; which, as Euclid observes, is absurd.

We have not a bit of sympathy with nor tolerance for the unspeakable Huns. We would have the Peace Congress prescribe the stiffest possible terms of peace, embody them in a treaty, and present it to the Berlin or the Weimar government on the point of a bayonet with a peremptory *Accipe hoc!* But when it comes to asking it to sign a treaty creating a League of Nations of which League it is not to be a member, really, even a Hun has a right to demur at some things!

So far as the secretive system of "open covenants, openly arrived at" permits the world outside the councils of the "Big Five" to know, the pending treaty of peace contains some excellent provisions. The reduction of the German army to a mere police force of 4,000 officers and 96,000 men, with a limited supply of arms and ammunition, the demolition and prohibition of all fortifications within fifty miles of the Rhine, the limiting of the fleet to half a dozen small battleships of an obsolete type, the dismantling of the fortifications of Heligoland and the Kiel Canal, the prohibition of military aircraft, and the prohibition of schuetzen vereins and other organizations giving their members military training, are all just and prudent measures to impose upon the troublers of the world.

Presumably these conditions are to be made permanent, or at any rate long enduring. It would be folly to prescribe them now, and let them lapse in a year or two. But if they are made permanent, what becomes of Germany's chances of ever getting into a League of Nations? Obviously, if she were received into the League, all those restrictions upon her militarism would have to be immediately cancelled. The essential principles of a League of Nations compulsorily comprise exact equality among the members. We should have either to remove these restrictions from Germany or to impose them upon ourselves, to either of which courses at any time within the near future there certainly should be and would be implacable objection.

The question of equality of nations in the League has just been somewhat strenuously suggested in another quarter. Senator Phelan—a Democrat, and not a "pigmy-minded" Republican—has protested to the State Department against the sale of some 1,250 square miles of Lower California to a Japanese corporation, and the State Department has warned the present owners of the land that such sale will not be permitted; the warning being based upon the text of a resolution adopted years ago by the Senate at the instance of the "pigmy-minded" Senator Lodge. Now we are quite ready to approve even so strenuous a measure as that in defence of our own interests; even the forbidding of a real estate transaction in a country over which we have no sovereignty nor suzerainty nor protectorate. And perhaps the League of Nations would not be interested in it so far as Mexico was concerned, seeing that she would not at first, at

any rate, be a member. But as we understand it Japan is to be a charter member, one of the "Big Five." Suppose the League were formed, then, and Japan were to ask by what right we forbade her citizens to purchase land in Mexico, seeing that we upheld the right of our own citizens to purchase land wherever they pleased? We ourselves should not hanker after the job of giving an answer that would accord with the principle of equality upon which the League was founded.

Major D. B. Foster has, we understand, retired honorably from the United States Army, wherefore he is presumably in no danger of being hanged, drawn and quartered, or even slapped on the wrist in a perfectly ladylike manner, for lese majesty against one of the ablest public officials the President of the United States has ever known. All the same, we should say that the War Department could scarcely afford to ignore the very explicit and categorical indictment which he publicly directed against Secretary Baker the other day, in charging him with having, through secret orders, practically perverted the law so as to give aid and comfort to I-Won't-Workers, anarchists and slackers. The Secretary, said Major Foster, ordered that all men having "personal scruples against war" should be regarded as "conscientious objectors." That practically meant that any man in the army could at any time have gone to his commanding officer, declared that he had "personal scruples against war," and been permitted to retire from military duty. Certainly, that would seem to have been likely—whether so intended or not—to encourage disaffection in the army. That it did not do so to a disastrous extent is of course due to the generally high spirit of loyalty and patriotism which prevailed among the men.

The League of Nations mongering, with its resultant delay of peacemaking, is driving the British government to some extraordinary measures. "All internal events in every country," says Mr. Lloyd George, "are dependent upon peace. Pending this, commerce and industry are kept in a kind of stagnation, which can only engender disorders." The disorders which have thus been engendered in the United Kingdom include threats of a general strike by all railroad and transport men and miners. To avert such a calamity the government has just accepted the report of the Special Coal Commission, and will immediately act upon it. That means that the government will continue for two years more its control of the coal industry, and will consider the question of permanent nationalization, and that it will progressively reduce the hours of work from eight to seven and from seven to six and will at the same time increase wages by two shillings a shift; at a cost, to be met, of course, by that much-suffering Weary Titan the British Taxpayer, of the mere trifle of \$215,000,000 this year, and heaven only knows how much next year and thereafter. This may, of course, be in strict accord with right and eternal justice. It is certainly a most significant symptom of the times, and earnest of what may be expected in other lands than England.

We are not sure, however, that this British mining episode,

impressive as it is, is quite as significant as the arrogant dictatorship which our Socialist Politicalmaster-General is establishing over everything which he can by any hocus pocus drag beneath his sway. His ousting of the president and other officers of the Postal Telegraph and Cable Company is the latest and perhaps most outrageous case in point. The arbitrary act was confessedly committed because Mr. Mackay and his associates would not humbly kowtow to every whim and mandate of the Texas autocrat. And it is made plain that the whims and mandates which they chiefly failed to obey were those which were intended to destroy the individuality of their great company and so to merge it with other concerns in a unified national system that it would be most difficult if not impossible ever to "unscramble" it. In other words, the Politicalmaster-General is in favor of government ownership of telegraph and telephone lines, and is determined to use his power to the utmost to compel the adoption of that system. The intent of the law was and is, of course, that the lines shall be controlled by the government during the war solely to serve the government's interests during the war. But Mr. Burleson is controlling them not so much for that purpose as for the purpose of forcing his Socialistic fad upon the country. He does not care three whoops in hades whether the service is improved or impaired. All he wants is to force government ownership upon the country, so as permanently to make every telegraph and telephone employee a political dependent upon him, just as the members of the postal service already are. Then, by knocking the Civil Service system into a cocked hat, as he has already done, he will have one of the loveliest political "machines" that ever a boss ran.

It was recalled last week that it was just a year before that the last great German drive, which went so far, was begun. A year ago the Huns were imminently menacing the Channel Ports and Paris, and now the Allies are in possession of the Rhine. It is interesting and should be profitable to recall, too, that a year ago the Allies were harmoniously united under a Generalissimo, and now they are at sixes and sevens among themselves. It was their union under one commander that gave them the victory in war. It is to be hoped that their present disunion will not cause them to lose the fruits of that victory in peace.

The suggestion, an interesting one, is made that since Congress has the sole power to declare war, it must have in some way the power to end war. The declaration of war was, of course, an Act of Congress, and a Congress is supposed to be competent at any time to amend or to repeal its own acts. However that may be in the last analysis, there is no question that Congress should and if it were in session would exert a decided influence upon the process of peace-making; which is perhaps one reason why the President does not call Congress into session.

Connecticut and New Jersey are among the smaller States of this Union, but we shall not be surprised if before long other and bigger States envy them their records upon the prohibition question.

Washington or Wilson?

Speech of George Harvey to the Columbia Club of Indianapolis on March 17, 1919

(From the Indianapolis Star of March 18)

COLONEL GEORGE HARVEY of New York, editor of HARVEY'S WEEKLY and of THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, attacked the League of Nations as a proposal to surrender American sovereignty and independence in a brilliant address before an audience of more than 700 persons at the Columbia Club last night. His subject was "Washington or Wilson?"

Colonel Harvey spoke as the guest of the Columbia Club at a dinner which attracted one of the largest and most representative audiences that has been gathered in the club in many years. The dinner guests numbered more than 400 and after the conclusion of the dinner the doors were thrown open and additional persons, a number of women among them, were admitted to the room. Many men from out of the city were in the audience.

Applause was frequent, and Colonel Harvey had no cause to complain of the warmth and enthusiasm of his reception. The same subtlety of humor and delicate irony that mark his trenchant writing appeared in his address and provoked laughter and cheers. Every utterance on Americanism was applauded heartily and every allusion to Theodore Roosevelt or mention of his name brought vigorous handclapping.

The walls of the dining room were decorated with American flags and colors. A picture of George Washington, draped with flags, hung over the speaker's position.

Colonel Harvey was introduced by Governor Goodrich, who said:

"After the sinking of the *Lusitania* and the revelation to the world of the dastardly purpose of the central empires, America stood at the parting of the ways. One path led to respect and honor, the other to obliquity and shame; one to the preservation of our free institutions, the other to a cowardly submission to the will of an arrogant autocracy.

"When the national conscience was deadened and its vision obscured by the great profits we were making out of the sufferings of a war-swept continent, when our ears were dull to the cries of the millions who died for freedom's cause, and our eyes blind to the dangers that threatened our own land, two voices rose, clear as a bugle amidst the wilderness of doubt and uncertainty that marked the country, calling the nation to its high destiny and demanding that we cease to stand idly and see the free nations of the earth crushed beneath the iron heel of the oppressor.

"The one has fought his last fight, has finished his course and it was the crowning glory of his life that the nation heard the call and demonstrated to the world that it still possessed the courage and patriotism of the great men who established it."

This allusion to Theodore Roosevelt evoked long applause.

"The other is our guest of the evening," the Governor continued. "The same voice that called us to arms in the war is calling us to duty in time of peace. The same clear vision that saw the danger in 1914 and 1915 from the aggressions of Prussian autocracy now sees the more subtle danger that lurks behind the insidious propaganda of those who would have us depart from the settled principles that have guided us for nearly 150 years, surrender our national sovereignty and embark on the uncertain sea of European politics; sees the danger to our institutions from the deadening influences of government ownership of our means of transportation and communication; sees the danger to our free institutions from the propaganda of the Socialist and the Bolshevik, and, seeing all this, is giving to the service of the nation all the great power and influence he possesses.

"Because of the sincerity of his purpose, the intensity of his patriotism, the courage of his conviction and the integrity of his ways, we are glad to have him with us this evening.

"Knowing that as we honor him we reflect credit on ourselves, it is with pleasure that I introduce to you the speaker of the evening, that American of Americans, Colonel George Harvey of New York."

MR. CHAIRMAN AND GENTLEMEN:

I am always at a loss to know what reply to make when I am asked to designate a subject for a speech. Things happen nowadays so quickly and unexpectedly that often what would have been an excellent topic yesterday ceases to be timely today. Consequently I found myself in my usual state of perturbation last week

when your President requested me to telegraph a title for my remarks this evening. It was a wholly reasonable inquiry and the response should have been easy and ready. Unhappily I did not find it so and, after groping hesitatingly in my mind for a while, the best I could propose was "Patriotism or Politics." But on the following day I realized that this was both too general and too hackneyed, so I asked him to substitute "Washington or Wilson."

After all, when you come to think of it, the difference is not so great; the meaning is substantially the same. Not that I would convey the impression that the one was wholly a patriot and the other is wholly a politician. The difference of course is one simply of degree, but in viewing what might be termed the dominant attributes of the two statesmen the verisimilitude of the appellations could hardly be challenged successfully.

We all know what Washington stood for. It is not necessary for me to recall the solemn admonition to his countrymen in his Farewell Address to beware of continuing alliances with foreign Powers and his earnest injunction to safeguard above all other things the complete independence of the new Republic. We have had greater difficulty in comprehending the precise attitude of our present President because of the peculiar reticence with which he has seen fit to veil his innermost thoughts. Recently, however, we have been able to reach, less perhaps from what he has said than from his manner of saying, an approximate understanding. Indeed there now remains no question that, contrary to the pronouncement of Washington reiterated by every President at least to Roosevelt, Mr. Wilson has become convinced that the rightful destiny of America cannot be fulfilled through independent action, but can only be attained through a species of partnership with foreign Powers. His view, so long as it be regarded as one of sincerity and conviction, must be held unobjectionable. But that it is the absolute opposite of the judgment of Washington and his long line of patriotic successors is a fact that cannot be denied and must be reckoned with as a wholly novel proposition.

It finds its exemplification, of course, in the proposed League of Nations, designed presumptively to enforce peace upon the world, but really to enforce war by a few chosen Powers upon other countries which refuse for any reason to accept the mandates of their more

powerful masters. I have not the time nor is it necessary to attempt to analyze in detail the extraordinary proposal which the President brought recently from Europe in the hope of securing tacit ratification from the country. I may, however, in a few words by way of homely illustration, sketch my own conception of the proposition as I presented it on Saturday evening to the bankers in Chicago, when I said:

"A perfect parallel is this: You have built up a great successful bank. Some other like institutions not so very near are attacked successfully by burglars. You go to their assistance, not in a dream or because you have visions of an approaching millennium, but because you fear that if those burglars are not stopped they may rob you, too. You arrive in the nick of time to help the others beat off the burglars.

"When it is all over, you find that you have incurred heavy liabilities, but your capital and surplus are still intact, your deposits show signs of increasing and your bank is the soundest, richest and most promising in the land. Meanwhile, those other banks have suffered sadly. Two or three are on the verge of bankruptcy. You meet to consider the situation. You have done your full part, but you are willing to do more. You will extend loans, you will make fresh loans, you will reduce interest, you will do anything in reason that can be asked. Then somebody makes a proposal. It is that all the banks combine and pool all assets and liabilities, the assets being yours, of course, and the liabilities theirs, and there will be nine directors, of whom you shall be one and President. They are to have the control, but you are to have the honor. Think of that!

"And who do you suppose makes this remarkable proposition? Why, you, the head of the great solvent bank, and the others hem and haw about it for a while and after persuading you to concede this, that and the other to bind the bargain, finally consent. Then you go back to your stockholders and report what you have done in the name of humanity, for the common good, and demand ratification of your superb performance. Suppose all that should happen! Where do you think you would get off?

"Well, that is the precise proposition which now confronts the stockholders of the United States. It is a homely illustration, but a true one. I defy anybody to find a flaw in the analogy.

The similarity, in fact, in a broad sense, stretches further than I have indicated. Whatever in the case imagined might be the attitude of your stockholders and whatever when the time comes may be the attitude of the stockholders of the United States, there can be no question whatever of the eagerness with which the in-

solvent banks in the one instance or the impoverished Powers in the other would welcome the proposal. Surprise has been manifested at the readiness of England to join the combination and many compliments have been paid to the President for his success in "converting" Lloyd George. But why should not England gladly and thankfully enter into such an arrangement? In the first place, it is her own scheme from top to bottom. There is a common supposition that it is an American plan conceived by an American President. That is not the fact. America is only a cat'spaw in the business. The origin of every one of the fourteen famous Points enunciated by the President, barring that relating to the Freedom of the Seas, which originated in Germany, is absolutely and wholly British.

So, too, is the League of Nations. There is not a thing American about it. Four plans were submitted, one by America, one by England, one by France and one by Italy; and the British plan was adopted. We know what that is, we have been permitted to read that. The President himself presented it to the committee in Paris and not only gave it his unqualified approval then, but after his arrival in this country declared that it was not subject to amendment, that it must stand, this scheme shrewdly devised by English statesmen for the avowed purpose of unloading many of their burdens upon the United States, precisely as drawn. Furthermore, when Senator Brandegee asked if the people of this country might not see the American plan for purpose of comparison, the President replied hesitatingly that he could see no reason offhand why not. But has anybody seen it? I haven't,—have you? Neither has Senator Brandegee. Thus so far, and I suspect for a long time to come, the American people are not going to be allowed to inspect or consider the proposal of their own representatives and are required to indorse blindfolded the plan of a foreign Power. Does that appeal to you as "open covenants openly arrived at"?

I do not need to tell you what that covenant is. It has been analyzed thoroughly. There is not a man in this hall who, after reading it, can fail to realize that, no matter what explanation or interpretation or so-called understanding may be set forth by Mr. Wilson, by Mr. Taft, or by anybody else, it does transfer the sovereignty of this nation to outsiders; that it does deprive this nation of its independence, that it does violate the most sacred traditions of the Republic; that it does scrap the Monroe Doctrine; that it does place absolute control of our country, at least so far as international relations are concerned, in the most autocratic body ever conceived, in which the United States would have just one vote out of nine! Even worse if

possible than that, through the inclusion of representatives of her colonies, Great Britain would dominate the other eight and become the actual controller of the Government of the World.

We fought one War of Independence. Do you want to fight another? Do you wish to resume our original subject condition as a British colony? Do you want our country to forfeit the independence won by Washington and the Continental Army and again become in effect a vassal State? If so, all that you and the majority of your fellow countrymen have to do is to indorse this infamous proposition, which I say to you constitutes nothing less than a betrayal of our great Republic!

Who would constitute this Board of Governors of the World? Would they be named by the people of the respective commonwealths? Not at all. They are virtually to designate themselves or be designated by the Governments now holding secret sessions in Paris. We know already who would be the nominal representative of America. Our present President, who it is well understood would, by the grace of Great Britain, become the presiding officer of the oligarchy. I say the "nominal" representative because no longer does Mr. Wilson even pretend to speak exclusively for America. He represents "humanity" or in his own favorite phrase "men everywhere." He has outgrown the United States. He asks nothing whatever for her, but he asks of her not only her sovereignty but all of her resources to be used as a club or as bribes in obtaining the acquiescence of the other Powers, and, of course, in addition an occasional appropriation of five million dollars to pay the expenses of the so-called commission.

None of us, of course, resents such payments. We want our country to keep its end up when our President consorts with royalty. We want to make full requital for the courtesies and the presents bestowed upon him. Nevertheless, as the demand for five million dollars upon Congress clearly indicates, this sleeping upon featherbeds in royal palaces is an expensive business not to be ignored at a time when the burden of taxation has already passed the mark of one thousand dollars a year for every family in the United States.

Talk about Democracy! Why, gentlemen, do you realize that under this arrangement the American people are not to have even the privilege of electing their one representative who is to sit at the board with eight Europeans and Asiatics. He is to be self-appointed precisely as he was self-appointed to head the Peace Commission.

Why is that? Can it be possible that the result of last Fall's election may have something

to do with it? Has it occurred to you that somebody may have foreseen that, even if the thing goes through, somebody else might be chosen to speak for America? Would Washington have had the audacity and insolence to attempt a subterfuge like that? And if the thought had ever crossed his mind, would he not have spurned it as in fact he did spurn the proffered crown? Is there not here another and most striking differentiation between the patriot and the politician?

But let us see what the leading advocates of this proposal to denationalize and denature our Republic have to say? They are of all stripes—Democrats, Socialists, preachers, rabbis, bankers and brokers, and one lone Republican. Take them as types in order. Begin with that world statesman, the Secretary of the Navy, who demonstrates his consistency and sincerity by urging the greatest navy in the world while simultaneously crying for disarmament. What says Josephus? He, too, has visions. Speaking in the cathedral in New York the other day he said:

"When the representatives of fourteen nations, sitting in Paris, embracing the most powerful, victorious countries and representing twelve hundred million people, agreed upon a covenant of peace it was an event in the world's history second only to the declaration of the shepherds of Bethlehem: 'We have seen His star in the East and have come to worship Him.'"

Obviously he had been reading of the poor, ignorant, deluded peasants who had been hailing a second Messiah who was to revolutionize human nature and rid them of all the burdens of human existence. Let us leave him reverently to revel in his spiritual exaltation.

Then comes our old friend William Jennings. He pronounces this "the greatest step towards peace in a thousand years," but—oh, that fateful word—but he proceeds forthwith, in his most painstaking manner, to show that it is no good on earth. He finds many "defects that should be corrected." He is not satisfied with the arrangement by which Great Britain may have five votes in the supreme council while the United States is restricted to one. Nor does he like a two-thirds vote for the admission of new members of the league. He even says, as the President himself said at Manchester only later to change his mind with surprising agility, that "the United States is not interested in a league unless all nations are in it." In other words, he wants Germany in at once, with full rights. He does not like the failure definitely to recognize the Monroe Doctrine. Nor does he care for the "mandatory" article. He would not have Europe, when a particularly tough piece of dis-

order is to be placed in order, to be able to say, "Let Uncle Sam do it." On the assumption that our people, when the time came to act, would have as much sense as now, he would preserve unimpaired the right of the nation to go to war or not. Finally, he wants no advance pledge to join in an economic boycott. In a word, he is for the scheme in general, but against it in every particular. When you have made the changes he suggests, you could put what is left through the eye of a needle.

Now appears your distinguished townsman and a particular friend of my own, the Vice-President. He is for the League, of course; he is a thoroughly tested, bomb-proof Democrat. Besides, he now has the privilege when in Washington of dangling his feet from the big chair at the head of the Cabinet table, just to see what it is like. I was a trifle worried about Mr. Marshall last week. Just after Marse Henry Watterson had in characteristic fashion punctured what he called "the League nonsense" as a will-o-the-wisp and "a whimsy with the word 'Peace' emblazoned on the seat of its trousers or sewed into the hem of its petticoat," Mr. Marshall wrote an appreciation of the great journalist to the *Courier-Journal*, in which he said:

"In the main Mr. Watterson has proclaimed the eternal verities upon which I believe the future permanence, stability and prosperity of the American people must ultimately rest, when this fever and passion for unknown and untried things has passed. In the midst of a Babel of voices which cry, 'Lo here, and Lo there,' his has been the one, never-changing, consistent battle-cry. May Heaven let him live long enough to understand that the American people have not only heard but heeded many of the solemn warnings which he has uttered."

That sounded somewhat ominous under the circumstances, but all apprehensions were removed the following morning when newspaper dispatches from Arizona announced that Mr. Marshall had decided to take his medicine. As we all know, it has been no novel experience for him during the past six years, but clearly this was the worst ever. The fact, of course, is that Thomas Riley, like everybody else in Indiana, is at bottom a pretty good American and even now he couldn't help saying that if there was anything in this here League to "lower the self-respect of the United States he would rather fight," but he somewhat doubtfully hoped there wasn't and so, with a wry face, he had made up his mind to "eat a little dirt." When he gets back home, to make good, he ought to form a Dirt-eaters' Club, but something tells me that the number of members he would obtain at any rate from this audience would be limited. Any-

how, he has made it plain that his head is clear and his heart is willing, even though his flesh is weak. So let us harass him no more.

But we must not forget the Socialists. They are for it, of course, just as they are in Europe. Their leader in this country, in the temporary absence from the sunlight of Mr. Debs, is Mr. Charles E. Russell, a member of the President's famous Mission to Russia. "While," he says, "the plan is not exactly what the radical thought of the world had hoped for, it is, after all, a most tremendous advance in civilization."

As for the Monroe Doctrine, he added, "I will gladly witness fifty Monroe Doctrines being reduced to scraps of paper." Since Mr. Russell had just returned from Paris where he had conversed at length with the ex-Rev. George D. Herron, the President's personal representative at the Russian conference, it is only fair to assume that he spoke with authority. I tried to get an expression from the Newark Socialist whom the President pardoned the day before he sailed, but in vain. He disappeared simultaneously with the *George Washington*.

Of the preachers Rabbi Wise solemnly declares that "we will not give up American sovereignty but," he adds ingenuously, "we will share it,"—a most comforting reassurance. The Rev. Dr. Henry Van Dyke, the President's former ambassador to Holland, confines his arguments, so far as one can judge from the newspaper reports, to polite assertions that the Senators are "insects" and that Senator Borah in particular is "a Pagan pessimist." For this method he had as examples Mr. Taft's declaration that he would "not trust overnight" those Senators, including his own former Secretary of State, and the President's passing remark that if he had his way he would hang them on a gibbet as high as Heaven but in the other direction and that he "loathed their pigmy minds." These arguments, I trust, will impress you conformably to their merit.

This fetches us to the sole prominent Republican so far committed to the great idea—our old friend, Mr. Taft.

Now I would like nothing better than to take what the President calls "common counsel" with you, gentlemen, some of whom I suspect may be Republicans, concerning the peculiar attitude and diversified reasoning of our amiable ex-President. There has been some speculation as to how he came to get into this particular gallery. Some thought he gave a fairly clear indication when he warned his fellow Republicans in Washington to get on the band-wagon, but this did not strike me as convincing. I would not dream of suggesting that Mr. Taft might again be seeking political preferment. Neither, I have to confess, did I regard

him as an expert on band-wagons. The last one that he drove himself was of the aeroplane type. It started, as I recall, in Vermont and did not even touch the high spots until it landed in Utah and got stuck in Salt Lake.

The true explanation I suspect is this: Just as Mr. Wilson appropriated the fourteen commandments and the accepted covenant from the British, so did he appropriate the League from his predecessor. He stands before the world as its original proponent but, as a matter of fact, Mr. Taft was both its father and its godfather and when the President gave it the backing of his great authority, Mr. Taft found himself in the position of the man who had the bear by the tail. He couldn't let go. That is how, in my opinion he came to be chief defender of the Wilsonvelian faith. In any case, that is the position in which we find him now and they do say that he may again become a candidate for the Presidency, though whether upon the Democratic or the Republican ticket there seems to be some doubt. Personally, although not an habitual gambler, I would wager at least one big red apple that if he is to become a nominee it will not be as a Republican.

Perhaps you have read all that Mr. Taft has said and written upon this subject. Frankly, I have not. I have to allow time for three meals a day and eight hours of sleep and these necessities have barred me from a complete absorption of all that has appeared from his tongue and pen. I have grasped enough, however, to realize that, in the art of twisting and turning and backing and filling, he has become a past grand master. Take for example the latest exhibition. I had the great pleasure of listening to Mr. Taft's elucidation of the covenant at the meeting in the Metropolitan Opera House and heard him declare unequivocally in conclusion that "it had to be in the treaty and is indispensable in ending this war." And I heard the President graciously and gratefully pronounce his exposition so admirable that it was not necessary for him to add a word; thus fully justifying the President's chief newspaper supporter, the *World*, in saying on the following morning: "In this unqualified indorsement of Mr. Taft's speech Mr. Wilson made the Taft interpretation his own, gave to it the same official status as his own speech, and assumed full responsibility for the Taft arguments." All that seemed quite clear. The collaboration in both purpose and method was perfect.

What then was my amazement and horror only three days later to discover that Mr. Taft had seen a new light! The *George Washington* or the *I. W. W.*, or whatever the great ship is now called, was hardly out of sight of land when the ex-President published a quite con-

trary version of his views. Instead of giving this covenant—the only covenant, mind you, in consideration at the great meeting—his unqualified indorsement to the great delight of the President, he declared that "undoubtedly the covenant needs revision," that it was not "symmetrically arranged," that "its meaning has to be dug out," that its language is "ponderous," that it contains "ambiguous phrases," that there was no telling whether action of the executive council would require a unanimous vote or a majority vote would suffice, that the part of the covenant relating to the size of the military forces should be "clarified," that it should contain a "larger reservation of the Monroe Doctrine," that the covenant should be made more definite as to when its obligations might be terminated, and so forth and so forth. Why, he was as bad as Bryan. He could find practically nothing in the whole document that ought not to be changed. It was another glaring instance of approving in general and damning in particulars.

Since then Mr. Taft has said and written many words, but so far as I have been able to follow him, has made but one great discovery. It is that the articles of the covenant to be signed by the United States, maybe, are not necessarily binding upon the United States because forsooth "it is for Congress to decide in good faith whether or not a breach of the covenant upon which the obligation arises has in fact occurred and, finding that, it has to perform the obligation." In other words, as Senator Norris put it more bluntly "It is nothing but a treaty" which may or may not be fulfilled as Congress at the time may determine. Under these amazing interpretations, the United States would enter into a solemn engagement with other Powers with a mental reservation that it would or would not comply with its requirements as it might see fit. It could, if it would, regard that treaty as Germany regarded its treaty with Belgium, as a mere scrap of paper to be torn up at will.

That our ex-President, an honorable man, could even suggest the possibility of the United States breaking its plighted faith seems almost incredible, but that is precisely what he did and you have only to turn to the report of his speech in New York last Tuesday night to see that I am stating the exact fact. The plain purpose is, of course, to evade the unconstitutionality of taking away from Congress the powers specifically conferred upon it by our fundamental law. But even though the object was worthy, could you, as Americans proud of the unblemished record of your country, approve such a method as that? I cannot believe that Mr. Taft really meant to convey the implication that his language clearly indicates and I sincerely hope

that, while clarifying the muddled document itself, he will not fail simultaneously, for his own sake, to clarify this extraordinary utterance of his own. Then we should also like to hear whether Mr. Taft's engagement by Mr. Wilson as his authorized interpreter is continuous or whether it terminated the night before he sailed. Is that unholy alliance also to be broken at will by either of the high contracting parties or is it to be maintained in good faith? The people are entitled to know.

The reason is simple. As matters now stand, Mr. Taft is our only source of information. We had reasonable expectation that the President himself would unveil the mysteries of Paris upon his return, but we were doomed to disappointment. Even the Senators who sat at his feet in the White House returned dejectedly to their homes more bewildered than ever and, as three of them frankly admitted, amazed at the President's ignorance of the real meaning of the various articles in his own covenant. We know that his "fighting blood" is up, that our soldiers laid down their lives for the preservation of his ideals of which they had never heard, that what the survivors thought was a nightmare of hell was only a dream of exaltation, that he had demonstrated that, after all, America "had not been drugged into utter helplessness by false doctrine, that the peoples of Europe" are in the saddle — meaning at his back — and if the present governments do not do their" — meaning his — "will, some other governments shall"; as a consequence, if I may quote Mr. William Allen White, of the President of the United States "touring Europe in the greatest parade in history, blithely talking the language of revolution, as unconscious of its import as a recruit tinkering with a hand grenade," and that finally, as "the most wonderful fact in the world," since he went there this country had "won the enviable distinction of being recognized as the friend of mankind" and was now trusted,—as if forsooth it had never been trusted before.

But it is idle to rehearse the mingled rhapsodies and threats with which we have been regaled. You are familiar with them. The point is that the only scrap of information vouchsafed to us about the League was that wheedled out of the President by Justice Goff to the effect that he could speak only with British representatives concerning the future of Ireland. America must remain in the dark. But enlightenment upon this matter was not necessary. The covenant itself, in the clause guaranteeing the preservation of one another's territorial lines, affords a complete answer. That is all we learned. But it is a fact which may well be noted on this, the anniversary of the death of the patron saint of the Green Isle, from

which so many have been compelled to seek refuge from oppression in this free land.

Now, gentlemen, there is much confusion in the minds of our people. They are just beginning to awaken to the fact that they are being led into a quagmire. The makeshift document now existing will be amended no doubt and the time of its adoption may be postponed, but the menace will remain. Mr. Wilson has staked his all upon this single throw and he can and will force the issue through the party which has become his personal possession. His announced plan is to return some time—nobody knows when—and appeal directly to the people.

That, I say, is good. That is all that those of us who are against the scheme desire. But meanwhile the active propaganda now going on, backed financially no less by Anglo-Americans than by German-Americans who hold millions of foreign bonds which, through the operation of this sinister League, they hope to get endorsed by the United States, must be met and resisted squarely from one end of the country to the other. And there must be no holding back, no evasion. I make no complaint of those who consider it wise to postpone the issue. That policy has already proved itself. But for myself I want to say plainly:

I am opposed to the covenant as it stands. I am opposed to it as it may be amended. I am opposed to it in principle. I am opposed to it in theory. I am opposed to it in practice.

I regard it as the most un-American proposal ever submitted to the American people by an American President.

I am opposed to this country entering into any perpetual or permanent alliance with any Power for any purpose,—for war, for peace, or for anything else.

I am opposed to yielding so much as a shadow or suggestion of the sovereignty of this Republic.

I am opposed to any proposal that might by the remotest chance impair the absolute independence of the nation or the complete freedom of the people.

I would rather fight for the Monroe Doctrine than for the Akoond of Swat.

I would never forfeit our right to maintain neutrality between any foreign belligerents.

I would never take control of our commerce from Congress.

I am opposed to all men of whatever political faith who counsel or acquiesce in the slightest concession to those who in the name of humanity would betray our country and crucify our liberties!

"They enslave their children's children who make compromise with sin."

I deny that this abortion of a league is essential to the making and preservation of peace.

I insist that the power for good of America, as has just been proved, is inherent in her self-government and her aloofness from intrigue.

I abhor the possibility of American individualism being engulfed in the morass of Socialism.

If I were an Englishman, a Frenchman or an Italian I should want this League; but I am an American.

I hope to die before I see any red-blooded American sitting as President and one out of nine in a council controlling the world.

But I see no reason to believe that, as President of the World, Mr. Wilson could keep us out of war any more than he did as President of the United States. He is vastly more successful at the moment in keeping us out of peace.

I pronounce it a crime to suggest that a single American boy be taken from his home and assigned to police duty in far off lands.

I would never let any foreign Power have a say as to the size of our army or our navy.

I denounce this scheme as the absolute denial of Democracy. I defy anybody to disprove the assertion that it is the most complete autocracy the world has ever known.

I hold that the nation affords the only hope for Democracy and that patriotism is the bulwark of the nation. I stand for Woodrow Wilson when, before his head was turned, he said:

"There are just as vital things stirring now that concern the existence of the nation as were stirring then—to wit, in Washington's time—and every man who worthily stands in this presence should examine himself and see whether he has the full conception of what it means. America should live her own life. Washington saw it when he wrote his Farewell Address. It was not merely because of passing and transient circumstances that Washington said we must keep from entangling alliances. It was because he saw that no country had yet set its face in the same direction in which America had set her face. We cannot form alliances with those who are not going our way, and in our might and in the confidence and definiteness of our own purpose we need not and we should not form alli-

ances with any nation in the world. Those who are right, those who study their consciences in determining their policy, those who hold their honor higher than their advantages, do not need alliances. When we go out from this presence we ought to take the idea with us that we too are devoted to the purpose of enabling America to live her own life, to be the justest, the most progressive, the most honorable, the most enlightened nation in the world."

I stand with Theodore Roosevelt who in his last message to the American people declared:

"Any man who says he is an American, but something else also, isn't an American at all. We have room for but one flag, the American flag, and this excludes the red flag, which symbolizes all wars against liberty and civilization, just as much as it excludes any foreign flag of a nation to which we are hostile. We have room for but one soul loyalty, and that is loyalty to the American people."

But one soul loyalty! But one flag! Does that mean anything? It does to some. I asked a crippled soldier from the Argonne forest if he had visions of ideals in his dreams during the great battle. He looked at me dazed for an instant, then flushed to the roots of his hair and replied evenly, "I fought for my country and my flag, sir." But a new banner has appeared. It blows in the breezes off the shores of England. It is the new International flag. It is simple and quite beautiful. I have a photograph of it—a blue stripe between two white stripes. What they symbolize I do not know. This flag here over my head was adopted by the Continental Congress in 1777, one hundred and forty-two years ago. The first one was the product of the nimble fingers of that sturdy little patriot, Betsy Ross. Its first public appearance was over Dorchester Heights and, when it was raised, George Washington stood uncovered at the foot of the pole. It has waved ever since in its spotless beauty and untarnished glory. It has symbolized during all these years but one emotion: "My country, my whole country and nothing but my country." Shall it be lowered now—lowered so much as the fraction of an inch?

Under which flag, gentlemen? Under which flag? That is the one and only question involved in the League of Nations.

Are not you, too, Americans?

Contemporary Echoes

AMERICANISM VERSUS UNIVERSALISM

(From the Herald)

Two of the Old Guard have challenged President Wilson and have levelled formidable broadsides at his new policy of universalism versus nationalism. Colonels Watterson and Harvey are doughty fighters, but they are no fire eaters. They have invariably stood for Americanism in its highest and best sense. Of neither can it be said that he is an apostle of blatant spread-eagleism and jingoism, least of all that he has espoused a selfish

or pusillanimous policy on the part of the United States. From the outset they attacked German aggression in Europe and assailed infringement by Germany of American rights, demanding the strongest possible action at a time that the President was busily writing notes. While, also, the latter was demanding neutrality in thought as well as in deed, Colonels Watterson and Harvey were using their pens and voices in attacking Germany, showing that she was far more than the enemy of those who were then fighting her and that her ambitions and activities

gravely menaced the rights and liberties of the United States.

Now that Germany is beaten to her knees and is about to have imposed upon her terms which will keep her in leash for generations, they have turned attention to the determined attempt of the President also to tie up the United States by preventing future independence of action whenever it may be necessary for the preservation of the dignity and rights of the country, and to entangle it in a foreign alliance which will deprive it very largely of independence and sovereignty. Colonels Watterson and Harvey, like the *Herald*, have from the beginning demanded that the peace treaty should have precedence of a League of Nations, and that the latter should be in the form of a general agreement that matters of international dispute calculated to lead to war should be referred to the league, which should be backed by sufficient authority in the form of military and naval forces to render its decisions formidable. But this was not enough for the President, who, having proclaimed the purely unselfish ideals for which the United States entered the war—conveniently ignoring the practical reasons which rendered participation well-nigh compulsory—became “inebriated with the exuberance of his own verbosity” and posed before the world almost as another Prince of Peace.

Others had said before him that this was a war to end war. He would take care that it was, and would go down to history as the first to raise the banner of perpetual peace. In order to accomplish his object President Wilson has postponed peace to a degree which has caused additional unrest, with the grave possibilities that his determination to force through the league may divide the Paris conference, as it certainly has divided public opinion in this country both in and outside the Senate, and that in the final reference to the latter body the treaty will be rejected. President Wilson must not be surprised to find himself accused of overweening ambition of autocratic abuse of authority and of an attempt to sacrifice the interests of the United States to a dubious amalgamation of nations in which his country will occupy a secondary if not a subservient position, and all this, so they say, in order that he may become first President of the United States of the World.

PUBLIC SERVICE

(From the Sun)

For frankness, sincerity and truthfulness, untempered by any thought of self-interest, Colonel George Harvey's address on the proposed constitution for the League of Nations, delivered in Indianapolis on Monday evening, will long stand high among the forensic and literary products of patriotic Americanism.

In it Colonel Harvey, with characteristic fearlessness, refused to permit fine phrases to obscure hard facts. He brushed aside at the beginning those platitudes which in the present crisis endanger straight thinking. He went directly to the heart of the matter. His comparison of the principles of Washington, which guided the American policy of international affairs from the beginning of the Republic through a period of unprecedented growth in power and prosperity, with the proposed departure from those principles now advocated by Woodrow Wilson was conclusive and crushing in its exposure of the fallacies which underlie and vitiate the document Mr. Wilson today says we must accept to control our foreign relations for all time to come.

Colonel George Harvey has performed many valuable services for his country in his active life, but none of them has been so important as his vigorous and intelligent struggle against the constitution for the League of Nations which Woodrow Wilson is now endeavoring to jam down the throats of the American people.

PATRIOTISM OR POLITICS

(From the Evening Sun)

Colonel George Harvey rejected “Patriotism or Politics?” as the title of his ringing Indianapolis speech because it was “too general” and substituted “Washington or Wilson?” which he regarded as almost synonymous. It depends a good deal upon the definition given to the word “politics.” Patriotism and politics in the highest and finest sense are synonymous. Even partisanship may be added to make a noble triumvirate of diction. When the interests of one's country are at stake, at issue in any way, the politics of such a man are patriotism, the duty of a man and a patriot is partisanship on the side of country.

During the Civil War in this country, of lamentable memory, the great issues over which it was waged entered into politics, nay, they pervaded politics from the halls of the Congress to the converse between man and man, they inspired every struggle from the Presidential elections down to the choice of town constable. It is true that the cleavage was not exactly identical with the array of the two great parties. Thousands of Democrats subordinated the issues upon which they usually voted to the great cause of winning the war. They simply ignored, for the nonce, all minor political questions for the sake of the overwhelming one of Country. But the Republican

party as an organization made the supremacy of the Constitution its one dominating conception and who shall doubt that in its consecration to the Flag and the platform of National unity as opposed to all impugnors of the principle, it placed itself in history as a splendid exemplar of the highest politics and the most devoted partisanship?

Of course, this is not the brand of politics Colonel Harvey had in mind. He used the word in the narrow, popular sense. It is to be regretted that this usage has obscured the higher meaning of the word. He had in mind not even the honest cleavage of opinion which may divide men and parties over questions of expediency and methods of administration. He was thinking, plainly, of the sort of politics which makes factional supremacy the object, and personal ascendancy the aim of public discussion and the end of popular contest. So far as politics of this type are concerned, patriotism swells above them in inspiration and appeal.

In this view we all agree with Colonel Harvey, Republicans, Democrats, nondescripts, all public spirited men. But let us not on this account imagine that patriotism can be eliminated from political thought or action with any degree of safety to the Republic. On the contrary, Patriotism should animate all our political activities and impulses whether as individuals or organized into groups. There is no reason why any party should avoid the adoption of a patriotic cause. On the contrary, it is a constant duty to adopt and to adhere to supreme movements for the general good and the general safety, whenever such come to the front in the political field.

Such adoptions of patriotic causes are, assuredly, not exclusive. They are made in a spirit of generous challenge. It is not any one but all parties that should adopt them. But when anyone takes the lead, it should be in a spirit of wide invitation regardless of creed in minor disputes.

KNOWING WHERE ONE IS AT

(From the Indianapolis News)

Editor Harvey had a big day in Indianapolis yesterday, and Indianapolis enjoyed his visit. Our guest has, it will be remembered, won a great and deserved reputation as a prophet—whether as a predictor or a wise commentator on current events may be left to posterity to determine. About ten years ago Mr. Harvey picked Woodrow Wilson as a winner, and his choice “came through.” Yesterday he announced that the next Democratic candidate for the Presidency would be our friend and neighbor, Thomas Riley Marshall, at present Vice-President of the United States. Can it be that any man will be able to guess right twice in succession on such an important subject?

He essayed the role of prophet—in the other sense—in his speech at the Columbia Club last night. Whether we agree with him or not, Editor Harvey discussed the issues with his usual vigor and brilliancy. He declared himself opposed, not only to the proposed constitution of the League of Nations, but to the whole principle. As for the proposed League, there are many who object to it. The general belief is that it will be modified in several important particulars, perhaps to such an extent as to meet most of the objections. But that is not enough for Mr. Harvey, for he declares himself opposed to any league.

Senators Knox and Lodge have expressed themselves in favor of a league, if it was of the right sort. Even Mr. Roosevelt declared himself in favor of such an agreement with England as would make wars between two nations impossible. Mr. Harvey's speech was interesting and will stimulate thought and discussion. He knows where he stands—and that is much.

SHALL WE ABOLISH THEM?

(From the Troy Times)

Colonel George Harvey in a speech at Indianapolis yesterday hit straight out from the shoulder on the League of Nations question. He said regarding the covenant that four plans were submitted—American, British, French and Italian—and the British draft was selected, and that this covenant transfers the sovereignty of our nation to outsiders, violates the most sacred traditions of the Republic, scraps the Monroe Doctrine and places “absolute control of our country, so far as international relations are concerned, in the most autocratic body ever conceived, in which the United States would have just one vote out of nine!” Colonel Harvey added: “Even worse, if possible, than that, through the inclusion of representatives of her colonies, Great Britain would dominate the other eight and become the actual controller of the government of the world.” Under such conditions, declared Colonel Harvey, our country would forfeit the independence won by Washington and the Continental army and become in effect a vassal state. Colonel Harvey's protest is characteristically vigorous and outspoken. That feeling is likely to grow between now and the next Fourth of July unless the Fourth and Washington's Birthday are to be abolished, with Washington himself, as not up to date

Letters From Our Readers

FROM A REFORMED WILSONITE

SIR,—Permit me to add my humble congratulations to the thousands that, no doubt, have come to you on the magnificent speech you made at Indianapolis, every word of which rings with a species of Americanism that must be aroused in our beloved land, if it is to be saved from sacrificing its sovereignty and becoming a football for "men everywhere" to fatten and thrive upon, in order that these forty-eight States may be made "safe" for the Democratic party,—men everywhere, as interpreted by the "great leader," to my mind meaning everywhere except in the United States. The era of "watchful waiting" has again come in vogue—our people watchfully waiting to learn what the proposed League of Nations is going to do to them. But the big men of America are making the welkin ring, thank God! and will stand as a bulwark.

Speaking about leadership, I am reminded of President Wilson's definition of it, in a campaign speech he made at Morristown, in 1910, when he was a candidate for Governor of New Jersey. He said: "Leadership is a very subtle matter. Leadership is based, first of all, upon knowing what you are talking about, and, secondly, on making yourself so troublesome to those who oppose you that, if only for the sake of peace, they will let you have your own way." How true to his precept is his practice as a leader!

I have been a close observer of Mr. Wilson's career as a public man. In 1912 I worked hard and voted for him; but I have not been a Wilson man since the 4th of March, 1913, the day he was inaugurated the first time. In 1916 one of the newspapers, desiring to ascertain why strong Wilson men in 1912 were against him in 1916, had a number of Newark men interviewed. I was one of the men interviewed. The interview was not published, as I was informed, because I was the only one approached—and probably the least conspicuous publicly—who would speak for publication; and this is what I wrote in opposition to his re-election:

"Because the tendency—if it has not already reached that point, it is perilously close to it—is toward one-man power; and that tendency in free America is distasteful, not only, but very genuinely dangerous; and such power in the hands of a less scrupulous man than Mr. Wilson may, in one term of office, so undermine our structure of government as to require a revolution to restore it to the position it now occupies among the nations of the earth. But even in the hands of a man having the intellectuals and high ideals that Mr. Wilson is said to have, it is none the less a menace, for it is then usurpive of one of the co-ordinate branches of the government, namely, the legislative." In the light of what is happening now, it seems that I then sized the situation up pretty accurately. Let us hope that the catastrophe will be averted by men like yourself, who are listened to, and who know the right, and, knowing, dare maintain it.

CLARENCE SACKETT.

Newark, N. J.

NERVOUS, BUT NO CHUMPS

SIR,—I was delighted to read the press reports of your address at Indianapolis. It has a true ring, and radiates the kind of hard common sense we must use to combat the plans of the "Autocrat-Socialist," who is getting us into a very dangerous mix-up.

During the active participation of the United States in the war, partisanship, of course, was forgotten and we were a unit with the President; but, if "Peace hath her victories, no less than war," it also has its dangers and disasters, and the Lord help us if a mistaken notion of patriotism should lead us to follow blindly any Utopian flights of fancy, such as the League of Nations as at present constituted. Of necessity, there must be some working compact between the Entente Nations, but a committee of the Senate (a body of equal treaty-making power with the President), consisting of Lodge, Knox and two or three others, should be at work now drafting a fair, safe and practical agreement, to be submitted and ratified when the Senate shall reconvene. The committee's sessions during the recess would, of course, be informal, but its conclusions should be considered by the Senate as its most important work immediately after the organization of that body.

The Senators probably are now doing this self-same thing, but we "common people" are getting a little nervous, when we read that the Peace Conference is being virtually coerced into an endorsement of the League of Nations, as at present framed, and its embodiment as an integral part of the Peace Treaty about a foregone conclusion.

Why, in Heaven's name, shouldn't Europe want a League

of Nations along those lines, where they would have everything to gain and nothing to lose? It can't be possible that we have become a nation of chumps.

A. E. SUMNER.

New York City.

GOOD CHEER

SIR,—The writer has read with delight your magnificent address before the Columbia Club at Indianapolis, as published in the *New York Sun* in full. He is so grateful for this wonderful voice, that he begs to suggest that it be published in pamphlet form, and circulated throughout the length and breadth of the land—and quickly.

He believes that this address draws so straight a line, that all Americans will be on the right side of it, and that it will do more good for this Republic than any utterance that has been made since the World War started. The writer would be grateful to contribute to the cost of getting out this pamphlet, and feels sure he can be instrumental in getting others to assist in defraying this expense. I believe Mr. Will. H. Hays, Chairman of the Republican National Committee, should undertake this work with vigor and thoroughness.

It is a consoling thought to know that this Nation has always produced a "man of the hour" in every crisis, and that you are that man, is as unmistakable as that Lincoln was picked for the crisis in the dark days of the Civil War. Long life and continued effort to your vigorous and virile pen!

JOHN J. UTECH.

New York City.

FROM SIR HUBERT

SIR,—I have just read in the *Sun* a complete report of your speech at Indianapolis. It is splendid. This ought to be put in pamphlet form and issued by the *million*. I am very serious, very positive in this suggestion, if you please. The *American*, the *Times* and the *Tribune* have a pretty good grist of it, but there is only faint mention of it in the *World*.

You are doing splendid work, splendid!

EDWARD G. RIGGS.

New York City.

FROM ROSSITER JOHNSON

SIR,—I have read with unbounded satisfaction your Indianapolis speech as reported in the *Sun*, read every word of it. I hope it will be published in pamphlet form, and if it is I shall be greatly obliged if you will send me a few copies, that I may place them where they will do the most good.

ROSSITER JOHNSON.

New York City.

FROM STUYVESANT FISH

SIR,—Put me down as one of the tens of thousands all over the land who are saying of and to your speech, "Ditto, Mr. Burke." Would that I could do a little better or more, but I am trying and shall keep at it.

STUYVESANT FISH.

New York City.

"UNSULLIED AMERICANISM"

SIR,—Will you permit me to offer my thanks for the magnificent speech printed in today's *Sun*. It is tremendous in its unsullied Americanism, and Americans should be proud of you!

ISABEL D. MCHIE.

New York City.

YOU EMBARRASS US

SIR,—Only two American gentlemen in the past 60 years ever equalled your brilliant, witty, diabolically humorous, human, fearless and magnificent speech in Indianapolis: Rufus Choate and Colonel Ingersoll.

JOHN ERNEST WARREN.

New York City.

SEE THE "WEEKLY," THIS ISSUE

SIR,—Can you send me a pamphlet copy of your great address at Indianapolis? I have read it in the *Sun*, but I want a pamphlet copy.

CHARLES R. SKINNER.

Legislative Library,
Capitol, Albany, N. Y.

HARVEY'S WEEKLY

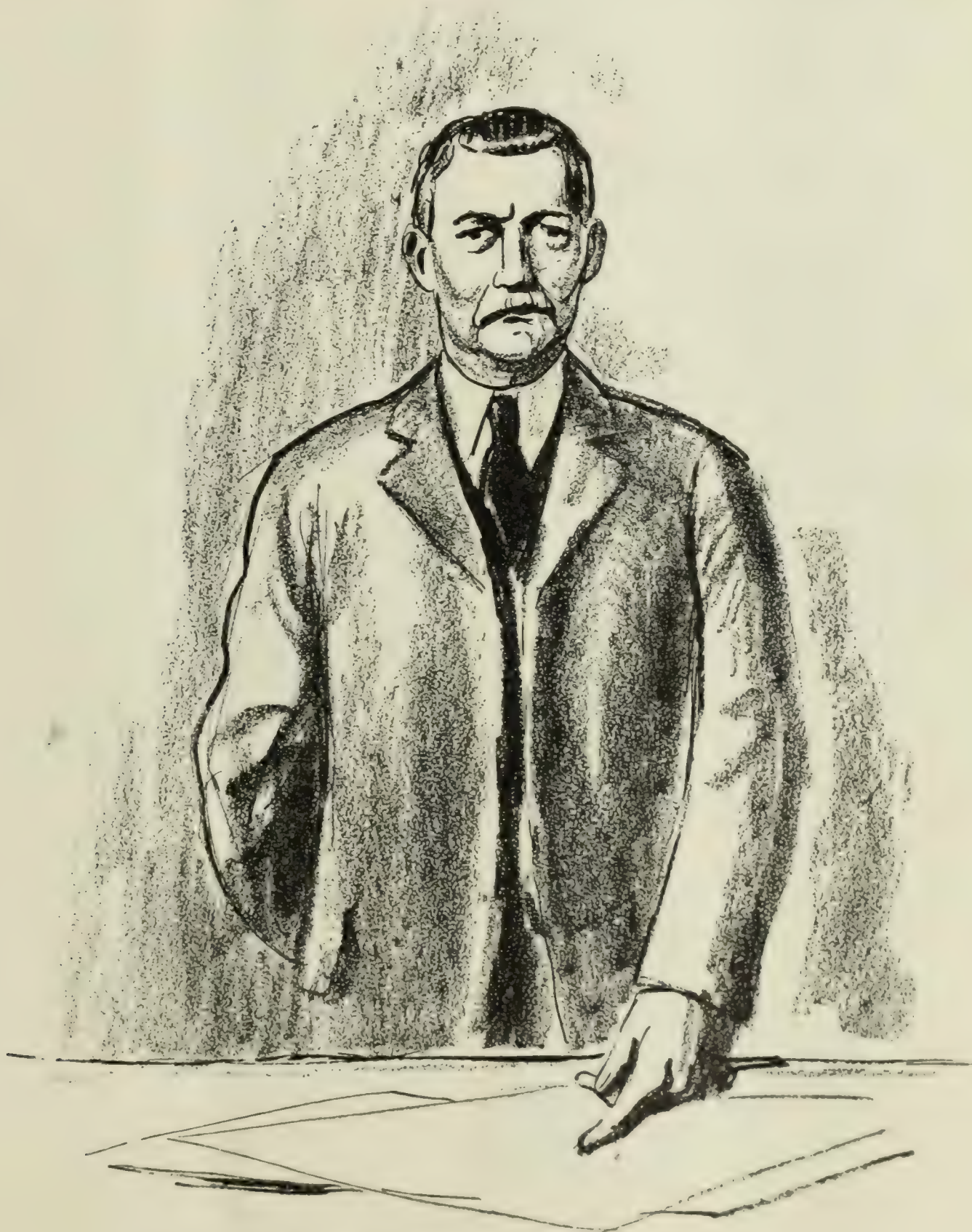
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WEEK ENDING APRIL 5, 1919

No. 14



“Let Us Have PEACE”

—U. S. Grant

Mr. Root's Declaration

THE importance of the document prepared by Mr. Root in response to the request of Chairman Hays, of the Republican National Committee, and published elsewhere in this issue in full, cannot be overestimated. It not only contains the conclusions reached by our most experienced statesman, who has given a large part of his time during the past twenty years to the study of the problem of international relations with respect to the establishment of principles tending to achieve peaceful relationship among all nations, but it sets forth with rare succinctness the position of the party which is now virtually in control of the Government of the United States.

Tacitly accepting Mr. Hays's terse definition as a foundation, and in response to his request for an analysis designed to dissipate the confusion which has arisen in the minds of the people, Mr. Root appears in his proper light as the intellectual leader and guide of the great political organization which through force of circumstances must make the ultimate decision. Practically, therefore, this pronouncement constitutes a definite notice to both the President and the Premiers of the allied European Powers that no scheme will be accepted by this country which does not make certain vital reservations.

These comprise specific recognition of the Monroe Doctrine, the rehabilitation of the policy of arbitration with power of enforcement of all justiciable questions, and, most vital of all, the right of withdrawal after suitable notice has been given. That is to say, it conforms precisely to the original declaration of Washington, rigidly upheld by the long line of his successors, including President Wilson in 1912, forbidding the engagement of the United States in any permanent alliance for any purpose whatever with any European Power. Clearly these

proposals change completely the nature of the agreement which the President not only requested but demanded that the United States enter into in direct violation of its chief traditions.

The first impression upon the public mind is one of mingled regret and resentment that the President did not at the outset draw to his aid the best abilities at his command in the formulation of a project so vital to the future welfare of his country. There is nothing novel in this suggestion. The propriety and the wisdom of his doing so was impressed upon the President from all sides, from members of his own party, no less than from the spokesmen of the opposing party, which had just triumphed over his arrogant protestations at the polls; and it was with a sense almost of dismay that the people beheld the President forsaking his post to take personal charge of international negotiations in a foreign country, with only such assistance as he might obtain from a few gentlemen of obviously limited qualifications, whose capabilities were yet to be demonstrated. It must be clear to anyone now that the alarm and the acrimony which have been created by the discussion throughout the country could easily have been averted. It is equally certain that the menace and distress attendant upon the prolongation of the discussions in Paris could have been avoided and the greatly desired peace attained but for the obduracy and the apparent craving of the President for a purely personal achievement, if he had followed the course which the country plainly, irrespective of partisan consideration, desired.

The situation has now been clarified so simply and so convincingly that none can fail to realize precisely what must be done in Paris to win the approval of America. It may be accepted beyond a doubt that the other Powers will acquiesce in the

proposition submitted by Mr. Root. They have become convinced that their own safety and future welfare hinge upon the continuance, at least for the next few troublous years, of a fraternal association with the only nation now in a position to extend requisite moral and material aid. While, therefore, at the beginning and so far throughout the negotiations, they have insisted upon conditions many of which were absurd upon their face, and have succeeded to a large extent in persuading the President to accede to their demands, whether he felt they were justified or not, they cannot fail now to awake, with a start, perhaps, to realization of the fact that America will enter into no engagements except upon her own terms. They are bound to recognize that the position solemnly assumed by Mr. Root and Mr. Hays is unchangeable and irrevocable. So far and no farther will the dominant party go in an effort to ameliorate conditions in Europe without deriving any conceivable benefits for America.

It remains then for Mr. Wilson to decide whether he will accept this virtual ultimatum or refuse to yield his announced dogmatic views, or to what extent he may deem it necessary to make concessions sufficient to overcome resistance in the Senate through direct appeal to the people. In one respect he derives much advantage from Mr. Root's declaration. While that pronouncement makes it a practical certainty that the amendments proposed must be included to insure acceptance of the plan, simultaneously it indicates clearly that the inclusion of the amendments proposed would win the acquiescence of the other branch of the treaty-making power, for the quite simple reason that few if any of the Republican Senators would have the hardihood to reject a policy marked out by these two leaders of the party.

The whole matter, therefore, rests with the President. That he has begun to perceive the situation in its true light since he made his idle and unfulfilled threat to notify the European Powers that he had

behind the original covenant in America an overwhelming majority, is quite plain. If now he shall derive enlightenment from the propositions set forth by Mr. Root, which incidentally he invited and received several days before the declaration was published, and shall act in accordance with the dictates of patriotic judgment, he can do much to regain a part of the confidence of the American people which he must realize he has forfeited.

Meanwhile, the country can only await a statement of the results of his meditations such as must soon be revealed in the revised document, without disregarding for an instant the fact that eternal vigilance continues to constitute the price of liberty.

For ourselves, we stand pat.

Charleston, W. Va., March 17.—The House of Delegates to-day by a vote of 52 to 26 adopted the Wysong resolution putting that section of the Legislature on record as opposed to the League of Nations in so far as the United States ever becoming a member of such a league.—*Tribune dispatch*.

Following Colorado and Nevada. Oh, we're getting on.

The British League of Nations

ALTHOUGH, as we have had occasion to remark before, Mr. Frank Irving Cobb of the *World* shares with Mr. James T. Williams, Jr., of the *Boston Transcript*, the distinction of standing at the head of the class of younger journalists now forging to the front, he seems not yet to have learned that mere dodging, however artful, is neither convincing nor effective. In the hope that he may profit from being kept in after school for a few moments, we shall address him briefly, in no carping or critical spirit, but by way solely of constructive suggestion. Mr. Cobb says:

Col. George Harvey made a speech in Indianapolis last week in which he demonstrated to his own satisfaction that President Wilson's fourteen points were of English origin and that they were first promulgated by Lloyd George and the British Labor Party.

The *Tribune* enthusiastically republishes an editorial from the *London Morning Post* in which that organ of uncompromising British Toryism demonstrates to its own satisfaction that the fourteen points originated with the Germans.

Assuming that both Col. Harvey and the *Morning Post* are right, their combined theses prove that Lloyd George is pro-German and that the Germans are pro-British.

The remainder of the article bears upon the refusal of junkers, reactionaries, and the like to forgive Mr. Wilson for "having tried to give expression to the aims and objects of free peoples," instead of striving to make peace, and is quite foreign to the subject in consideration.

The sole point at issue relates to the actual origin of

the Fourteen Commandments commonly attributed to President Wilson. What we really said in Indianapolis was that thirteen of the precepts originated in England and one in Germany. This assertion having been challenged, we undertook three days later in Boston to demonstrate its verity, and now, for the information of our readers no less than for the enlightenment of Mr. Cobb, whom if we could we would gladly withhold from erroneous ways, we submit the evidence as then presented, to wit:

The first Commandment directs the making of "open covenants of peace" and the abolition of secret diplomacy. Ten days before, the British Labor Conference declared that "The British Labor Movement relies upon . . . the suppression of secret diplomacy."

The Third Commandment calls for "the removal of economic barriers and the establishment of an equality of trade conditions." The Labor Conference had already declared "against all projects for an economic war . . . whether by protective tariffs or capitalist trusts or monopolies," and in favor of "the open door, and no hostile discrimination against foreign countries."

The Fourth Commandment demands reduction of armaments. "We must seek," said Mr. Lloyd George, three days before, "to limit the burden of armaments," while ten days before the Labor Conference called for "the common limitation of the costly armaments by which all peoples are burdened."

The Fifth Commandment requires "impartial adjustment of all colonial claims, based upon the principle that in determining all such questions the interests of the population concerned must have equal weight with the equitable claims of the Government whose title is to be determined." Mr. Lloyd George had already declared that the colonies must be "held at the disposal of the conference, whose decision must have primary regard to the wishes and interests of the native inhabitants."

The Sixth Commandment is that Russia shall be evacuated and assisted to an unhampered and independent determination of her own political development and national policy. The Allies on January 10, 1917, had demanded the evacuation of Russia, and Mr. Lloyd George on January 5, 1918, had added "We shall be proud to fight to the end side by side by the new democracy of Russia . . . Russia can be saved only by her own people."

The Seventh Commandment names as the first of all such acts the evacuation and restoration of Belgium, without any attempt to limit her sovereignty. Mr. Lloyd George had already said: "The first requirement always put forward by the British Government and their Allies has been the complete restoration, political, territorial and economic, of the independence of Belgium, and such reparation as can be made for the devastation of its towns and provinces." The Labor Conference also had said: "A foremost condition of peace must be the reparation by the German Government of the wrong admittedly done to Belgium; payment by that Government for all the damage that has resulted from this wrong, and the restoration of Belgium to complete and untrammelled independent sovereignty."

Again: "No other single act," said the President, "will serve to restore confidence among the nations in the laws which they have themselves set and determined." "Before there can be any hope for stable peace," Mr. Lloyd George had said, "this great breach of the public law of Europe must be repudiated and so far as possible repaired."

The Eighth Commandment runs: "All French territory should be freed and the wrong done in 1871 in the matter of Alsace-Lorraine . . . should be righted, in order that peace may once more be made secure." Mr. Lloyd George had said: "We mean to stand by the French democracy in the demand they make for a reconsideration of the great wrong of 1871. . . . This sore has poisoned the peace of Europe for half a century, and until it is cured healthy conditions will not have been restored." The Labor Conference also reaffirmed "its reprobation of the crime against the peace of the world . . . in 1871," and demanded its undoing.

The Ninth Commandment calls for "a readjustment of the frontiers of Italy along clearly recognizable lines of nationality." Mr. Lloyd George had regarded "as vital the satisfaction of the legitimate claims of the Italians for union with those of their own race and tongue." The Labor Conference declared "its warmest sympathy with the people of Italian blood and speech who have been left outside of the boundaries assigned to the Kingdom of Italy," and its support of "their claim to be united with those of their own race and tongue."

The Tenth Commandment runs: "The peoples of Austria-

Hungary, whose place among the nations we wish to see safeguarded and assured, should be accorded the freest opportunity of autonomous development." So Mr. Lloyd George had said: "Though . . . a break-up of Austria-Hungary is no part of our war aims, we feel that unless genuine self-government is granted to those Austro-Hungarian nationalities who have long desired it, it is impossible to hope for a removal of those causes of unrest in that part of Europe which have so long threatened the general peace."

The Eleventh Commandment demands the evacuation and territorial restoration of Roumania, Serbia and Montenegro; the determination by friendly counsel of the relations of the Balkan states to one another, and international guarantees of their political and economic independence and territorial integrity. Mr. Lloyd George had demanded "the restoration of Serbia, Montenegro, and the occupied parts of Roumania;" adding that "the complete withdrawal of the alien armies and the reparation for injustice done is a fundamental condition of permanent peace." The Labor Conference demanded "the freedom of these peoples to settle their own destinies."

The Twelfth Commandment directs that while the Turkish portions of the Ottoman Empire shall have secure sovereignty, the non-Turkish nationalities must be set free, and the Dardanelles must be opened and neutralized. Mr. Lloyd George had declared that while the Allies did not challenge the maintenance of the Turkish Empire in the homelands of the Turkish race, the non-Turkish peoples were entitled to a recognition of their separate national conditions, and the Dardanelles should be internationalized and neutralized. The Labor Conference also had declared that whatever might be proposed concerning Armenia, Mesopotamia and Arabia, they could not be restored to Turkish tyranny, and that the peace of the world required the neutralizing of the Dardanelles.

The Thirteenth Commandment calls for "an independent Polish State" to "include the territories inhabited by indisputably Polish populations." Mr. Lloyd George, speaking for Great Britain and her Allies, had said: "We believe that an independent Poland, comprising all those genuinely Polish elements who desire to form a part of it, is an urgent necessity for the stability of Western Europe."

The Fourteenth Commandment finally declares that "A general association of nations must be formed under specific covenants for the purpose of affording mutual guarantees of political independence and territorial integrity to great and small states alike." Well, Mr. Lloyd George certainly did not deny, defy and forever exclude the notion of some such league when he said: "We are confident that a great attempt must be made to establish, by some international organization, an alternative to war as a means of settling international disputes." The Labor Conference went further. It specifically demanded: "That it should be an essential part of the treaty of peace itself that there should be forthwith established a supernational authority, or League of Nations."

The only Commandment missing is No. 2, which is certified in Colonel House's autobiography as of German ancestry, and which was abandoned by the President as a joke on himself at the behest of Great Britain. You will perceive, therefore, that instead of originating the bases of peace, as is generally supposed, the President merely adopted the propositions already avowed by the British Government. We are concerned for the moment in but one, namely, that creating a League of Nations, with respect to which the President replied to Senator Brandegee that four drafts of a proposed Constitution had been submitted, one each by the United States, Great Britain, France and Italy. The British plan, the President added in further response to Senator Brandegee's questioning, was the one adopted. The other plans had been "put aside." Nevertheless, if the

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BY GEORGE HARVEY

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Senator should insist, he thought it "possible" that the American plan might be produced for comparison. If it has been, the fact has not been made public. That is to say, the American people have not yet been permitted to see the plan prepared by their own Commission and probably never would have known that one had been submitted at all if Mr. Brandegee had not almost inadvertently elicited the information. Instead, we are not only asked but ordered to swallow a purely British concoction, hook, line and sinker.

We have read the article in the *Morning Post* and find it far from convincing. But even though it bore satisfying evidences of German origin, what of it? We have nothing to do with that. England has drawn many things from Germany—even kings and the like. And Germany in turn has extracted much from the Aztecs and from Rome; what, again we inquire, of that? All that we have attempted to show is that the President appropriated to his own use thirteen of his famous commandments from England and the fourteenth from Germany. We shall be quite happy to have Mr. Cobb dissect and, if he can, disprove the demonstration presented herewith.

If he shall fail to do so, we may rest assured that it cannot be done. Now then! We patiently abide the consequences of futile endeavor.

Mr. Baruch as Paymaster

AN indignant gentleman whose name we cannot make out writes from Richmond calling us sharply to account for "uttering a vile calumny" in saying that the President had handed \$150,000 out of his Special Fund to Mr. B. M. Baruch to do what he pleases with. Perhaps he didn't. All we know about it is what we got from this official document:

(Executive Order.)

In order that Bernard M. Baruch, heretofore designated as a technical adviser for the American Commission to Negotiate Peace, may be able to undertake properly the performance of such duties as heretofore have been, or may hereafter be, assigned to him by the American Commission to Negotiate Peace, I hereby allot to the American Commission to Negotiate Peace, the sum of one hundred and fifty thousand dollars (\$150,000,) from the appropriations for national security of defense authorized in the General Deficiency bill approved April 17, 1917; said sum to be subject to the disposal of Bernard M. Baruch for the purpose of creating and maintaining such organization, supplementary to that maintained by the American Commission to Negotiate Peace for the carrying forward of its other activities, as said Bernard M. Baruch may find necessary.

This order shall take effect this 14th day of February, 1919.

(Signed) WOODROW WILSON.

The White House, Feb. 14, 1919.

It seems to be authentic, and yet we have to confess that there are a few queer things about it. For example, it is dated "The White House, Feb. 14, 1919," when the President was just leaving Brest, and it did not leak out till March 18, when he was safely back in his Parisian palace. Surely the restrictions hedging about the expenditure seem to be not unduly severe.

Why Mr. Baruch should have been selected to handle the special fund thus stealthily put into his possession may be too delicate a question to raise; but we know that Colonel House fights shy of spending money on the quiet, while Mr. Baruch has long been accustomed to looking after little odds and ends which require more or less passing of the long green. Maybe that is what he was taken over for. Hoity-toity, what a business it all is!

Senator Brandegee Responds

The senior Senator from Connecticut should put himself to some pains for enjoying to the fullest Colonel Harvey's "undying gratitude." Somewhat later it may be necessary for him to explain wherein his sudden activity in obstructionist tactics and his profound objection to a world peace programme is supposed to be of benefit to the American people in general and to his constituency in particular.—*Hartford Times*.

SIMULTANEOUSLY with the penning of the above by the editor of the *Hartford Times*, Senator Brandegee was doing precisely what the editor was suggesting that he do. He was "putting himself to some pains for enjoying to the fullest Colonel Harvey's 'undying gratitude,' and he was explaining 'his profound' objection to a world peace programme supposed to be of benefit to the American people in general and to his constituency in particular." In other words, he was showing himself to be a man with the courage of his convictions and a man quite competent to give reasons for those convictions in exceedingly forcible and convincing language.

It was in answer to resolutions signed by the Dean and Faculty of Wesleyan University and sent to him for perusal that Senator Brandegee wrote his confession of non-faith in the Smuts League of Nations Constitution which the President brought home with him, with the imperious demand that it be subjected to no amendments, coupled with the threat that it would be so interwoven as it stood with the terms of peace that the Senate would have the alternative of accepting the League or rejecting peace.

Like some other individuals and groups representing the best there is of American citizenship, the Wesleyan Dean and Faculty seem to confound opposition to the preposterous document Mr. Wilson brought home with opposition to anything looking towards diminution of the chances of war. Many of these excellent people, no doubt without careful analytical scrutiny of the Smuts Peace League Constitution, have been prone to construe objection to this particular proposition as tantamount to approval of war. Of course nothing could be farther from the fact. Nobody wants war. That is axiomatic. Everybody wants peace, perennial peace. That also is axiomatic. And it is precisely because of this universal longing for peace and abhorrence of war that the Smuts-Wilson League of Nations plan, bristling as it is with war-provocative possibilities, coupled with its impudent demand for surrender of our national independence and abandonment of principles interwoven with the very fibre of our Americanism—it is precisely because of our longing for peace, consistent with our national self-respect and dignity, that this preposterous proposal of Mr. Wilson's is meeting with the opposition which Senator Brandegee so ably represents.

All this, with a vigor and clarity of expression wholly admirable, the Connecticut Senator set forth in his reply to the learned gentlemen of Wesleyan University who addressed him. Among other things Senator Brandegee said:

The pity of the situation is that Mr. Wilson apparently does not desire the advice of the Senate. For him to proceed to a foreign country, after promising Congress that he would keep us in close touch with his proceedings, and that nothing should be done without our knowledge, to retire into a closet

and secretly agree to a world constitution, reverse the traditional attitude of this country, without any knowledge whatever of whether it would be satisfactory to the Senate, which, under the Constitution, is his equal partner in the function of treaty-making, then to submit the product to us and decline to entertain any amendments to it, and to leave the country threatening to bring it back in its present unsatisfactory form and jam it through the Senate by bringing pressure upon Senators to vote against their own judgment, is a proceeding so outrageous that I cannot sufficiently condemn it. Mr. Wilson states also that he not only declines to submit to any amendments to his League, but proposes to so interweave it with the technical treaty of peace with our enemies as that it will be impossible for the Senate to amend or reject his League plan except by rejecting the entire treaty of peace.

We regard this sort of proceeding as not only tricky but tyrannical, and if the thinking men of the country are going to urge us to submit to it they are simply lending their influence to the establishment of an intolerable autocracy in the country.

Mr. Brandegee further says that out of mere resentment toward Mr. Wilson's inexcusable course he would not vote against a treaty if he thought it ought to be ratified, but that he will not be tricked or intimidated into voting for what he believes to be a bad thing because Mr. Wilson insists on attaching it to a good thing. As to the demerits of the Smuts-Wilson plan, he refers his correspondents to copies of the speeches of Senators Knox, Lodge, Borah, Reed, Poindexter and others which he encloses for their persual.

Our friend, the *Hartford Times*, reproduced in full Senator Brandegee's letter in the issue of the day following the one in which appeared the editorial we have quoted. We trust the *Times* feels that the Senator has sufficiently met its demand for an explanation of his opposition to the proposed League.

And "may we not" take advantage of this opportunity to renew to Senator Brandegee the assurance of our continued "undying gratitude"?

We do not agree with those who criticise Col. Harvey for his Indianapolis speech. He was merely doing his best to obey the injunction of the President to discuss the League of Nations. —*Evening Post*.

Of course.

Causes and Results of Delay

WITH the ghastly results of delay in peace-making every day becoming more apparent and more ominous, it is a moral duty to keep clearly in mind the real causes of that delay. This is the more incumbent because of the persistence of the silly and impudent pretence that the President's League of Nations campaign has had little or nothing to do with it. As we have hitherto pointed out, the sequence of dates and the record of proceedings at Paris abundantly stultify that contention. The President's fatuous fad propaganda has been so clearly the chief that we may well consider it the sole important cause of delay in making peace.

Equally certain is it that this delay has been the cause or has at least given the opportunity of the alarming spread of Bolshevism in Europe, and particularly of the acute eruption of that political pestilence in Hungary. That is true, no matter which of the three explanations of the Bolshevik outbreaks we accept. (As a matter of fact, we suspect that all three of them contain some truth.)

Let us assume that current pretences in Hungary are

entirely true, and that the "Red" revolution there is a spontaneous protest against starvation. It is notorious that the lack of food in that and other countries is due primarily to the continued state of war. If peace had been concluded weeks ago, as it should have been, normal commerce would have been restored and national industries would have been put in the way of rehabilitation; and there would have been no starvation. But peace is delayed, the blockade is maintained, industry remains prostrate, and the people starve.

Let us assume that Germany has been fostering revolutionary movements in neighboring lands, in order in some way to frighten or blackmail the Allies into dealing lightly with her for her crimes. That may be so. There is cause for believing that it has been so to some extent. But it is the delay in making peace that has given Germany time and opportunity for such deviltry. And so if, in the third place, we assume that Lenine and Trotzky have been promoting the propaganda, using to that end some of the vast wealth which they have stolen from Russia: again it is delay that has made the success of their machinations possible.

What is the natural attitude, and what is the logical course, of the proletariat—it has adopted the name, wherefore we apply it, as we otherwise should not do—toward the Peace Congress? At first it looked to that body with hope and confidence, expecting it speedily to reestablish the peace for which the people were longing, so that the oppressive conditions of wartime could be abolished. Had it done so, the people of Europe would have risen and called it blessed. They would have accepted its dictates with loyalty and gratitude.

But when month after month passes without peace and with the burdens of war conditions not only remaining but actually growing more grievous day by day as the meagre stores of food become exhausted, and when the people see the "Big Five" or the "Holy of Holies" of four men in Star Chamber secrecy dickering over the interests of mankind, what are they to think? We do not approve their turning to Bolshevism. Nothing could condone or excuse that. But we cannot wonder at their losing faith in the close cabal at Paris and in suspecting that under the acrid irony of "open covenants openly arrived at" their interests are being ignored in favor of selfish ambition as truly as ever they were by a Metternich or a Bismarck.

"A League of Nations;" with a demand that in order to form it the nations shall be denationalized. "A League of Nations;" while the nations are falling into something worse than anarchy. "A League of Nations;" when the vital interests of the nations are being sacrificed by the very men who are promoting the thing. It is high time—pray God it may not prove too late!—to send the thing to the scrap-heap and to make peace and let the nations get back to a normal footing.

Mr. Wilson held a two-hour session today with the American experts, Messrs. Baruch, McCormick, Lamont, Strauss, Hoover, Davis and Robinson, the latter representing Mr. Hurley.—*World dispatch*.

No pigmy minds there! But *experts*?

Ill-Chosen Delegates

DISSATISFACTION with the composition of the Peace Congress is now apparent and audible in other lands than ours. Here there was from the beginning widespread disapproval of the President's appointment of himself as the American delegate. (We say "the American delegate" because practically he is the only one. Nobody pays the slightest attention to what the others, four in number, do or say or think. They are mere dummies; as was very clearly shown when the President on his return to Paris promptly vetoed pretty much everything which they had ventured to do in his absence.) It was felt that it would be contrary to the spirit and intent of the Constitution for him to go, and that it would certainly delay and embarrass the transaction of urgent and important business here. Of course it was all very nice for him to say, on going, that he would keep in constant touch with Congress while abroad, about as much as though he were at home. That was when he had a Congress of his own party, trained to eat out of his hand. But when the people elected a new and more truly representative Congress, of a different political complexion, he suddenly discovered that even with the cables under the control of the Politicalmaster-General he was hopelessly out of touch with Washington, so that it would never do for Congress to be in session while he was away. So the urgent business of this nation had to wait and to suffer until he could come home.

Now it is notorious that it was largely because he was going as America's delegate that other countries sent their Prime Ministers. That France should do so was fitting, perhaps, seeing that she was to entertain the Congress at her capital and that her Prime Minister would therefore be at home. But Great Britain felt that Mr. Lloyd George should go, and Italy sent Signor Orlando, largely because of a desire not to have their delegates too greatly outranked by their American colleague. They could not send their sovereigns, so they sent their Prime Ministers; and then the President considerately condescended to say that he wanted to rank as a mere Prime Minister too, so that they would all be equal. Which was very nice.

But it meant trouble, almost from the start. Many weeks ago Signor Orlando was summoned back to Rome by a cabinet crisis, and both the work of the Congress and the affairs of Italy suffered from the need of his services in both places and yet the impossibility of his being in both at the same time. Now Great Britain is suffering still more severely in the same way. Mr. Lloyd George is most urgently needed at home. Yet his colleagues insist upon his staying in Paris. A widespread and perfectly well-founded feeling in the United Kingdom is expressed by the *Saturday Review*, when it says:

It is a serious danger at the present time that the Prime Minister and the most important members of the Government should be in Paris or passing half the week in going backwards and forwards between London and Paris. What are the boundaries of Bohemia to us compared with the settlement of the problems of reconstruction and demobilization which are developing into a kind of civil war?

Now that latter sentence may seem to some to be lacking in altruism, and indeed to be short-sighted. We are quite ready to concede that the boundaries of Bohemia are of some importance to us, inasmuch as we are interested in the just settlement of all the issues of the war. Even so, we must hold with our London contemporary that our own domestic interests are much more important to us. But that, after all, is not the point. We should look out for the boundaries of Bohemia without in the least neglecting our domestic welfare, and we could have done so if we had only had a properly selected delegation to the Peace Congress.

The essential point is this, that the President of the United States is not constitutionally intended or fitted to be at the same time a foreign envoy. There is not a single essential task or function at Paris that some other man could not have discharged just as well as the President, while there are many at Washington which nobody but the President can possibly discharge. Mr. Wilson was not and is not needed at Paris, unless to exploit himself and gratify his own egotism; while he is imperatively needed at Washington.

If the President had complied with the desire of the nation and had stayed at home and had sent to Paris a representative Commission, such as Madison sent to Ghent in 1814 and McKinley sent to Paris in 1898, and if the other great Powers had acted upon the same wise principle, we believe that the work of the Congress at Paris would have been more speedily and more satisfactorily done, and we are certain that the domestic interests of the various nations would have been much more perfectly served.

Work to Be Done

THERE is not the slightest reason for surprise at the outbreak of Bolshevism in Hungary or for the threat of its extension into other lands. There would, on the contrary, have been much cause for astonishment if some such things had not happened. For months it has been obvious that the desperate thieves and murderers who hold sway at Petrograd are striving to protect themselves from the penalty of their crimes by whelming other lands—all lands if possible—in the same iniquity. The one surprising thing is that so many men of reputed discrimination and vision have permitted themselves to be deceived and actually deluded and inveigled into giving countenance and aid to one of the foulest crews that ever defiled God's earth.

Let us bear in mind the simple and indisputable facts of the case. The Bolshevik leaders were formerly in the pay of Germany. They went to Russia as paid agents of the German Foreign Office, for the purpose of fomenting revolution against the Russian Government in the interest of Germany. They gained control of the Russian Government by forcibly dispersing the one legal body which existed, the National Constituent Assembly, and by assassinating and massacring those who opposed them. After murdering the Czar and his family, they seized all of the imperial fortune they could lay their hands on and looted the national treasury. With the vast wealth thus obtained they have been living

in luxury, and have been bribing, subsidizing and otherwise promoting revolutionary conspiracies in other lands.

Let us also remember what has been the attitude of other governments, particularly of our own government, toward them.

A few years ago one General Huerta seized the Presidency of Mexico by means not half as bloody and criminal as those by which Lenine and Trotzky seized the Russian dictatorship. Because of his crimes, however, our President refused to recognize him, and exerted all practicable influence to drive him from the place which he had usurped. We cannot recall any comparable action toward the Russian criminals. On the contrary, the official ear of America was quite deaf to the appeal for aid against them which was made by the lawful representatives of the Russian people. Our government strongly disapproved any effective action against the usurpers. When wholesale murders and debaucheries were committed such as the world had not seen since the Reign of Terror at Nantes and Lyons, the American Government was unmoved. It resisted intervention. It even proposed to enter into diplomatic relations with the hideous crew, in a friendly conference at Prinkipo.

It has been notorious for many weeks that Germany is honeycombed with Bolshevism, either with or without the concurrence of the German Government. There are hundreds of Bolshevik conspirators at work in Berlin itself. The government knows of them, but does nothing. Radek, their leader, was arrested for a time, but has been honorably released, to continue his work.

And the chief means proposed for the checking of the epidemic is, to send food to Germany. It is the President's profound conviction that "no man can be patriotic when he is hungry, or loyal on an empty stomach"; wherefore it follows that if we would repress treason and revolution, we should feed the people!

The time has come for rational conduct. Every nation that is not Bolshevik—and thank God, America is not!—must do more than mumble mealy-mouthed words and wait for the skies to fall so that they may catch larks. If after beating the Hun we must turn to and beat his jackal, the Bolshevik, let us get to the job.

Europe, America and the League

WHEN first he sprung his League Covenant upon the world and incidentally upon America, the President was insistent that it be not altered in one jot or tittle, lest Europe be turned against it. He told us how hard a task it had been to get European statesmen to agree to it, and he had done so only by phrasing the Covenant just as it was. If a single material change were made in it, all the fat might be in the fire. The European Powers might refuse to sanction the change, and might even make the proposal of a change a pretext for withdrawing from the entire scheme. So we had better not discuss the thing, but rush it right through; though later he did advocate making it the theme of debate at the Young Men's Literary Society of Podunk Centre and generally throughout the country.

Now, however, he has been making all sorts of changes

in it, and actually transmogrifying the thing. Yet we hear of no revolt against it. No European nation has withdrawn from advocacy of it; not even because of the insertion of a putative confirmation of the Monroe Doctrine. They all seem as intent upon adopting it as ever before.

The fact is, as every discerning and discriminating observer should have known at the outset, the European nations are ready to approve almost any conditions the United States might prescribe, so long as they can get this country hog-tied in their League of Nations so that they will have the benefit of its vast wealth and resources for their own purposes. They want to have our moral support, and also our financial and even our military support whenever they get into a tight place and need us.

For that we do not blame them in the slightest. Each nation looks out for its own interest—excepting this one when its interests are entrusted to an obsessed and obstinate doctrinaire.

It would be a fine thing for Europe to have us undertake the burden of policing Armenia and Asia Minor and Arabia. It would be a fine thing for the world to be able to say "Let America do it" whenever there was need of checking a ruction in some remote and difficult region. In desiring such an arrangement, for their own good, the Powers are doing just as the United States would doubtless do if it were in their place.

That, however, is not at all to say that the United States should approve the thing, being in the place that we are in, any more than European countries would do so if positions were reversed.

The whole proposal is one-sided. There is scarcely a provision in it that we need for our own good. It is all for the good of Europe, and largely at our expense. Of course, we believe in seeking and promoting the welfare of other nations, but we emphatically do not believe in doing so at the expense of the sacrifice of our own welfare.

It is obvious that the changes in the League constitution to which Mr. Wilson now gladly assents, are either desirable or undesirable.

If they are desirable, then the President stands convicted of having attempted to impose upon this nation and the world an instrument of the highest importance which was, as some of his chief supporters confess, not well thought out, ill framed, obscure, and likely to be misunderstood. Indeed, according to the amendments which he now accepts, it would in its original form probably have sacrificed the Monroe Doctrine and have impaired the independence and sovereignty of the United States even over its domestic affairs.

If, on the other hand, they are not desirable, then the President stands convicted of astounding and unpardonable weakness in yielding to unwarranted clamor, or of an equally reprehensible purpose to "play politics," in making undesirable changes in the most important and far-reaching contract which this or any other nation has ever entered into in the history of the world.

We leave it to him and to his apologists to choose between these alternatives. Either of them stamps him as unworthy of national leadership in this matter, and stamps his entire League scheme as unworthy of American acceptance.

Callousness Explained

ONE of the most significant items of recent news was contained in a dispatch from Brussels, which stated that "President Wilson has postponed his trip to Belgium until after the preliminary peace is signed." In connection therewith it will be recalled that he has made only two very brief and limited excursions to the devastated regions of France, and those by no means to the places most sorely stricken.

In this, it may well be believed, is to be found the explanation of the President's extraordinary lack of sympathy with France and Belgium in their sufferings from the war. His indifference and even his callousness toward those martyr nations has been one of the most amazing features of the whole case. He has been much concerned for the welfare of Germany, that her people should be fed and that they should not be burdened with any crushing indebtedness. But for the French and Belgians who have suffered immeasurably more than the most vindictive have ever proposed for Germany, he has had few words of sympathy and scarcely a single whole-hearted and red-blooded demand for redress.

Of course, his ears have been filled, day and night, with the insidious pleadings and verbal camouflage of German sympathizers, who are plotting to have Germany so spared from paying the penalty of her crimes that she will soon be able to reassert herself and to renew her attack upon civilization; while France and Belgium have been silent in the dignity and pride of their unparalleled bereavement, assuming that there was no need of specially pleading their cause to any tribunal of humanity.

We might have thought that the President's first impulse on going to Europe would be to see for himself what Belgium and France had suffered. As the former head of a great university, he should have looked upon the piteous ruins of Louvain. As the self-proclaimed champion of the people, catching, as he himself has so eloquently said, "the voices of humanity that are in the air," he should have made his earliest pilgrimage to the scenes where humanity had suffered martyrdom. He was to be a member of the international court which was to adjudge reparation to the injured. Should he not have seen for himself how great the injury had been and therefore how great the reparation should be? Is it not a practice of jurisprudence for the jury to view the scene of the crime?

He did not do so. He would not do so. He had time to travel about the Continent haranguing the multitudes, leading brass bands and throwing kisses to crowds which were acclaiming him as the "god of peace." He had time to argue and to insist that Germany should be permitted to enjoy the generous terms of what would be practically a negotiated peace. But he had no time to visit Belgium. His purpose was and is to pass upon the claims of Belgium without inspecting the grounds for those claims. After he has settled the matter, after he has said to Belgium and France, "You ask too much. Poor Germany could not pay so much without serious deprivation and suffering!" he will make an excursion to Flanders fields, where the poppies grow amid rows of crosses, to see what all the pother has been about.

Perhaps it is wise. Perhaps it is discreet. If he saw what is to be seen in some parts of northern France and in Belgium, his equanimity might be disturbed. His sympathies might be excited. He might actually feel a righteous indignation against Germany, so that he would join the majority of the civilized world in demanding that the fullest possible reparation be made to the innocent victims of that incomparable criminal, even though the whole race of Huns be bled white for a generation to come.

But it would not do for the President, listening to "the voices of humanity that are in the air," to be thus roused to passion. It might sway his judgment against the Huns, and tempt him to abandon the doctrine of "no indemnities" and even to repudiate his own demand for "peace without victory." So he will prudently postpone his visit to Belgium until after the terms of peace have been prescribed and the treaty has been signed.

And then, what will it matter whether he ever goes thither at all?

We have received in a roundabout way a "Memorandum on Proposed World Conference of Red Cross Societies at Geneva" recently submitted to an international committee in Paris by Major General Henry P. Davison, who, after outlining his plan, says:

Surely, the operation of such a plan would develop a new fraternity and sympathy among the peoples. By so doing an important contribution will have been made towards the success of the League of Nations, and this present plan should be viewed as a vital factor in the larger undertaking.

Are we to assume that Mr. Davison purposes or has promised somebody to deliver the great Red Cross membership of nineteen millions to the precious league? If so, look out! This is no pink-tea party. It's a fight.

Mr. Hurley's Policy

A GOOD many weeks ago the public was informed that Mr. Hurley was preparing a merchant marine policy, and we waited with impatient anticipation for his announcement. Now we have it. The mountain that labored and brought forth a mouse was a piker compared to Mr. Hurley.

He has disposed of those supposedly immutable laws of supply and demand as hobgoblins of pigmy minds; he has obliterated those economic handicaps which have kept the American flag ashore these last fifty years; he has salvaged the wreck of our shipping programme and transformed the leakiest fleet of bottoms ever bought by an unsuspecting public into the greatest merchant marine the world has ever seen; he has covered the Seven Seas with the Stars and Stripes and outlined the easy way to the achievement of our perpetual maritime glory. Indeed, when Mr. Hurley's promises are realized and the benefits are assessed, our total war liabilities will be seen as great national assets.

In justice to Mr. Hurley and his official associates, let it be said that the programme is all his own. The Shipping Board had no hand in the making. The board did not even see the

programme until it was prepared for release to the press. The gentlemen assigned by Congress to counsel, advise and assist the Chairman, neither counselled, advised or assisted in the formulation of the document.

Of course Mr. Hurley was not altogether without assistance in preparing the programme. We are sure that he would be the last to deny credit to his unofficial advisers and friends for their encouragement. There was Mr. Dennison, the well-known manufacturer of mucilage and tags. His advice was sought, and—to his credit let it be said—was freely given. Then there was Mr. Burling, the lawyer. He helped, too. After Mr. Hurley had written the programme out in his own way, it was translated into grammatical English by Mr. Hurley's principal publicity adviser, Mr. Thomas T. Logan.

This, it will be remembered, is the same Mr. Logan who figured rather prominently in the recent Senate investigation of the beef-packers. Much to the surprise of people in Washington, Mr. Logan, supposedly a newspaperman, turned out to be "Diamond T," the secret Washington tipster for packers and others who were willing to pay fancy prices for "inside information." Mr. Logan is Mr. Hurley's friend, and the author of Mr. Hurley's speeches and interviews.

So much for the genesis of the programme and its co-authors; now for the document itself. It amounts to this:

The Shipping Board has title, or will have during the next eighteen months, to approximately 12,000,000 tons of shipping, which will represent an expenditure of \$3,000,000,000 or more. No one can say definitely as to the cost of the bottoms we now have or those that we are to have. The figure quoted above is the minimum estimate as of the present. This aggregation represents a sum equal to approximately 65% of the world's shipping at the beginning of the war. Figured on the unit basis, the tonnage represents from three to four times the cost of similar ships laid down on the Clyde before the war.

All trade routes are now dislocated. In modern history there was never a time when the shipping outlook generally was so chaotic. Due to the aftermath of the war (troop movements and the transatlantic shipment of foods, principally) there is at present a great demand for bottoms, coupled with high freight rates and consequent high bottom costs.

Mr. Hurley's programme is predicated upon this war condition, and on the assumption that it will continue indefinitely. He purposes to sell to American business men the ships that were built under war conditions at war prices, upon the belief that normal conditions will justify them in making such expenditures, and that normal freight-rates will remain the same as those of the present.

This is the foundation of the entire policy. If it is removed, the clutter of detail simply falls to the ground with it. From the standpoint of the government, it would be an ideal method of salvaging the wreck of our shipping programme. It appeals to the average tax-payer. It appeals to those uninitiated folk who would see the Stars and Stripes self-sustaining on every sea. It appeals to those who believe that government ownership of a merchant marine should be avoided at all costs. In fact, its appeal would be uni-

versal, if it were practical and could be consummated. Unfortunately, it is not.

The ships cannot be sold at the so-called present market price because, if they are offered, the bottom will fall out of the market and the government will hold the bag. The very purpose for which the programme was evolved—a return to the government of the billions spent—will be blocked. Just as the government would find a deficit of great proportions, those who purchased at the top of the market—assuming that the first purchasers would buy at the present market—would also face bankruptcy when, a few months later, they would find their assets cut in half by a glutted market and the consequent reduction of freight rates following the immutable laws of supply and demand.

In addition to the great cost of construction, the ships are virtually all defective, and therefore less valuable, from the standpoint of permanent operators, than the present market price would indicate. The defects are two-fold. Unskilled riveters left their marks on the plates, and, as a result, the maintenance will be much higher than on those well-built ships of the Clyde. The Scotch type of boiler is the only first-class system. The Emergency Fleet corporation found, after constructing Hog Island and the other experimental yards, that such boilers could not be installed because they were too bulky to move through the tunnels that lie between the coasts and the plants capable of making them. As a result, turbines and water-tube boilers were installed. The improved boilers can only be used to supplant the makeshift at a great cost, and this is not even being considered at present.

Mr. Hurley has dressed his programme up with a number of superficial and appealing details, but none of them is worthy of serious consideration so long as the basic principle of the entire scheme is so hopelessly impracticable. A few weeks ago we proposed in these columns a plan whereby the government would charter the ships to individuals and corporations at fair rates, plus a bonus for successful operation and direction. This plan, we believe, offers the best solution of the shipping programme. After carefully analyzing Mr. Hurley's scheme, we are more than ever convinced of the soundness of the original proposal put forth by the WEEKLY.

A Suitable Appointment

WE have, as a rule, much respect for the opinions on international affairs voiced by the *Sun*, but we are inclined to dissent from the criticism which Mr. Munsey's afternoon paper directs at the President because of his latest choice of advisers on the Russian situation.

"The *Tribune* tells us," the *Evening Sun* observes, "that the President is deriving his information as to Russia from Mr. Lincoln Steffens, who has been acting as the eyes and ears for Mr. Wilson in Europe. He is aided by one William C. Bullitt, a one time newspaper man and now a preacher of radicalism and a new social order. To this collection might perhaps be added one George Herron. It is a truly characteristic proceeding, and had an analogy some years ago in the Mexican fiasco. Are these the men upon whom the President should rely in so vital a matter?"

If the President wanted eyes and ears, they were ready with sound official qualifications. But that is not Mr. Wilson's way."

The fundamental difficulty with the *Evening Sun's* complaint is the assumption that in these trying times the President would be justified in completely changing the method which he has invariably followed in the choice of selecting ambassadors for exacting posts. Surely this is no time to "swap horses." It would be absurd to expect the President, or to counsel him, to rid himself of the type of advisers he has become accustomed to, and to establish an altogether new standard of selection. Such a course would inevitably breed discord and confusion.

But this is quite beside the point. The question is whether or not Mr. Steffens fits in with the general scheme of things as arranged by the President, and whether or not he will do what the President wants done. We submit that he will fit nicely, and that his judgment and reports will dovetail perfectly with the President's policy.

Consider his record: He is and has been for years a great friend of Mr. Newton D. Baker's and was associated with him in many pacifist organizations. He is a friend and former associate of President Carranza of Mexico, and assisted the Mexicans in writing the confiscatory constitution which the State Department has refused to recognize as a basis for the establishment of a sound government. He is on intimate terms with Trotzky and other Russian Bolshevik leaders.

In April, 1918, at San Diego, California, during the course of a Bolshevik lecture, Steffens announced that the United States Government was rotten, as were all other governments with the exception of Mexico and Russia. This was while the United States was at war.

He turned up in Russia a little later, and nothing had been heard from him until the President chose him to take the place of the late-Reverend George D. Herron, who, it is but fair to assume, has now retired to the more congenial, if less prominent, pursuits from which he was drawn to represent the United States at the Marmora conference.

A Definition

WE have been taken to task rather sharply by a number of readers because we have referred to Mr. Wilson, from time to time, as "our peripatetic President." The authors of these communications appear to have been actuated by the assumption that we purposely sought to ridicule the high office of the Presidency by an undignified, if not actually flippant, reference to the present incumbent. From this allegation we demand absolution. Nothing was further from our intention.

In referring to Mr. Wilson as "peripatetic" we had in mind his philosophic methods rather than his travelling propensities. We used the word in its most dignified sense as defining an ancient and honored school of philosophers. We were actually meticulous in the choice, and we have no reason for modifying our judgment in any manner whatsoever. If the present generation understands the word as a synonym for the followers of Mr. Cook rather than the pupils of Aris-

totle, we submit that the blame rests not upon us, but rather upon those who have contaminated a word of long and honorable lineage.

The Peripatetic School of Philosophy may be defined briefly thus: Experimentalism as opposed to institutionalism. The fundamental principle of the school, which flourished several centuries before Christ, "assumes the possibility of establishing an ideal scheme of development which should harmonize all human experience."

Aristotle, father of the school, "thought to constitute an active principle independent of the limitations of space, time, and matter, which would explain the world of nature and man."

Here are some further definitions of the methods of the school:

"A cosmology, a system of metaphysical evolution in which power and act are the key words; entelechy, or complete development the final outcome; and material, formal, efficient and final courses the principles by which evolution is governed and perfected.

"A gnosiology; an experimental scheme from which all knowledge is developed from sense impressions.

"Logic in which the syllogism and the deductive methods are supreme.

"Ethics: a form of endemonism which holds that a supreme good consists in contemplation and action combined and that virtue is the golden mean between two opposite vices."

These definitions are from the *Standard Dictionary*. We submit that they present conclusive evidence of the propriety of our use of the word, and we are confident that all those of other than pigmy minds will bear us out.

Ballade of the Fourteen Points

He made a progress like a king
Where still the warring nations bleed,
They showed him many a fearful thing,
The weeks of fury, lust and greed,
Stones had cried out to see indeed;
Each wound with verbiage he anoints;
He says, "I bring you in your need
My Gospel of the Fourteen Points."

Like little poets, when they sing,
He bends above his darling screech,
Sentence on sentence polishing,
Making it prettier to read,
Fluting on academic reed;
Peace must wait on till he appoints
The hour for him to take the lead—
"My Gospel of the Fourteen Points!"

No human tear could Belgian wring,
Her maimed arms vainly raised to plead,
And France deflowered could only bring
Placid re-statements of his creed,
Weighing untouched the foulest deed;

And hungry men, in place of joints,
Were bade on the East wind to feed—
"My Gospel of the Fourteen Points."

Envoi

Ah! President, of this take heed,
Ere thee the weary world anoints:
Let righteous anger supersede
"My Gospel of the Fourteen Points."

—Anon.



Pulling Wilson



at of a Hole

The Week

WASHINGTON, April 3, 1919.

MAY Day, instead of All Fool's Day, is now declared to be the accepted time. On that day the Huns, provided that nothing happens to prevent, and that they are willing to come, are to be invited to Paris, to hear the judgment of the Big Four, provided that it still remains the Big Four. As we remember it, this somewhat essential function of peace-making was at first set for March 20 or thereabouts. Then it was advanced to April 1. The leap to May 1 is long, and is very much in the dark; and we have no assurance that it will be final. So shrewd an observer as Mr. Frank H. Simonds is considering the possibility that the Peace Congress will not be able to make peace at all, at least until after a very serious renewal of the war.

The three provisos which we have mentioned are all serious. It is quite possible that something will happen to prevent the completion of the Peace Treaty by May 1, or indeed at any time. It is perfectly obvious that dissensions among the ruling members of the Congress are increasing most ominously. Such expressions as "deadlock" and "impasse" crowd each day's news. The disagreements are, moreover, concerning matters of fundamental importance. If the urgency of the situation during the last week could not prevail upon the members of the "Big Four" to come to an agreement, we cannot imagine anything that would.

It is quite possible, too, that the German Government will decline to send delegates for the terms of peace, or that, having sent them, it will curtly decline to accept and to sign the treaty. It has threatened both. It has intimated that it will send no delegates unless they are to be permitted to discuss the terms which are presented to them. It has repeatedly and most emphatically, through the mouths of some of the most representative and authoritative of its members, declared that it will accept and sign no treaty which goes beyond the terms of the Fourteen Commandments; and that the Treaty will contain those Commandments and nothing more is simply unthinkable.

That the "Big Four" will still be a Quadrumvirate is likewise a matter of doubt. Some time ago we had a Council of Ten. It was reduced to a "Big Five." Now it has become a "Big Four." We know of no reason why it should not presently taper down successively to a "Big Three," a "Bigger Two," and a "Biggest One." There are those who would regard such a process with equanimity, provided that they were empowered to say who the One should be; or should not be.

The chief obstacle to agreement, we have been told, is the question of reparation. Analyzed, that is found to be a question between France and the United States, or, in the last analysis, between M. Clemenceau and President Wilson. The former knows what France has suffered and demands that those who wantonly inflicted that suffering shall be compelled to make the fullest possible atonement. He also knows what safeguards are necessary to assure the security of France

from another Hunnish attack, and he demands that those safeguards shall be provided. The President, on the other hand, does not know of the sufferings of France. He has not taken the trouble to inform himself of them by personal observation. Therefore he is not sufficiently sympathetic toward them to consent to the making of any reparation which would cause any privations or burdens to those good German folk with whom he has never regarded us as having been at war. As for security for the future, he thinks that it could be secured through his League of Denationalized Nations, and that it ought to be provided in no other way.

With all possible desire for a dignified and commanding place for America in the Peace Congress, we must say that we think that in the matter of reparation for ravaged lands and also in that of security for the future, she should defer to those who have suffered most and who will hereafter be menaced most. We believe that M. Clemenceau is better qualified to judge those matters than President Wilson. In addition, we believe that it is an unwise policy for this country to insist upon dictatorship in such internal affairs of Europe. The general issues of the war are doubtless of concern to us. The details of readjustment of boundaries and apportionment of indemnities are of great concern to Europe, but of little to us.

The ineptitude of the attempt off-hand and in advance to determine all the issues of the war and of peacemaking in Fourteen Commandments is destructively displayed in the case of the proposed Polish "corridor." The President declared that Poland must have free access to the sea. He also insisted that there should be no transfers of sovereignty or territory without the assent and approval of the inhabitants. Now it is reported that because of the amount of colonization by Germans in recent years, the only practicable outlet of Poland to the sea, once indisputably Polish territory, contains a majority of Germans who would not assent to transfer from Prussian to Polish sovereignty. Thus two of the Commandments directly oppose each other, and neither of them can be fulfilled without violating the other.

The Peace Congress takes pattern after our own. It has been a common thing at Washington for the majority party in Congress to play politics until near the end of the session, and then seek to make up for wasted time by jamming through a great lot of important measures without proper consideration; and if anyone objects and insists upon due deliberation over the vital interests of the nation, there is much ado over the iniquity of such "filibustering." So the Peace Congress dilly-dallied and played politics for weeks over the League of Nations, until the disastrous results of delay and the imperative need of prompt peace-making became apparent. Then there was a high-daddy demand for "speeding up" and rushing things through without reading them over. And if there is to be any blame for this state of affairs, it must rest not upon the President's tedious fad, but upon the opponents of it! Really, there are times when our vocabulary seems painfully limited and colorless.

The proposal of a single treaty of peace with all four Central Powers sounds like simplicity itself. In fact it means confusion worse confounded. It is assumed, of course, that the United States will be a signatory. It is essential that it shall be, if our war with Germany and Austria-Hungary is ever to be officially ended. But is this country to sign a treaty of peace with two Powers with which it has never been at war? We pointed out a year ago the incongruity of our remaining on terms of peace with countries which were at war with our allies and which were in fact assisting our enemies in war against us. That incongruity now leads to embarrassment in peace-making. Of course, we might even now as a matter of form declare war against Bulgaria and Turkey, just for the sake of being able to join in making peace with them; after the fashion of the Sunday School lad who on being asked what was the first requisite to repentance, replied, "To commit sin!" But then, only Congress can declare war, and for it to do so it would be necessary for the President to call a special session; and of course that is not to be thought of—by him—while he is three thousand miles away. So, there you are!

The reported threat of the President to employ his hobby of "pitiless publicity" in connection with the Peace Congress, to show up those who, he thinks, are responsible for the delay in treaty-making, is regarded with surprise by those who remember the very first of his Commandments. If "open covenants, openly arrived at" has been the rule of action of the "Big Four," what possible need can there be of revelations now? Surely, these statesmen have not been meeting in holes and corners and doing public business behind a screen. If they have, why has the President permitted it? Of course, it is inconceivable that his revelation will be a *Mea culpa*, beginning, "I cannot tell a lie. I did it with my little League of Notions."

No contrast could be stronger than that between two major fractions of the former Austro-Hungarian empire. Bohemia is orderly, law-abiding, progressive, and has sent scores of thousands of knights errant abroad to fight the battles of freedom and order in other lands. Hungary is disorderly, lawless, and is becoming a hell-broth of malignant infection to her neighbors. Also, in Bohemia there are only 1.5 per cent of illiterates, while in Hungary there are 56 per cent. Is there any relation between the two sets of conditions?

There absolutely must be some reference to the League of Nations in the peace treaty, we are told by a "responsible British authority," if only because the treaty will require Germany to cede her colonies to the mandatories of the League. Then the treaty will require Germany to cede her colonies to somebody not yet appointed by an organization not yet in existence.

Highly commendable is the warning against the importation of German-made goods which would infringe patents granted under our special war legislation. During the war American ingenuity and enterprise have created and developed to fine

proportions various industries for which we were formerly dependent upon Germany, and these are now making goods of better quality than those formerly supplied by the all-efficient Huns. It would be intolerable now to have those new industries swamped and destroyed by an influx of German goods, dumped upon us at pauper prices. Commendable is the pledge which millions of Americans have taken, to buy no goods of any kind of German origin. Commendable, too, will be governmental action to protect our markets from the unclean invasion.

Old *Tante Voss* reports that the German Government will provide for the trial, for their crimes in the war, of Ludendorff, Jagow, Tirpitz, Bethmann-Hollweg, and others. A cheerful example of Satan rebuking Sin; especially if some creature like Erzberger were presiding judge of the court. But how about the criminal higher up, of whom these miscreants were merely the agents and tools? Who was that genius in classic times who devised a net that captured all the little fish and let the big ones go free?

Oswald Garrison Villard reports personally to and in his *Nation* that at least 500 Russian agents are busy in Berlin, promoting Bolshevism; and that the Soviet leader at Munich "received the offer of unlimited sums from Berlin capitalists if they would go to the edge of the French zone of occupation to start propaganda in France." The moral of which is, we suppose, according to other utterances from the same source, that we should withdraw from Russia and keep our profane hands off the holy Soviets; and that the rise of Bolshevism all over Europe is a spontaneous movement of the people against imperialism, for which we are largely responsible through not having given Germany generous terms of negotiated peace!

Falsus in uno, falsus in omnibus. By the practical confession of its Presidential godfather in accepting and even soliciting radical amendments, the League of Nations Covenant stands convicted of having been perniciously and dangerously faulty in some respects. Are we quite sure that all the errors have been corrected? If so much of it was wrong, there is no assurance that some more of it is not equally wrong. The safe course will be, in Hamlet's phrase, to "reform it altogether" by striking out everything following the enacting clause—and then rejecting the enacting clause itself!

The versatility of William Hohenzollern when he was German Emperor often amazed and amused the world. But apparently it was never fully appreciated, or perhaps was never fully disclosed, until he went into exile. His latest elaborate output from Amerongen certainly reveals him as many more different kinds of liar and poltroon than the world ever knew that any one man could be.

Nero is reputed to have fiddled while nothing worse was happening than the burning of Rome. We wonder if he would have kept on fiddling in the presence of the whole world in flames?

Elihu Root on the League

The Complete Text of His Memorable Analysis of Its Constitution, Together with His Proposed Amendments, as Given in Response to the Request of Chairman Hays of the Republican National Committee.

Washington, D. C.,
March 24, 1919.

Hon. Elihu Root,
New York, N. Y.

Dear Senator Root:

Americans are seeking earnestly for further light on the question of the so-called League of Nations.

In the same spirit in which Republicans during the recent war measured their every act by how they could contribute most to effective action, so now they are determined to meet this new phase of the war problem in that revived spirit of fervent Americanism which is the glorified result of our experience of fire and blood, moving with a full appreciation of this country's duty as a responsible factor in the world of today and tomorrow and with the earnest determination to do all that can possibly be done toward the maintenance of peace without sacrificing our own supreme nationalism, the preservation of which in its integrity is the greatest safeguard for the future not only for the citizens of this country but for all peoples everywhere.

With a seriousness commensurate with the magnitude and complexity of the problem, the people are seeking the fullest information and best judgment to enable them to reach a correct conclusion. I know that I express the feeling of great numbers of your fellow citizens when I say that they will be under real obligation to you if you will present your views upon this vital subject.

Trusting you may see your way clear to meet this obvious demand, I am, with great respect,

Sincerely yours,
WILL H. HAYS,
Chairman.

Mr. Root's reply was as follows:

New York, March 29, 1919.

Honorable Will H. Hays,
Chairman,
Republican National Committee,
452 Fifth avenue,
New York City.

Dear Sir,

I have received your letter of March 24th and I give you herewith at perhaps inordinate length my views regarding the proposed Convention for a League of Nations.

I am sure that all of us earnestly desire that there shall be an effective international organi-

zation to preserve the peace of the world, and that our Country shall do its full share towards the establishment and maintenance of such an organization. I do not see much real controversy about that among the American people, either between parties, or within parties, or otherwise.

There is, however, a serious question whether the particular proposed agreement which is now under discussion by the Peace Conference in Paris under the title a "Constitution of a League of Nations" will accomplish that end in its present form, and whether it cannot be made more effective and free from objection. A careful study of the paper under the urging of intense interest in the subject has led me to the conclusion that a large part of its provisions will be of great value; but that it has very serious faults, which may lead to the ultimate failure of the whole scheme unless they are remedied, and some faults which unnecessarily and without any benefit whatever to the project tend to embarrass and hinder the United States in giving its full support to the scheme.

I think there should be several very important amendments to the agreement.

This seems to be the general view. Mr. Taft who joined the President in advocating the agreement says it ought to be amended almost as strongly as his former Secretary of State Senator Knox says the same thing. When Mr. Lodge and Mr. Lowell had their great debate in Boston both said the agreement ought to be amended.

A discussion of the merits and faults of the scheme with a view to amendment is now the regular order of business. It was to give an opportunity for such a discussion that the paper was reported to the Paris Conference and made public by the Committee that prepared it.

At the time of the report, Lord Robert Cecil, who represented Great Britain in the Committee, said:—"I rejoice very much that the course which has been taken this afternoon has been pursued. It seems to me a good omen for the great project in which we are engaged that before its final completion it should have been published to the world and laid before all its people for their service and for their criticism."

Signore Orlando, who represented Italy, said:—"We all expect from the discussion and development of the present act a renewal of the

whole world, but, as the present debate has for its object to bring the whole scheme before the public opinion of the world, I wish to bring to that debate my personal contribution."

M. Leon Bourgeois, who represented France in the Committee, said:—"Lord Robert Cecil has said, 'We now present to the Conference and to the world the result of our work'; but we do not present it as something that is final, but only as the result of an honest effort to be discussed and to be examined not only by this Conference, but the public opinion of the world."

At that very time M. Bourgeois suggested an amendment about which I shall say something presently, and he went on to say:—"The observations we have made on some points will we hope be of some value in the further discussions, since we are at the beginning of the examination of the whole plan."

These gentlemen represented all the great Allies by whose side we have been fighting in Europe, and it is plain that they expected and wished that the scheme which they had reported should be subjected to public discussion and criticism in their own countries and in ours. It is also plain that they saw no reason why the proposed agreement should be rushed through in such haste that there would not be an opportunity for public discussion and criticism and for communicating the results to the Conference.

Under our Constitution it is the business of the Senate to take the lead in such a discussion, to compare the different opinions expressed in the several States, and to draft in proper form the amendments which the public judgment seems to call for. It is unfortunate that the Senate has not been permitted to perform that duty in this case. It seems to me that the Senate ought to have been convened for that purpose immediately after the 4th of March. In addition to the regular and extra sessions of Congress, the Senate has been convened separately in Special Session forty-two times since it was first organized, ordinarily to confirm a few appointments or pass on unimportant treaties,—never for any reason more important than exists now.

There is a special reason why the Senate should consider this proposed agreement. Ordinarily, treaties are negotiated by ambassadors, ministers, or delegates, and their work is supervised and corrected if need be by the President and Secretary of State at Washington, who from their different point of view frequently see things the actual negotiators overlook. In this case, since the President himself is negotiating the Treaty in Paris, there is no

one in Washington to supervise the negotiation, and there is no one with authority to give the negotiators the benefit of independent official judgment, unless the Senate is to perform that function.

This situation throws upon the people of the Country the duty to answer the expectations of the Conference by studying and discussing and expressing their opinions on the various provisions of the proposed agreement, and to make their expressions of opinion heard the best way they can.

The avowed object of the agreement is to prevent future wars. That is what interests us. We are not trying to get anything for ourselves from the Paris Conference. We are not asking any help from the other nations who are in the Conference, but we would like to do our part towards preventing future wars. How does the proposed scheme undertake to do that?

To answer that question one must call to mind the conditions to which the scheme is to be applied.

All the causes of war fall in two distinct classes.

One class consists of controversies about rights under the law of nations and under treaties. In a general way these are described as justiciable or judicial questions. They are similar to the questions between individuals which courts are all the time deciding. They cover by far the greater number of questions upon which controversies between nations arise.

For more than half a century the American Government has been urging upon the world the settlement of all such questions by arbitration. Presidents Grant, Arthur, Harrison, Cleveland, McKinley, Roosevelt, and Taft strongly approved the establishment of a system of arbitration in their messages to Congress. Thirty years ago our Congress adopted a resolution requesting the President to invite negotiations with every other government "to the end that any differences or disputes arising between the two governments which cannot be adjusted by diplomatic agency may be referred to arbitration and be peaceably adjusted by such means."

President McKinley in his first inaugural declared: "The adjustment of difficulties by judicial methods rather than force of arms has been recognized as the leading feature of our foreign policy throughout our entire National history."

We have illustrated the benefits of this method of settling disputes by the Alabama Arbitration in 1872, the Behring Sea Arbitration in 1893, the Alaska Boundary Tribunal in 1903, the North Atlantic Fisheries Arbitration in 1910.

The two great International Conferences at the Hague in 1899 and in 1907 established a permanent Court of Arbitration, and rules of procedure. They also made great progress in agreeing upon and codifying the rules of International Law which this Court was to administer.

There was a weakness in the system devised by the Hague Conference. It was that arbitration of these justiciable questions was not made obligatory, so that no nation could bring another before the Court unless the defendant was willing to come, and there was no way to enforce a judgment.

But the public opinion of the world grew. Nations began to make obligatory treaties of arbitration with one another. Hundreds of such treaties were made. The United States made some thirty such treaties with most of the principal countries in the world, agreeing absolutely to arbitrate questions arising under international law and upon the interpretation of treaties. A strong opinion arose in favor of establishing an International Court composed of judges who would devote their entire time to the business of the Court. The Second Hague Conference adopted a plan for such a Court, and, while Mr. Knox was Secretary of State, he negotiated a treaty with the other great Powers for its effective establishment. It became evident that the world was ready for obligatory arbitration of justiciable questions.

After the Great War began, the American "League to Enforce Peace," at the head of which are Mr. Taft and Mr. Lowell, made the first plank in its platform that "All justiciable questions arising between the signatory Powers not settled by negotiation shall—subject to the limitation of treaties—be submitted to a judicial tribunal for hearing and judgment, etc., etc."

A similar group in Great Britain of which Lord Bryce was a leading spirit made the first plank in its platform the following:—

"The signatory Powers to agree to refer to the existing Permanent Court of Arbitration at the Hague, or to the Court of Arbitral Justice proposed at the Second Hague Conference, if and when such Court shall be established, or to some other Arbitral Tribunal, all disputes between them (including those affecting honor and vital interests) which are of a justiciable character, and which the Powers concerned have failed to settle by diplomatic methods."

And both of these groups proposed to provide for enforcing the judgments of the Court by economic pressure or by force.

The other class of disputes which give rise to war consists of clashes between conflicting

national policies, as distinguished from claims of legal right. They do not depend upon questions of law or treaty, but upon one nation or ruler undertaking to do something that another nation or ruler wishes to prevent. Such questions are a part of international politics. They are similar to the questions as to which our courts say "This is a political question, not a judicial question, and we have no concern with it." The question whether Russia should help Servia when Austria invaded Servia in July, 1914, is an illustration. Our own Monroe Doctrine is another illustration. That is not an assertion of any legal right, but it is a declaration that certain acts will be regarded as dangerous to the peace and safety of the United States, and therefore unfriendly.

Such questions are continually arising in Europe and the Near East, and the way in which the European countries have been in the habit of dealing with them has been to bring about a conference of the representatives of the different nations to discuss the subject, and find some way of reconciling the differences, or of convincing the parties to the dispute that it would not be safe for them to break the peace. For example, in 1905, when the German Emperor's dramatic challenge of the policy of France as to Morocco had made war seem probable, the Algeciras Conference was brought about largely by the influence of President Roosevelt, and that conference resulted in preventing war. In 1912, when the Balkan Wars had brought Europe apparently to the verge of universal war, the ambassadors of all the great Powers met in London, and the result of their conference was to avert war. So, in the last week of July, 1914, Sir Edward Grey tried to bring about another conference for the purpose of averting the Great War in which we have been engaged, but Germany refused to attend the conference; and she refused because she meant to bring on the war, and knew that if she attended a conference it would become practically impossible for her to do so.

The weak point about this practice of International Conferences in times of danger was that they were left solely to the initiative of the individual nations; that nobody had a right to call a conference, and nobody was bound to attend one.

The great and essential thing about the plan contained in this "Constitution for a League of Nations" is that it makes international conferences on political questions compulsory in times of danger; that it brings together such conferences upon the call of officers who represent all the Powers, and makes it practically impossible for any nation to keep out of them.

This effect is produced by the provisions of

Article 15, relating to the submission of disputes to the Executive Council of the League or upon demand of either party to the body of delegates. Article 15 is the central and controlling Article of the agreement. Putting out of consideration for the moment Article 10, which relates to a mutual guarantee of territory, Articles 8 and 9, which relate to the reduction of armaments, and Article 19, which relates to mandatories, all the other important Articles in the agreement are designed to make effective the conference of the Powers resulting from the submission of a dispute upon a question of policy under Article 15. Especially important among these ancillary articles is Article 11, which declares war or threat of war to be a matter of concern to the whole League, Article 12, which prohibits going to war without the submission of the dispute and without allowing time for its settlement, or contrary to a unanimous recommendation of the Executive Council or an award of arbitrators (if there shall have been an arbitration), and Article 16, which provides for enforcing the provisions of Article 12, by economic boycott, or, should the Powers choose to do so, by military force. I think these provisions are well devised, and should be regarded as free from any just objection, so far as they relate to the settlement of the political questions at which they are really aimed. The provisions which taken together accomplish this result are of the highest value. They are developed naturally from the international practice of the past. They are a great step forward. They create an institution through which the public opinion of mankind, condemning unjust aggression and unnecessary war, may receive, effect and exert its power for the preservation of peace, instead of being dissipated in fruitless protest or lamentation. The effect will be to make the sort of conference which Sir Edward Grey tried in vain to get for the purpose of averting this Great War obligatory, inevitable, automatic. I think everybody ought to be in favor of that.

I repeat that this scheme for the settlement of political questions such as brought about the present war is of very great practical value, and it would be a sad thing if this opportunity for the establishment of such a safeguard against future wars should be lost.

This plan of automatic conference, however, is accompanied by serious defects.

The scheme practically abandons all effort to promote or maintain anything like a system of international law, or a system of arbitration, or of judicial settlement, through which a nation can assert its legal rights in lieu of war. It is true that Article 13 mentions arbitration,

and makes the parties agree that whenever a dispute arises "which they recognize to be suitable for submission to arbitration," they will submit it to a court "agreed upon by the parties." That, however, is merely an agreement to arbitrate when the parties choose to arbitrate, and it is therefore no agreement at all. It puts the whole subject of arbitration back where it was twenty-five years ago. Instead of perfecting and putting teeth into the system of arbitration provided for by the Hague Conventions, it throws those Conventions upon the scrap heap. By covering the ground of arbitration and prescribing a new test of obligation, it apparently by virtue of the provisions of Article 25, abrogates all the 200 treaties of arbitration by which the nations of the world have bound themselves with each other to submit to arbitration all questions arising under international law, or upon the interpretation of treaties.

It is to be observed that neither the Executive Council nor the body of delegates to whom disputes are to be submitted under Article 15 of the agreement is in any sense whatever a judicial body or an arbitral body. Its function is not to decide upon anybody's right. It is to investigate, to consider, and to make recommendations. It is bound to recommend what it deems to be expedient at the time. It is the States which act, and not the individuals. The honorable obligation of each member is a political obligation as the representative of a State. This is a method very admirable for dealing with political questions; but it is wholly unsuited to the determination of questions of right under the law of nations. It is true also that Article 14 mentions a Court of International Justice, and provides that the Executive Council should formulate plans for such a court, and that this court shall when established be competent to determine matters which the parties recognize as suitable for submission to it. There is no agreement or direction that such a court shall be established or that any questions shall be submitted to it.

International Law is not mentioned at all, except in the preamble, no method is provided, and no purpose is expressed to insist upon obedience to law to develop the law, to press forward agreement upon its rules and recognition of its obligations. All questions of right are relegated to the investigation and recommendation of a political body to be determined as matters of expediency.

I confess I cannot see the judgment of three generations of the wisest and best of American statesmen concurred in by the wisest and the best of all our Allies thus held for naught. I

believe with them that—necessary as may be the settlement of political questions upon grounds of expediency—it is also necessary to insist upon rules of international conduct founded upon principles, and that the true method by which public right shall be established to control the affairs of nations is by the development of law, and the enforcement of law, according to the judgments of impartial tribunals. I should have little confidence in the growth or permanence of an international organization which applied no test to the conduct of nations except the expediency of the moment.

The first change which I should make in this agreement accordingly would be to give effectiveness to the judicial settlement of international disputes upon questions of right—upon justiciable or judicial questions—by making the arbitration of such questions obligatory under the system established by the Hague Conference, or before the proposed Court of Arbitral Justice, or, if the parties prefer in any particular case, before some specially constituted tribunal; putting the whole world upon the same footing in that respect that has been created between the United States and practically every nation now represented in Paris, by means of the special treaties which we have made with them. The term "Justiciable Questions" should be carefully defined, so as to exclude all questions of policy, and to describe the same kind of questions the Supreme Court of the United States has been deciding for more than a century.

When that is done, the reference to arbitration in Article 12 will have some force and effect instead of being as it is now a mere idle form.

The second change which I think should be made is to provide for a general conference followed by regular conferences at stated intervals to discuss, agree upon, and state in authentic form the rules of international law, so that the development of law may go on, and arbitral tribunals may have continually a more perfect system of rules of right conduct to apply in their decisions.

I send you herewith drafts of two suggested amendments designed to accomplish these results.

The distinction between the treatment of questions of legal right and questions of policy which I have drawn above has an important bearing upon the attitude of the United States towards the settlement of disputes.

So far as the determination of justiciable questions arising under the law of nations or under treaties is concerned, we ought to be willing to stand on precisely the same footing with all

other nations. We should be willing to submit our legal rights to judicial decision, and to abide by the decision. We have shown that we are willing to do that by the numerous treaties that we have made with the greater part of the world agreeing to do that, and we should be willing to have the same thing provided for in this general agreement.

With regard to questions of policy, however, some different considerations are apparent.

In determining the extent of our participation in the political affairs of the Old World, we ought to be satisfied that a sufficient affirmative reason exists for setting aside to that extent the long-established policy of the United States to keep the Old and the New World from becoming entangled in each other's affairs and embroiled in each other's quarrels. Just so far as such a reason exists, we ought to go, but no further.

We have to start in the consideration of such a subject with the words of Washington's farewell address:—"Europe has a set of primary interests which to us have none or a very remote relation. Hence, she must be engaged in frequent controversies, the causes of which are essentially foreign to our concerns. Hence, therefore, it must be unwise in us to implicate ourselves by artificial ties in the ordinary vicissitudes of her politics, or the ordinary combinations and collisions of her friendships or enmities." And Jefferson's advice to Monroe: "Our first and fundamental maxim should be never to entangle ourselves in the broils of Europe; our second never to suffer Europe to intermeddle with cis-Atlantic affairs."

Unquestionably, the Old and the New World have come into much more intimate relations since the time of Washington and Jefferson, and they have many more interests in common. Nevertheless, the basis of the expressions I have quoted remains in substance. The people of the United States have no direct interest in the distribution of territory in the Balkans or the control of Morocco, and the peoples of Europe have no direct interest in the questions between Chile and Peru, or between the United States and Colombia. Based upon this fact, the Monroe Doctrine has hitherto kept the Old World and the New in two separate fireproof compartments, so that a conflagration in one did not extend to the other. There never was a time when the wisdom of the Monroe Doctrine for the preservation of peace and safety of the United States was more evident than it is now. Some facile writers of late have pronounced the Doctrine obsolete and useless, but I know of no experienced and responsible American statesman who has ever taken that view, and I

cannot help feeling that such a view results from insufficient acquaintance with the subject.

There has, however, arisen in these days for the American people a powerful secondary interest in the affairs of Europe coming from the fact that war in Europe and the Near East threatens to involve the entire world, and the peaceable nations of Europe need outside help to put out the fire, and keep it from starting again. That help to preserve peace we ought to give, and that help we wish to give. In agreeing to give it, the following considerations should be observed.

We are not asking, and do not need, any help from the nations of the Old World for the preservation of peace in America, nor is any American nation asking for such help. The difficulties, the disturbing conditions, the dangers that threaten, are all in the affairs of Europe and the Near East. The real reason for creating a League of Nations is to deal with those difficulties and dangers,—not with American affairs. It is, therefore, wholly unnecessary for the purpose of the League that purely American affairs should be included within the scope of the agreement.

When we enter into the League of Nations, we do so not with any desire to interfere in the concerns of foreign nations, but because the peaceable nations of Europe ask us to put our power behind theirs to preserve peace in their part of the world. It is not reasonable, therefore, that such participation as we agree to in the activities of the League should be made the basis of an inference that we are trying to interfere in the Old World, and therefore should abandon our objection to having the Old World interfere in America.

With reference to the most important American questions, Europe as a whole on one side and the United States on the other occupy positions which, however friendly, are nevertheless in opposition. It must be remembered that the League of Nations contemplates the membership not only of our present Allies but ultimately of all the nations of Europe. Now, the Monroe Doctrine was declared against those nations of Europe. It was a warning to them not to trespass on American territory, and, admitting exceptions and speaking only in the most general way, the nations of Europe are on one side of that question and the United States is on the other. To submit the policy of Monroe to a council composed chiefly of European Powers is to surrender it.

I will add—without taking up space to discuss it—that I cannot escape the conclusion that to ratify this agreement as it now stands would itself be a surrender of the Monroe Doctrine,

and that the agreement as it now stands gives to the United States no effective substitute for the protection which the maintenance of that Doctrine affords.

The same thing is true of immigration. The nations of Europe in general are nations from which emigrants go. The United States is a nation to which immigrants come. Apart from Great Britain which would be bound to look after the similar interests of Canada and Australia, Europe and America are bound to look at questions of Emigration and Immigration from different points of view, and under the influence of different interests—friendly indeed, but opposing.

It hardly seems reasonable that under these circumstances the United States should be penalized for complying with the request of its friends in Europe to join them in the preservation of peace primarily for their benefit, and not for ours, by giving up our right to self-protection, when that is wholly unnecessary to accomplish the object of the agreement. I think, therefore, that these purely American questions ought to be excepted from the jurisdiction of the Executive Council and body of delegates, and I have prepared and annexed hereto a Third Amendment in the form of a reservation, this being the method which was followed without any objection to accomplish the same purpose at the close of both the Hague Conferences.

The Fourth Point upon which I think there should be an amendment is Article X., which contains the undertaking "To respect and preserve as against external aggression the territorial integrity and existing political independence of all members of the League."

Looking at this Article as a part of a perpetual League for the Preservation of Peace, my first impression was that the whole Article ought to be stricken out. If perpetual, it would be an attempt to preserve for all time unchanged the distribution of power and territory made in accordance with the views and exigencies of the Allies in this present juncture of affairs. It would necessarily be futile. It would be what was attempted by the Peace of Westphalia at the close of the Thirty Years' War, at the Congress of Vienna at the close of the Napoleonic Wars, by the Congress of Berlin in 1878. It would not only be futile; it would be mischievous. Change and growth are the law of life, and no generation can impose its will in regard to the growth of nations and the distribution of power upon succeeding generations.

I think, however, that this Article must be considered not merely with reference to the future, but with reference to the present situa-

tion in Europe. Indeed, this whole agreement ought to be considered in that double aspect. The belligerent power of Germany, Austria, Bulgaria, and Turkey has been destroyed; but that will not lead to future peace without a reconstruction of Eastern Europe and Western Asia. The vast territories of the Hohenzollerns, the Hapsburgs, and the Romanoffs have lost the rulers who formerly kept the population in order, and are filled with turbulent masses without stable government, unaccustomed to self control and fighting among themselves like children of the dragon's teeth. There can be no settled peace until these masses are reduced to order. Since the Bolsheviki have been allowed to consolidate the control which they established with German aid in Russia, the situation is that Great Britain, France, Italy and Belgium with a population of less than 130 millions are confronted with the disorganized but vigorous and warlike population of Germany, German Austria, Hungary, Bulgaria, Turkey and Russia, amounting approximately to 280 millions, fast returning to barbarism and the lawless violence of barbarous races. Order must be restored. The Allied nations in their Council must determine the lines of reconstruction. Their determinations must be enforced. They may make mistakes. Doubtless, they will; but there must be decision, and decision must be enforced. Under these conditions the United States cannot quit. It must go on to the performance of its duty, and the immediate aspect of Article 10 is an agreement to do that. I think, therefore, that Article 10 should be amended, so that it shall hold a limited time, and thereafter any member may withdraw from it. I annex an amendment to that effect.

The Fifth Amendment which I think is needed is one suggested by M. Bourgeois in his speech at the Conference, which I have quoted above. It is to the provisions regarding the limitation of armaments. The success of those provisions is vital. If they are not effective, the whole effort to secure future peace goes for nothing. The plan of this League is contained in Articles 8 and 9. They provide that there shall be a reduction of National armaments to the lowest point consistent with National safety, that the Executive Council shall formulate plans for a general agreement as to the amount of these reductions, and that when an agreement has been made by the Powers the parties will not conceal from each other, but will give full and frank information regarding their industries capable of being adapted to warlike purposes, the scale of their armaments, and their military and naval programmes. Article 9 provides for a permanent Commission to ad-

vise the League on the execution of these provisions. This full information is essential. Otherwise, one nation will suspect another of secret preparation, and will prepare to protect itself in the same way, so that the whole scheme of limitation will be destroyed. There would be some justification for this, because there are some nations of whom it would be idle to expect the truth on such a subject; their public officers would regard it as a duty to conceal and mislead. The only way to prevent that sort of thing is by giving the Permanent Commission power of inspection and verification. Every country should assent to this just as every trustee and treasurer is willing to have an independent audit of his accounts.

I annex such an amendment.

Enough has been said already to indicate that this Constitution of a League of Peace cannot be regarded as a final and conclusive instrument. It necessarily leaves much to be determined hereafter. We do not know yet what nations are to be the members of the League, what nations are to be represented in the Council, what the limitations of armaments, what the regulations for the manufacture of munitions, or what the parties understand to be the scope of the provision for freedom of transit and equitable treatment for commerce.

The provision of Article 19 (of which I fully approve) relating to mandatories to aid or take charge of administration in new States and old Colonies necessarily leaves both the selection of the mandatories and the character of their powers and duties unsettled. All these uncertainties are not matters for criticism, but of necessity, arising from the situation. Still more important is the fact that no one knows when or upon what terms the Central and Eastern Powers are to be admitted to the League. The whole agreement is at present necessarily tentative. It cannot really be a League of Peace in operation for a number of years to come. It is now and in the immediate future must be rather an Alliance of approximately one-half of the active world against or for the control of the other half. Under these circumstances it would be most unwise to attempt to give to this agreement finality, and make the specific obligations of its members irrevocable. There should be provision for its revision in a calmer atmosphere and when the world is less subject to exciting and disturbing causes.

In the meantime the agreement should not be deemed irrevocable. The last amendment which I annex is directed to that end.

If the amendments which I have suggested are made, I think it will be the clear duty of the United States to enter into the agreement.

In that case it would be the duty of Congress to establish by law the offices of representatives of the United States in the body of Delegates and the Executive Council, just as the offices of Ambassadors and Ministers are already provided for by law, and the new offices would be filled by appointment of the President with the advice and consent of the Senate under Article III, Section 2, of the Constitution of the United States.

Very truly yours,
ELIHU ROOT.

The six amendments which Mr. Root suggests to the Constitution of the League of Nations, to which he refers in his letter, are as follows:

FIRST AMENDMENT

Strike out Article XIII, and insert the following:—

The high contracting Powers agree to refer to the existing Permanent Court of Arbitration at the Hague, or to the Court of Arbitral Justice proposed at the Second Hague Conference when established, or to some other Arbitral Tribunal, all disputes between them (including those affecting honor and vital interests) which are of a justiciable character, and which the Powers concerned have failed to settle by diplomatic methods. The Powers so referring to arbitration agree to accept and give effect to the award of the Tribunal.

Disputes of a justiciable character are defined as disputes as to the interpretation of a treaty, as to any question of international law, as to the existence of any fact which if established would constitute a breach of any international obligation, or as to the nature and extent of the reparation to be made for any such breach.

Any question which may arise as to whether a dispute is of a justiciable character is to be referred for decision to the Court of Arbitral Justice when constituted, or, until it is constituted, to the existing Permanent Court of Arbitration at the Hague.

SECOND AMENDMENT

Add to Article XIV the following paragraph:—

"The Executive Council shall call a general conference of the Powers to meet not less than two years or more than five years after the signing of this convention for the purpose of reviewing the condition of international law, and of agreeing upon and stating in authoritative form the principles and rules thereof.

"Thereafter regular conferences for that purpose shall be called and held at stated times."

THIRD AMENDMENT

Immediately before the signature of the American Delegates, insert the following reservation:

"In as much as in becoming a member of the League the United States of America is moved by no interest or wish to intrude upon or interfere with the political policy or internal administration of any foreign state, and by no existing or anticipated dangers in the affairs of the American continents, but accedes to the wish of the European states that it shall join its power to theirs for the preservation of general peace, the representatives of the United States of America sign this convention with the understanding that nothing therein contained shall be construed to imply a relinquishment by the United States of America of its traditional attitude towards purely American questions, or to require the submission of its policy regarding such questions, (including therein the admission of immigrants), to the decision or recommendation of other Powers."

FOURTH AMENDMENT

Add to Article X the following:

"After the expiration of five years from the signing of this convention any party may terminate its obligation under this Article by giving one year's notice in writing to the Secretary General of the League."

FIFTH AMENDMENT

Add to Article IX the following:

"Such Commission shall have full power of inspection and verification personally and by authorized agents as to all armament, equipment, munitions, and industries referred to in Article VIII."

SIXTH AMENDMENT

Add to Article XXIV the following:

"The Executive Council shall call a general conference of members of the League to meet not less than five or more than ten years after the signing of this convention for the revision thereof, and at that time, or at any time thereafter upon one year's notice, any member may withdraw from the League."

Letters From Our Readers

FRIENDLY CHEER

SIR,—You, in your WEEKLY, are doing each week what many of us, plain citizens of the United States, would like to be doing had we your powers of clear thought, analysis, expression, and right mindedness. It is the first duty of every citizen to serve his country. Many of us, however, for lack of money, or for lack of as fine a sense of patriotism as yours, or for lack of powers of statesmanship, fail to do anything of real value.

It is a tremendous satisfaction to know that there is one publication that dares always to say the right thing at the right time. Those familiar with your work knew, long before publication, that you would write a beautiful tribute to Col. Roosevelt, that you would properly define Bolshevism, that you would make clear the absurdity and outrageousness of Herron's appointment, whom the people of the country certainly would not admit represented them, and that you would show the justice of making Germany pay the cost of the war.

Not possessing those qualities, we do not take our part in the war you are waging for us and allow you to do our share of the work as well as your own, because you can do it better than we. In return we owe it to you, at least, to stop our daily work long enough to try to pay you a tribute by expressing our undying appreciation of your patriotic achievements, assuring you of our sincere support and wishing you God speed.

JOHN A. LARKIN.

New York City.

MAYBE BOTH WILL SURVIVE

SIR,—A friend placed me on your subscription list for THE WAR WEEKLY and its successors and I thank both of you for the weekly supply of intellectual manna. You are doing a great work; I have faith to believe that the Constitution will survive this most subtle attack upon its integrity under your strong leadership.

M. DeLolme, in his *Constitution of England*, closes one of his chapters with the remark that "the English Government will be no more, either when the Crown shall become independent on the nation for its supplies, or when the representatives of the people shall begin to share in the executive authority," and adds this significant note:

And if at any time any dangerous changes were to take place in the English Constitution, the pernicious tendency of which the people were not able at first to discover, restrictions on the liberty of the press, and on the power of juries, will give them the first information. (P. 481.)

Will the people of the United States heed these premonitory signs? I believe so; I have that faith in the American people which is "the substance of things hoped for, the evidence of things not seen."

By the way, have you ever thought of the career of the Third Napoleon in connection with the manifestations of ambition on the part of our quasi-abdicating President?

Long live HARVEY'S WEEKLY—long live the Republic!

BENJ. S. DEAN.

Jamestown, N. Y.

IN ACCORD

SIR,—I desire to add my little tribute of thanks and congratulation to the great number of similar approving letters that you have received from loyal Americans in response to your magnificent speech against the atrocious Wilson "covenant" and Taft's tootling tin-horn endorsement. You have played the hose of ridicule over them both and left them standing forlorn and dripping before the world in just accordance with their deserts.

All honor to you, Colonel, and to your loyal company of co-patriots like Lodge, Knox, Poindexter, Borah, and others, who have so nobly stood for the protection of the Constitution, the Monroe Doctrine, and our Flag, against the un-Americanism of Woodrow Wilson and his Administration puppets! The American people are glorying in your skillful dissection of the "smallest" great man who ever occupied the White House, and whose desertion of his post of duty should merit him impeachment at the hands of an outraged Senate.

I thank you, sir, as one of your loyal admirers, and bid you Godspeed in your continued endeavors to force this self-appointed, autocratic "spokesman of the American people" (!) from the pedestal where he is now imposing not only upon this nation, but upon friendly nations abroad that are mistakenly accepting him as the political Messiah.

GEORGE W. HILLS.

New York City.

SENATOR LODGE WAS RIGHT

SIR,—Pardon my adding another to the bushels of letters you are receiving on your Indianapolis speech and on the Lodge-Lowell Debate, but I do want to point out one thing.

As printed in *New York Times*, Senator Lodge quoted Mr. Wilson as having on May 6, 1914, referred to Washington as saying in his Farewell Address, "We must keep from *entangling* alliances," and then added, on his own account:

"I pause for a moment to say that Washington did not say that we should keep clear from entangling alliances in the Farewell Address. He said we should keep clear from *permanent* alliances and that temporary alliances would be sufficient to meet an emergency—as they were in the war just closed."

I can't, here at my office, verify Senator Lodge's citation, but if he is right, as he doubtless is, this point should be brought out and accentuated. We all know that the Farewell Address was never delivered orally, but was a carefully prepared written campaign document, Hamilton and Jay at least being consulted; moreover, the trouble in Washington's mind at that time was the demands of France in regard to our Treaty of Alliance, made in 1778 and by Congress abrogated in 1798.

STUYVESANT FISH.

New York City.

OF VITAL IMPORTANCE

SIR,—It was with the keenest interest that I read your recent speech delivered in Indianapolis. I am thoroughly in accord with your views in opposition to the League of Nations, as it is now formulated, and I hope you will be given many opportunities of impressing the public with the vital importance of maintaining the sovereignty of these United States.

I have enjoyed immensely the articles in the March number of THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW; they are firm and very strong. Our Ship of State at the present time seems tossed upon a tempestuous sea. As our glorious Republic has been safeguarded in the past, with the right men in the right places, I have faith to believe that as the Senate is putting up such a vigorous fight for American liberty and rights, it will finally bring us into a safe haven.

I thank you most heartily for what you are doing in behalf of our traditions of which we have every reason to be proud, and I trust we may retain the prestige we have gained.

CORDELIA McALPIN.

New York City.

EXPOSING A FRAUD

SIR,—It was with more than interest, it was with enthusiasm, that I read your Indianapolis speech. It is the clearest and most forceful exposure of the League of Nations fraud that has yet appeared. I should like to see it published by the millions and scattered throughout the country so that every American citizen may have one.

Why could not the various patriotic societies throughout the country reprint and spread it? You are doing a great service to Americanism. Next to Roosevelt, no man has done greater service to the country during this trying period.

Accept my warmest congratulations, and may your power increase.

CONDE K. FALLEN.

New York City.

"100% AMERICAN"

SIR,—Keep up your good work, you have both the brains and the courage.

Everybody here is talking of your speech at Indianapolis and congratulating the country that we still have some citizens who are 100% American.

I wish they would not steal my Weekly—only one in three will reach me by mail. I have heard others complain.

J. H. M.

Watkins, N. Y.

NOT YET

SIR,—HARVEY'S WEEKLY is doing the greatest possible service to our helpless country. May God speed your work.

M. V. WILDE.

New York.

[With full appreciation of the compliment, we are not yet prepared to admit that our country is helpless.—EDITOR.]

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WEEK ENDING APRIL 12, 1919

No. 15

Where is the "American" Plan?

THE country first heard on February 28 that the American delegation had submitted to the Peace conference a Plan for the League of Nations. On the previous evening, following the famous dinner at the White House, the information was elicited through the questioning of Senator Brandegee, to whom the President replied that four drafts had been proposed, one each by the United States, Great Britain, Italy and France. The colloquy continued:

"Which was accepted?" inquired Senator Brandegee.

"The British," replied the President.

"What was done with the rejected drafts?" Brandegee asked.

"They were put aside," Mr. Wilson explained.

"Well, Mr. President," said Senator Brandegee slowly, "we would like to be able to examine those other drafts—to compare them with the accepted draft so as to familiarize ourselves with the differences."

"I see no objection to that," said the President.

"Then," pursued the Senator from Connecticut, "will it not be possible to have those rejected drafts printed for our information?"

"I should think," agreed the President, "that that would be possible."

Feeling that sufficient time had elapsed for the publication sought and tacitly at least promised, we took the liberty of inquiring of Senator Brandegee how the matter stood. He replied that already, on April 3, he had addressed the following communication to the Acting Secretary of State:

April 3, 1919.

Hon. Frank L. Polk,
Acting Secretary of State,
Department of State,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir:

On February 27th, as a member of the Committee on Foreign Relations of the Senate, I discussed certain provisions of the proposed plan for a League of Nations with the Presi-

dent, at the White House. Among other things I asked him how many plans had been offered to the Peace Conference. He stated that there had been four plans, a British, a French, an Italian, and an American plan. I asked him which plan had been adopted and he replied, the British. I asked him what had become of the others, and he said that they had been "set aside" or "laid aside." I inquired whether they had ever been printed and made public. He said they had not. I said, "Is there any objection to having that done?" He said he knew of no objection.

I then stated that I would like very much to have this done so that I could compare the American plan with the plan which he had favorably reported to the plenary conference, and I stated that I thought the public would be interested to see what plan the American Commissioners had recommended to the Peace Conference.

Five weeks have elapsed since that time, but I have not heard that the American plan has yet been made public. Inasmuch as the President says that there is no objection to letting the people know what plan he had urged upon the Peace Conference, I respectfully request that at your earliest convenience you will send me a copy of this American plan so that I may know what our representatives at this conference had recommended and may make it public.

FRANK B. BRANDEGEE.

This letter was delivered by hand, on April 4, but thus far has brought no satisfactory response; indeed, at this writing, mere receipt of the communication is yet to be acknowledged.

So it transpires that, despite the President's virtual pledge to the Foreign Relations Committee of the co-ordinate branch of the treaty-making power, neither that committee nor the American people are, or apparently are likely to be, permitted to examine the terms upon which their own representatives offered to incorporate their country in a world organization.

Does not this impress the reader as a most extraordinary state of affairs?

Consider: First, the fact that the American

delegation had proposed a plan at all was concealed and came to light almost inadvertently; secondly, the American plan was rejected and the British plan was adopted; thirdly, the American plan is withheld from publication for the enlightenment of the American people; and, finally, so far at least, the request of a leading Senator for compliance with the President's pledge is discourteously ignored.

We refrain from comment until another week shall have been added to the six weeks which already have elapsed since the existence of the document was discovered and its publication was promised. We merely state the amazing facts as simply as possible to a hundred millions of people who are supposed to be masters of their own affairs and shapers to an appreciable degree of their own destinies.

Says an official note of the Big Four of the Peace Congress:

The press has published certain information on the peace negotiations, especially on the financial negotiations, which is entirely erroneous.

Observes *Le Temps*, of Paris:

The above contradiction constitutes the sole official information supplied to the French press with regard to the important deliberations of the heads of the allied governments.

Prescribed the President in the first of his Fourteen Commandments:

Open covenants of peace, *openly arrived at*.

As it was in the beginning, is now, and is likely to be for a long, long time to come.

The "Teeth" of The League

THERE has been much discussion pro and contra concerning the desirability of "putting teeth" into the League of Nations. Some have argued that a League without ample provision of physical force for the fulfilment of its decrees would be ineffective and futile. Others—including, we believe, the President—have argued that no international armies and navies would be needed, but that moral suasion would be sufficient to enforce the will of the organization. It should perhaps be added that the prospective need of such an international military force has been regarded by many as an insuperable objection to the whole League scheme; and there is reason to suspect that the protestations of the advocates of the League that such a force would not be needed is inspired by a political desire to dodge that objection.

It may be interesting, therefore, to cite a distinguished authority, perhaps as much esteemed in America as in Europe, concerning the essential basis of all government; for of course this League is meant to be in effect an international government. *Aut Caesar, aut nullus*. Says this great international authority, to-day perhaps the most conspicuous in the world:

The essential characteristic of all government, whatever its form, is authority. There must in every instance be, on the one hand, governors, and, on the other, those who are governed. And the authority of governors, directly or indirectly, rests in all cases ultimately on *force*. Government, in its last

analysis, is organized force . . . There is force behind the authority of the elected magistrate, no less than behind that of the usurping despot . . . Physical force is the prop of both, though in the one it is the last, while in the other it is the first, resort.

That we believe to be a sane, judicious, and accurate statement of one of the fundamental principles, we might say the fundamental principle, of human government, and we take much satisfaction in quoting it, with unqualified approval, from the latest revised edition (December, 1918) of that exhaustive and masterful treatise entitled *The State*, by Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States; an authority whom not even the advocates of a League of Nations will venture to dispute.

We owe it to candor to add that a certain peculiar gloss has been recently placed upon this admirable dictum by its own author. The President recently, declaring his faith in the efficiency of non-military forces to give triumphant virtue to his League of Nations scheme, has said:

There has already been created a force, which is a very formidable force, which can be rapidly mobilized and which will be very effective when mobilized—namely, the moral force of the world.

Twelve years ago the authoritative representatives of forty-three sovereign nations met in solemn conclave. They came together, not under the stress of war, but calmly and deliberately. They were more numerous than the nations now represented at Paris. They were immeasurably more harmonious in their deliberations and actions. They agreed that thereafter all those nations should seek arbitration or adjudication rather than war; and that in case of unpreventable war, the inviolability of neutral states should be respected and that certain humane principles of warfare should be observed and practiced between belligerents. That agreement was made with a unanimity and an apparent sincerity unprecedented in the history of the world; and dependence for its fulfilment was placed upon that "moral force of the world" which the President declares "can be rapidly mobilized and will be very effective when mobilized."

Seven years later that most solemn agreement, made with unexampled unanimity and supported by the moral force of the world, was curtly and contemptuously tossed into the scrapheap and the moral force aforesaid was either not "rapidly mobilized" or was not "very effective when mobilized;" or else—which we regard as having been the case—it became effective only when it had led to the development of an overwhelming physical force.

The problem now propounded is this:

If the agreement of 1907, voluntarily and harmoniously arrived at by practically all the nations of the world, could not be maintained for a single moment by the "moral force of the world," what reason is there for expecting any better support and enforcement by the "moral force of the world" of an agreement of 1919? The answer is clear and unmistakable. We hold to that earlier and wiser dictum of the President, that physical force is the ultimate basis of our own as of all governments, though, please God, it should be not our first but our last resort; and we insist that not some alien cabal, but only we ourselves, according to our Constitutional prescriptions, shall say how and when, for what purpose and to what extent, that last dread force shall be put into effect.

Is France to be Betrayed?

*Who would not, thanking God for this great chance,
Stretch out his hands and run to succour France?*

IF some have done so, we, thank God, have not forgotten Verdun and the Marne. We have not forgotten the rapture of sympathy with which this nation regarded France standing at bay in defence of civilization against the Hun. We have not forgotten the words of Joffre and Foch and Petain, the responsive thrill which they evoked in every American heart, the nation-wide prayer that they might be fulfilled in victory against the foe. We have not forgotten the unutterable woes which France suffered at the hand of the barbarian invader, and the passionate desire and determination of American hearts that, before all other save only Belgium, she should have the amplest possible material recompense that could be forced from the defeated ravisher.

If the President has forgotten these things, forgotten even his own Eighth Commandment, we have not, and we refuse to believe that the American people have forgotten them.

Yet what talk have we heard in recent days, uttered on French soil?

There have been protests against France's demand for reparation of her invaded territory—which was promised by the President—because it would impose hardship upon Germany. There has been opposition to France's request for adequate guarantees of protection against another German invasion, on the ground that Germany would never assent to them, but would refuse to sign the treaty. There has been an obvious readiness if not a purpose to sacrifice the interests of France for the sake of pleasing Germany. We do not refer merely to the hysterical shrillings of such sheets as Oswald Villard's *Nation* with its infamous traducement of reasonable demands for reparation and security as "the calamity of vengeance which France sought to visit upon the Central Empires." Similar sentiments have apparently prevailed in the Peace Congress itself, even with some of the members of the "Big Four" in the Holy of Holies. The question has been not What should France have? but What is Germany willing to give?

It is monstrous.

There is no voice in all the world that should be more potent in the Peace Congress than that of France; and there is none that should be regarded less than that of Germany. What business has the convicted felon in the dock to demur to the terms of the sentence, or to protest against the reparation which the court awards to the victim of his crime? There is not a generous impulse, not a sentiment of historic gratitude, not a motive of chivalry, not a sense of justice, that does not demand fulfilment of the President's Eighth Commandment: "All French territory should be freed and *the invaded portions restored.*" And restoration means restoration. It means the rebuilding of every city, town and hamlet and lonely farm; of every bridge and road and fence. It means the return of or the making of full recompense for every article stolen, wrecked or destroyed. It means the replanting of every orchard and forest. It means the restoration of the shell-scarred fields. It means

that so far as is humanly possible the Germans shall be compelled to put all northern France back into the same condition that it was in when their unclean hordes invaded it.

There is another consideration. Apart from sentiment and chivalry, and loyalty to our word, and justice, the most practical, even the most selfish and sordid, business reasons demand that we shall secure for France full restoration. If we do otherwise, the results will be so costly to us as to be disastrous. If we leave France unprotected we invite renewal of the war, with all its unspeakable possibilities. If we leave France unrecompensed, to struggle under the crushing burden which the Hun-made war has imposed upon her, we make her bankrupt and shake the solvency of the world. If we give France cause to think that we have deserted and betrayed her, we not only cover ourselves with foul disgrace, but we sow seeds of international distrust and animosity which will make all further talk about a league of nations the bitterest of jests.

Whatever else is done or is not done at Paris and Versailles, the civilized world cannot afford that France shall be betrayed, or that she shall be denied the fullest possible indemnity for her losses, and the fullest possible protection against another attack, that it is possible to exact from and to enforce upon Germany, with all the coercive force of the Allied and Associated Powers.

The Boundaries of Buncombe

WHAT are the boundaries of Buncombe County? And how shall we delimit the spheres or zones of occupancy of the various and numerous peoples who dwell therein?

Day by day this problem has become more acute at Paris, and day by day have become more evident the folly and the mischief of pledging the nations to the impossible task of remaking the map of the world according to the "sounding and glittering generalities" of the Fourteen Commandments. It is the insane obsession of these that has caused most of the trouble over Poland, and over Italy and Jugo-Slavia; and that will continue to cause trouble throughout the whole process of map-making, unless the nations have the practical common sense to free themselves from it and to act rationally.

"A readjustment of the frontiers of Italy should be effected," says the Ninth Commandment, "along clearly recognizable lines of nationality." But there are no such lines. The nationalities overlap and mingle inextricably. You might as well talk about clearly recognizable lines of division between yellow and orange and between indigo and blue in the solar spectrum. You could not draw a line, however vagrant and sinuous, of which it could be said that all on one side were Italians and all on the other were Slavs. Wherever the boundary is drawn, there will be Italians in Jugo-Slavia and Jugo-Slavs in Italy. You cannot help it.

So it is with the Eleventh Commandment. It sounds very fine for an academic theorist to declaim about dividing the Balkans "along historically established lines of allegiance and nationality." But again there are no such lines. The Serbian Empire once comprised most of what is now Bulgaria, and the Bulgarian Empire once comprised most of

what is now Serbia. And to this day in a large part of Macedonia there are Serbs and Bulgars and Greeks, with perhaps a few Arnauts and Turks and Wallachs and others, all living cheek by jowl and inextricably intermingled. There are no "historically established lines of nationality."

The Thirteenth Commandment is equally impossible. It prescribes for Poland "the territories inhabited by indisputably Polish populations, which should be assured a free and secure access to the sea." Now there are no territories inhabited by exclusively Polish populations; and so the question arises, What percentage of "indisputably Polish population" shall be necessary for inclusion in Poland? Shall it be a bare majority? That will require a very tortuous line of demarcation, and will assign many Germans to Poland and many Poles to Germany. And then, what are we to do with a region which formerly was nearly all Polish and which of old was a part of Poland, but which in late years has been artificially stocked with Germans until they are the majority? As for the "free and secure access to the sea," that obviously can be assured only through giving Poland a broad strip down the Vistula Valley to Dantzig. Yet such a strip would probably contain many more Germans than Poles. So one part of the Commandment requires the granting and another part of the same Commandments forbids the granting of such a strip of territory.

The regrettable and mischievous feature of the case is that the putting forward of these Commandments, and the intimation that they were to form the assured basis of the peace treaty, have roused in some quarters expectations that cannot be fulfilled, and in others have caused the rise of problems that cannot be solved. The Commandments were simple Buncombe and nothing else; unless indeed they were emanations of such sheer ignorance as it would be humiliating to impute to their author. The mere declaration that readjustments of boundaries should and would be effected with due discrimination and with all possible justice to the conflicting claimants, would have served every good purpose and would have had none of the bad results of the Presidential Buncombe.

As to Revenge

WITH the view of the Paris *Matin* that it is childish to let dread of arousing a spirit of revenge among the Huns govern or restrain any decisions of the Paris Conference there can only be hearty agreement.

The Hun spirit of revenge is already roused. If it does not find truculent expression it is none the less latent or smouldering. French control of the Saar region until the last stiver of the indemnities are paid, or even French annexation of that territory, will have no more tendency to keep alive the Hun spirit of revenge than will the recovery and retention by France of Alsace and Lorraine, stolen in the Hun brigand raid of 1870-71.

The one thing and the one thing only that will repress Hun plans for revenge is to ensure for generations the inability of the Hun to put those plans in execution. The declared German objective in the war was to rend France asunder; to destroy her as a nation; to make her glorious

record in the evolution of liberty and civilization a mere memory and a tradition; to reduce her to national impotence not only for generations but for all time to come.

That was the Hun programme, a programme proclaimed, not disguised. It was to be the end of France.

This was the stake for which the Hun played, and it was the stake he lost in his ghastly game of wholesale slaughter, rapine and arson. He played and he lost, and now, if he is not bound and hamstrung, as he planned to bind and hamstring France, then the war is not ended but postponed. It will not be splendid French heroism, but unspeakable Hun bestiality which will have won.

Knowing this as the people of France do know it, knowing as no other nation not contiguous to the Hun barbarian hordes could know it, the French would be blind indeed did they not insist to the last that the Beast, so long a nightmare and an impending threat of ruin and devastation, be disarmed and shackled and rendered impotent, even as the Beast would have shackled France and rendered her forever impotent had the Beast and not civilization won on the recent battlefields. It was for that purpose that the war was fought. It was to that end that millions of men laid down their lives. The very first step of the Paris Conference should have been to make that end secure. All else was secondary.

No wonder the French brand as childish any concessions made to check the spirit of Hun vengeance. That spirit cannot be checked. It is already in evidence. The Hymn of Hate is even now changing into the Hymn of Revenge. The Hun must be so shackled that he will be constrained for generations to take his revenge out in lyrics and not in acts—that is the way and the only way to meet Hun revenge problems. It is not whether a certain course will modify his desire for revenge, it is whether it will or will not make that revenge impossible.

That is the determining factor. If entangling Commandments are in the way, chuck them overboard. If sentimental idealisms are obstacles, sweep them aside. Shackle the Hun! Tie him up with just enough freedom of motion left to work out his billions of money debt. That debt is but a trifle in the sum total of his wrongs to humanity. The rest can never be paid. It is a dishonored obligation recorded forever in that brand of infamy that is burned deep and indelibly for all time upon the Hun's shameless forehead.

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BY GEORGE HARVEY

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War Powers in Peace

THE President wants special war powers extended through times of peace. That wish is made known through the appropriate medium of the Secretary of War; one of the ablest public officials the President has ever known. The particular war powers which are thus sought to be perpetuated are those conferred by that most extraordinary Overman act, by which the President was authorized, quite independently of the constitutional functions of Congress, to make any changes which he might desire in the organization of any of the administrative departments. Thus he might make the Treasury Department a bureau of the Department of Labor, or place the Post-Office Department under the charge of a clerk in the Attorney-General's office—the latter change being, by the way, one which might be made with much profit to the public. It was considered at the time of its enactment that this bill went to the very limit, and many thought that it went beyond it, in giving the President dictatorial power; but the thing was finally acquiesced in purely as a war measure. But now Mr. Baker writes to Mr. Overman urging him to do his utmost to get the new Congress, when it comes, to extend the life of the measure indefinitely after the proclamation of peace, at which time it will otherwise automatically expire.

This may provoke resentment, but it affords no cause for surprise, and it throws another bright beam of light upon the President's uncommon solicitude last fall for the election of a Congress that would be subservient to his will. It has long been notorious that the President believes that he should have autocratic power in permanency. That is his theory of government, as contradistinguished from the American constitutional theory. He holds that the Presidency is, or should be, "the true centre of the Federal structure, the real Throne of Administration, and the frequent source of politics." Naturally, therefore, he aims to magnify the powers and privileges of his office in every possible direction.

That is his theory of government. It is also his practice, so far as he is able to put it into effect. A flagrant example of his actual exercise of war powers in time of peace was presented in his seizure of the cables and wireless telegraphs after the making of the armistice and the cessation of hostilities; after, indeed, his own public and official declaration that the war was ended. It was on November 11 that the President formally reported to Congress that the war was at an end. A Federal court has decided that the war must therefore be regarded as having legally come to an end at that time, and that therefore after that date regulations which were confined to the duration of the war were no longer in force. Yet it was some days thereafter that the President, having decided to go to Paris as peace commissioner, took possession of the cables as an exercise of war power. Attempts have been made to justify the act on the ground that the order for it was, so they say, signed a few days or hours or minutes before the armistice. Perhaps. But over and above such technical quibblings there can be no doubt that the spirit of the law was violated.

There is also before us at this moment another flagrant example of the President's contempt for the established metes

and bounds to executive authority. The Constitution of the United States provides that:

He shall nominate, and by and with the advice and consent of the Senate shall appoint, ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls.

Now it can scarcely be questioned that peace commissioners, going to a foreign country to negotiate a treaty, are public ministers within the meaning of that clause, and that the intent of the Constitution is that they shall be appointed only "by and with the advice and consent of the Senate." Yet the President never nominated himself and his four supplements to the Senate, and that body never gave its advice and consent to their appointment.

In view of such theories and practices on his part there is, we repeat, no cause for wonderment at his request for the extension of the Overman act. Rather is there cause for it at his failure to seek the continuation of all his war powers throughout the duration of his term. Even had he secured the Democratic Congress for which he made appeal last fall, it is doubtful if such a request would be granted. Many good Democrats were opposed to the Overman act, and it took a lot of jockeying and some modification to get it through. That even a Democratic Congress would now agree to its indefinite prolongation, is seriously to be doubted. That the actual Congress will do such a thing must be entirely out of the question.

A Remarkable Revelation

THE *World's* Washington correspondent writes that "many Congressmen think they have arrived at the true explanation of the vagaries of the Federal control of the wire communications which have puzzled everybody who has tried to reconcile them with any theory."

The "explanation" arrived at by the Congressmen referred to is that the wire communications were seized with the idea of forcing permanent government ownership upon the country whether the people of the country want it or not. Surely the *World's* "many Congressmen" must be so many Daniels come to judgment. They have apparently discovered what has been notorious from the time the present Administration came into power. The Politicalmaster-General has advocated government ownership in every report he has issued since that unhappy day, so disastrous to the mail service, when the President, with the advice and consent of the Assistant President, Colonel House, placed Mr. Burleson at the head of the Post Office Department.

Government ownership has ever been an obsession with the Politicalmaster-General. It opened up to him visions of political manipulation as limitless as they were alluring. He, in common with all others who have given any serious attention to that form of Socialism, as applied to our American mechanism of elections and government, saw ahead an iron-clad political organization with its millions of government employees loaded on the backs of the taxpayers and dependent upon the party in power for their jobs. He saw himself the Chief of Staff of this Prussianized army, ever mobilized for political campaigns, local, State or national.

He saw, furthermore, that there was not the remotest chance of his getting this coveted grip upon the political domi-

nation of the country through act of Congress. The war gave him his opportunity. He sought and obtained Congressional authority to seize the wires, and he did this largely under the false pretence that that authority would be exercised only in case of exigent war emergency. There had not been a single complaint of inefficiency or lack of secrecy on the part of either the telegraphic or telephonic services. Even the Politicalmaster-General had not the effrontery to advance so preposterous a charge as that. Nominally he asked only an authority to be held in reserve and to be exercised only in case of acute war crisis.

And the moment he got the authority he seized the wires. And the moment he seized the wires he proceeded to reduce all competitive systems to a state of intermingled chaos. He changed the best telegraph and telephone service in the world to about as bad a one as the world has ever known. Running the telephone service at a loss of millions of dollars every month, inflicted upon the taxpayers, he loaded telephone users with heavily increased rates with promise of a still further increase in the near future. And all this in return for a steadily decreasing efficiency of service. Then, after the President had formally announced to Congress that the war was over, he seized all cables to Europe, to South and Central America, to Asia and to the islands of the Pacific Ocean, in order, it was explained, that there might be free wire communication between Paris and Washington during the time of the President's sojourn abroad!

Now, according to the *World's* Washington correspondent, many Congressmen have discovered that there has been a conspiracy afoot to force government ownership upon us!

We venture to think that this is only the *World* correspondent's way of putting it. We venture to believe that not merely many but that all Congressmen know, and have known for a year or more, that this Socialistic scheme on the part of the Administration has been in full swing from the time of Mr. McAdoo's speech-making campaign for a government owned merchant marine to the time of Mr. Burleson's wholly illegal seizure of the cables. We venture furthermore the prediction that among the first acts of Congress, which the President cannot much longer avoid calling in session, will be to knock this whole Burleson socialistic scheme into a worse looking cocked hat than anybody ever dreamed of pressing down upon the brow of William Jennings.

Suppose a President were to set this task to a new member of his Cabinet—to make enemies of the Democratic Congressmen, and the Republican Congressmen, owners of capital, managers of industry, the American Federation of Labor, the Socialists and the I. W. W., the pro-Germans and the anti-Germans, the radical press, the conservative press, and the public, the mailers of letters and the carriers of letters, the telegram senders and telegraph operators, and, if there is any one in the country not included in these categories, him also. The appointee would doubtless reply that it was impossible. Yet suppose it done, and after it was accomplished the further task were presented to this unfortunate official of retaining his position among the President's advisers and in the councils of his party. That achievement would seem beyond the dreams of obstinacy—that is, if all these things had not already been accomplished, as they have been, by a member of the present Cabinet.—*The New York Evening Post*.

Who on earth can the *Evening Post* have in mind?

Weighed and Found Wanting

THE President's Socialistic dreams seem doomed to a rude awakening. Three recent, or current, incidents have given them a shock from which we shall not expect to see them easily recover. For the American people are practical. They judge things by their results. And when those results directly concern the popular welfare, in both cost and efficiency of service, they will not be ignored, and no idealistic talk of voices in the air will seduce the people from the paths of judgment. This nation is quite willing to pay high prices for good service. It never complains of increasing cost when there is a commensurate increase in quality. It also is quite willing to let the management and control of utilities be vested in whatever hands can manage and control them best.

But the American people will not permanently consent to higher prices for inferior service, or to transfer of control to less efficient hands.

The railroads are one case in point. They are under dictatorial government control; and the Administration is trying its utmost to keep them there in perpetuity. What is the result? February, 1918, was the worst month down to that time in the history of American railroads. For that there was a reason. There was a scarcity of coal, and the weather was extraordinarily inclement. But February, 1919, proved to be a still worse month for the railroads. Conditions were reversed. There was plenty of coal and the weather was extraordinarily mild and pleasant. Moreover, freight rates had been considerably increased. Yet the net operating income of the roads was less by \$2,225,000 in February, 1919, than in the disastrous February of 1918. Rates were increased about 25 per cent, but the income decreased 14 per cent, and the service was slower. Nor was that month singular. The net operating income in January was \$37,000,000 below the average of three years. The deficits thus created must, of course, be met out of taxation. In 1918 the deficit averaged \$17,000,000 a month. This year it has thus far averaged \$37,000,000 a month. Expert figurers and account-mongers may juggle with these facts as they please. The facts which appeal beyond all contradiction to the public mind are these:

The railroad service is poorer than it has been before in this generation. The trains are slower, less frequent and less trustworthy.

The cost of the service to the immediate patrons of the roads is higher than it has been before in this generation. Passenger fares are higher; freight rates are higher.

The people are being taxed as never before in this generation, through inquisitorial incomes, stamp, and other taxes, to meet a deficit of hundreds of millions of dollars a year in railroad accounts.

In brief, government control of the railroads has meant, and now increasingly means, poorer service at higher cost.

The food supply is another case in point. Early in the war there was formed what was substantially a government food trust. The government assumed the power of fixing prices of wheat and other important staples, and of regulating their distribution. The result is that with larger stocks of food products on hand than ever before in our history,

the cost of food to the people remains at famine figures. Here is the situation: The supply of wheat in hand to-day is about three times as great as it was a year ago; and the prospect for this year's crop enormously exceeds the greatest ever before recorded. The winter wheat crop is estimated at about 900,000,000. That is many millions of bushels more than both the winter and spring crops put together ever were, save in two or three years. It is more than both those crops were in the bumper year of 1914, when farmers were glad to sell at seventy or eighty cents a bushel. And now, with this perfectly unprecedented crop in prospect on top of a plethoric present supply, they are holding wheat back from the market in order if possible to force the price up to the \$3.50 a bushel which the Administration itself anticipates. They are already refusing to sell at prices considerably higher than the minimum guaranteed by the government. But the government price-fixing system, which guarantees a minimum price which the farmer shall receive for his wheat, has either no power or no inclination to fix the maximum price which the people must pay for their bread.

Under the government food trust, the more plentiful food is the more costly it is.

The third current example is seen in the steel market. There also government control has been established, for the purpose of "stabilizing prices"—a sounding and glittering phrase. What is the result? The Industrial Board of the Department of Commerce fixed the prices which were to be paid for steel rails and other foundry products. And the Director-General of Railroads refuses to pay such prices and demands that the "stabilizing" business shall be thrown into the discard and that steel shall be thrown into an open market, free from government control. Explain it as anyone may, the simple fact of the case is this:

The government would not pay the prices which it had itself prescribed.

We have said that there are these three noteworthy current examples. There is a fourth, which we might mention, which is both current and of long-standing; in some respects the most flagrant of them all. That is, the extension of government control over the telephones, telegraphs and cables. But we hesitate to refer to it because of the difficulty of doing so in language befitting general circulation in polite society. Let us dismiss it with the restrained observation that services which were formerly inexpensive have been made much more costly, and that services which were formerly singularly efficient have been made so grotesquely bad that to mention "efficiency" in relation to them seems an offensive contradiction of terms.

Let not this criticism be misunderstood. We are not disputing the desirability, perhaps even the necessity, of making some of these arrangements as war-time expedients. We do not believe even that would have been necessary or desirable if affairs had been properly managed before the war. For example, if the government had not for years been apparently trying to starve the railroads to death, the war would not have found them in so inefficient a condition as to call for government intervention. The simple fact is that the government itself was chiefly responsible for the poor condition of the railroad service; and it is notorious that as soon as it

took control of the railroads it immediately did with the roads the very things which it had refused to let them do for themselves. Only, if it had let them do those things for themselves, the service would have been improved; while, when the government itself did them, the service was not improved but impaired.

Nevertheless, let us concede that at least some of these extensions of government control were necessary as war measures. It was only as such that they could be justified; and the results to date are nothing short of a "horrible example" to warn us against continuing such control in time of peace. That is the great object-lesson before the American nation to-day; a lesson so striking and so beneficent as to be worth all its enormous cost to the nation, if only the nation will heed it and learn it and act upon it. Government control has meant and means less efficiency and greater cost; it has meant and means higher prices for the necessities of life. It has been weighed in the balance of practical experience, and has been found wanting in profit to the public welfare.

Corroboration

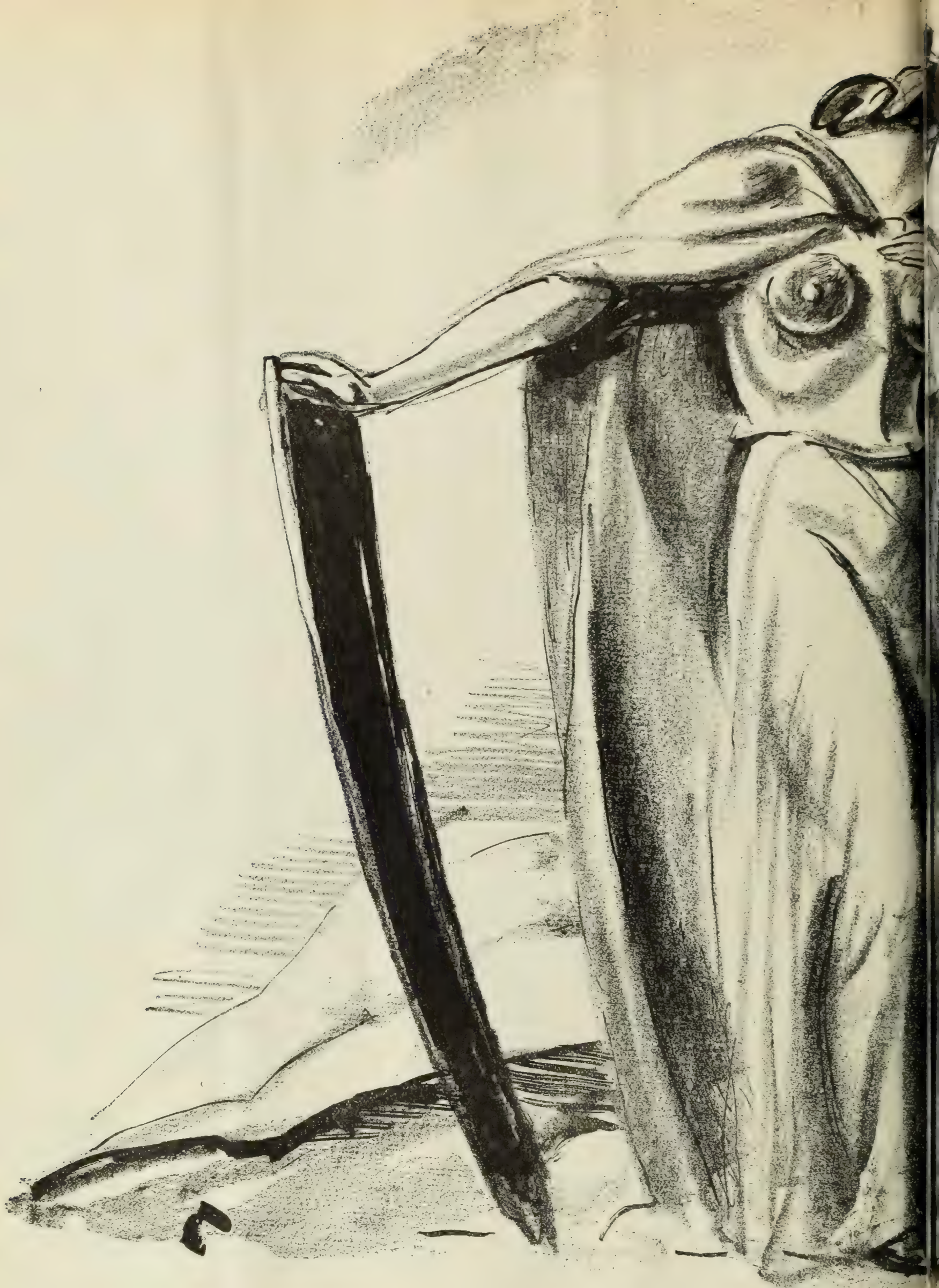
REPLYING last week to a quip in the *World* designed to discredit our assertion that thirteen of the Fourteen Commandments commonly attributed to the President were of British origin, we submitted the evidence and invited our distinguished contemporary to "dissect and disprove" it.

To his credit, be it said, Mr. Cobb responded frankly that, after the British Labor Conference had called for a precise statement, "Lloyd George, on Jan. 5, made a speech in which he explained those aims and objects as he understood them, and President Wilson appeared before Congress on Jan. 8, three days later, with the carefully prepared address containing the fourteen points. The *World* said of the President's address at the time that 'it is so closely in accord with Lloyd George's speech Saturday as to indicate a complete understanding between Washington and London as to war aims and objects.'"

This, of course, is more than admission of the correctness of our assertion; it is full confirmation by the Administration's most influential newspaper supporter upon the authority of its editor, who accompanied Colonel House to Paris at the personal solicitation of the President.

We have only to add that hardly less gratifying than the corroboration from such a source is the justification thus afforded of our reference to Mr. Cobb as a journalist of the first order, properly jealous of the reputation for truth telling of the craft which holds him as a shining light.

Bela Kun, the Bolshevist boss of Hungary, seems to be uncommonly solicitous for the world to know that his government has not yet "nationalized" the women, as his fellow Bolshevists in Russia have done. That is apparently a result of the warning which his former chief, Bronstein Lenin, gave him, not to go as far in Hungary as they had gone in Russia.



EVERYBOD

Europa to Columbia: "May I not hope that you v
Columbia to Europa: "Not my country, no; but



ATISFIED

er your country to our League of Nations?"
gladly supply a President."

The Week

Washington, April 10, 1919.

EASTER is the chief "movable feast" of the Church, wherefore it is perhaps appropriate, in reverent emulation, that other appointments at this season should be subject to change. Even such is the lot of the making of peace. Some time ago the completion of the Treaty, either plus or minus the Covenant of the League, was set for a date in March; then for the first of April; again it was postponed to yesterday, or at least for today; and yet again we were told that it would not be ready for two weeks. One correspondent, much given to jocund optimism, expects the question of reparation to be settled this week; then the question of the Adriatic will be taken up, and by the end of this week "all conference questions, big and little," will be disposed of. And then? Oh, then the "Big Four" or the Supreme Council, or the Peace Congress, or somebody, "will be enabled to go ahead on the actual draft of the Peace Treaty." But what we should like to know is, what the Peace Congress has been doing in all these weeks and months if it has not been "going ahead on the actual draft of the Peace Treaty"? We had supposed that that was what it was there for.

We must regard with the proverbial "mingled emotions" the news from Spa. It was of course wholly admirable that Marshal Foch, with the sanction of the Allied Powers, should read the riot act to Erzberger in insisting upon the unquestionable right of the Allies to repatriate the Polish army by way of Dantzig. But it was wholly deplorable that the Boche-Bolshevik compromise was adopted, under which, while insisting upon their right to do so, the Allies will not send the Poles to Dantzig, but will send them across Germany by other routes; turning to Dantzig only in case these other routes are blocked.

There can be no possible question that the Allies have under the armistice a perfect right to send the Poles home by way of Dantzig. Neither can there be any doubt that that is the logical, practical, and altogether proper route, and the one which it is in the highest sense desirable to employ. Dantzig belongs of right to Poland, and it will be a gross miscarriage of justice if that port is not awarded to her for the "free and secure access to the sea" which is prescribed for her in the President's Thirteenth Commandment. If anything were needed to strengthen the case it would be the impudent obstreperousness of the Huns, and particularly of Erzberger, against it. It is a sound rule to do just what your enemy does not want you to do. We can imagine few things more offensive than for the Germans to try to dictate to their conquerors the terms of peace, and few things more pernicious and menacing than for the Allies to tolerate such insolence to even the least extent. It is quite obvious that one of the most regrettable and embarrassing features of the present situation is the fact that Germany in general has not yet come to the realization that she was completely beaten in the war. She thinks that the war was a drawn battle, and that it should be followed by a negotiated peace, in the making of which she should have an equal voice with the Allies. It would be for her own good, as well as for that

of the rest of the world, for her to be completely disabused of that delusion; and in so far as the landing of the victorious Poles at Dantzig would conduce to the end, it should be insisted upon inexorably. To waive that point will simply confirm the Huns in their further demands for a negotiated peace, and encourage them to further resistance to the terms of the Allies and in their purpose to renew the war whenever possible.

The proposition that other routes shall be followed by the Poles is potentially commendable in one respect. We should be glad to see at least a part of the Polish army sent home across country, by way of Berlin. Their entry into that capital as conquerors, and their parade of the White Eagle along Unter den Linden would be a most beneficial object lesson to the Huns. But it is scarcely supposable that Erzberger had that in mind when he impudently demanded that some other route than Dantzig should be selected.

One of the most amazing things about the Peace Congress is that the delegates, or at least the members of the "Big Four," seem actually to pay more attention to wrangling among themselves and opposing each other than to putting the screws upon the Huns. We are told, for example, that the President and Mr. Lloyd George are resolved that Italy shall not have Fiume but "must consent" to its neutralization, and that they are threatening an economic boycott against her to "compel her acceptance." Now, that may be the quintessence of wisdom and eternal justice, though we cannot help regarding it as a most extraordinary and deplorable attitude for allies to assume toward each other. But at the very same time we are told that the economic discrimination against Germany must be ended, and that out of deference to the tender susceptibilities of the gentle Hun, the Allies, while theoretically insisting upon their rights to do so, will in fact not send the Polish troops home by way of Dantzig, but will adopt other routes more pleasing to the Germans. Really, the traditional visitor from Mars might well suppose that the Paris conclave was for the purpose of thrashing out some rather exacerbated controversies among the Allies, instead of imposing their united will upon Germany.

The Russian muddle grows still more muddled. One day we hear that the Allied troops in the Archangel region are in imminent danger of destruction, and the next that they are smiting the Bolsheviks hip and thigh. One day, prompt withdrawal of all those forces is to be effected, and the next reinforcements are to be sent for a vigorous prosecution of the campaign. A little while ago our State Department was publicly condemning the Bolshevik government as unspeakably vile and wicked and entirely unfit for recognition, and now it has been sending two American Bolsheviks, Lincoln Steffens and William C. Bullitt, as congenial envoys to Moscow, to prepare the way for American recognition of the murdering, ravishing, thieving Bolshevik regime as the lawful government of Russia, with which we must enter into treaty relations. Naturally, the sending of such envoys, following the selection of the ex-reverend George D. Heron for the once-proposed Prinkipo pow-wow, encourages

Lenine and Trotzky to think that America is most favorable to their cause. What it makes respectable governments and nations think, it is humiliating to imagine.

As for the plea that we ought to recognize the Bolsheviks because theirs is, after all, the *de facto* government of that part of Russia, and it is the traditional policy of America to recognize *de facto* governments, "even though the principles they represent are bad and the methods they use are barbarous," that is the sheerest camouflage. The President never disputed that Huerta was the *de facto* President of Mexico, but he stubbornly refused to recognize him because his principles were bad and his methods barbarous. Maybe recognition of *de facto* governments is our "traditional policy," but the tradition got a bad jolt in 1913.

Whatever may be thought of the President's restatement of his former policy of giving independence to the Philippines, it should certainly be understood that our disposition of those islands is in no way to be associated with the issues of the war with Germany. If they receive independence, it will be entirely on their own merit and because of the deliberate will of our government, and not because of the President's Fourteen Commandments.

Landauer, of the Munich Soldiers' and Workmen's Council, says that in 1814 Erzberger wrote a document showing that Germany's peace terms, if she won the war, would include the annexation of Belgium, the Channel Coast of France, several towns on the Channel Coast of England, and the Ukraine and Baltic Provinces of Russia, and payment of an indemnity big enough to cover all Germany's war expenses and also her debt before the war. This precious scheme, says Landauer, was put forward by Erzberger, and was approved by Falkenhayn, Moltke and Tirpitz. There is of course nothing incredible or surprising in this, as it accords precisely with the policy of predatory Prussia at the ends of the wars of 1866 and 1870-71. But it is interesting to note that it was put forward by the same Erzberger who now emits so piteous a whine of distress at thought of taking a rood of land or a single kreutzer from Germany.

The prostituted professors and pastors of Germany, who ostentatiously signed a monstrous lie early in the war in defense of Hunnish deviltry, now attempt to blackmail the Allies into leniency by writting to President Wilson that "if the Germans are driven to desperation they would rather become Bolsheviks than slaves." What these creatures of the Haeckel and Eucken kidney really mean, of course, is that unless Germany is let off easy, through a negotiated peace of her own liking, she will use all her powers of malefic intrigue to raise the devil in America and elsewhere just as she did in Russia. The threat may scare some. It will not scare us. America is not and will not become Bolshevik.

According to Sir Josephus Daniels, the original draft of the Smuts-Cecil-Wilson Covenant of the League "is almost as simple as one of the parables of Jesus; almost as illuminating and uplifting." But why the "almost?" Why not have the full courage of one's convictions, as did the Western

paper which, when the President was running for reelection, printed two portraits side by side with the reverent caption: "Jesus and Wilson: They bore the burdens of the World"? On the other hand, Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler pronounces that same Smuts, etc., Covenant "as clumsy a bit of workmanship as the history of international agreements affords." Possibly the President of Columbia University is as good a judge of lucidity as the Secretary of the Navy. But—if both of these authorities were right, it surely would be rather rough on the Parables.

Four years ago we were acclaiming Belgium and her hero King as the saviors of Europe, for having at an unprecedented sacrifice held true to their faith and having thus stayed the tide of Hunnish savagery for the few days necessary for France to prepare to meet it. It was the martyrdom of Liege that made possible the Miracle of the Marne. Yet now King Albert has to go to Paris in person to plead with the "Big Four" to do Belgium even scanty justice, and to do it without the delay which threatens to make it come too late!

Not so very long ago the Secretary of War insisted that the court martial system in the army was all right and insusceptible of improvement. When, a little later, General Ansell, speaking out of the fulness of knowledge, called attention to abuses of the most discreditable kind, Mr. Baker promptly punished him for his temerity by degrading him in rank; though at the same time he hedged by pretending that he himself had all along been the original Simon-pure advocate of reform in those tribunals. And now the same Secretary travels three thousand miles to investigate the court-martial systems of European armies, with a view to getting points for the abatement of the evils which he punished General Ansell for bringing to his attention!

Japan purposes to put into effect a law permitting Aliens to take title to real estate in that country. That will of course be regarded as strengthening her demand for the enjoyment of a like privilege by her subjects in America. If America did not grant it, Japan would, under the original text of the Smuts, etc., League Covenant, have a pretty good case for appeal to the Executive Council of the League to compel us to submit the matter to arbitration.

The Ukraine seems to have adopted the "Good Lord! good devil!" policy. It is desirous of joining the Allies. But if it cannot do so on its own terms—that is, if the Allies will not let the tail wag the dog—it will join the Russian Bolsheviks. This is a good deal as though a man were to ask to be taken into a temperance society on his own conditions, and were to threaten that if he were not thus received, he would start a "blind tiger" saloon.

Whenever the Peace Treaty is submitted to Germany for acceptance, we are told, there will first be held a "secret meeting of the plenary conference" to determine finally its terms. On the salutary principle, of course, of "open covenants of peace, openly arrived at."

Justice to Colonel Hirsch

BY accepting, as true, official statements from the Department of Justice, the WEEKLY has, on two separate occasions, had the misfortune to print articles seriously reflecting on the character of Col. Harry J. Hirsch, a graduate of West Point and an officer of the regular army, who, after being denied overseas service on physical grounds, has rendered valuable service throughout the present war. In so doing the WEEKLY was grossly deceived, and having learned that fact, it hastens to state it, and to express its sincere regret at the injustice done an officer with thirty-one years of honorable service to his credit.

Col. Hirsch was indicted at the instance of the Department of Justice for complicity in an alleged conspiracy to defraud the government. So disgraceful was the travesty of justice perpetrated by the Department that, when the government had completed its case, and before a single witness for the defense had been heard, Federal Judge Edwin L. Garvin, in the U. S. Court for the Eastern District of New York, courageously threw the case out of court.

But although instructed as to their verdict, the jury, declaring their desire to place themselves on record, adopted resolutions asserting that no other verdict could have been rendered. Regarding Col. Hirsch the jury said:

Col. Harry Jean Hirsch, United States Army, was named as a defendant in the case mentioned, and to prevent, so far as we can do so, any possible harm to his official record as an officer of our army coming from the mere fact of indictment, we emphatically hereby certify that we find, after carefully listening to all the charges and evidence, that there was not the slightest foundation for the indictment of Col. Hirsch.

That the public may know the extent to which justice has been perverted and an honorable officer libelled by representatives of the Department of Justice, we present the facts of the now famous Rosenwasser case, as they were developed at the trial solely by witnesses for the government under direct and cross examination.

In 1916, Col. Hirsch, on duty as inspecting officer for the army at Philadelphia, recommended and caused the discharge of Frank J. Creeden, a government shoe-inspector, because he was temperamentally unfit and was guilty of conduct prejudicial to discipline. At Philadelphia it was the duty of Col. Hirsch to pass upon shoes manufactured for the government by Rosenwasser Brothers, large manufacturers, of unblemished reputation, whose contractual relations with the War Department had been continuous since 1898 and who had won repeated commendation by high ranking officers of the army. In the Spring of 1917, when the government was sorely in need of shoe-inspectors, Creeden, by concealing the fact of his former dismissal, procured appointment under the Quartermaster in New York and was assigned to the Rosenwasser factory. The temperamental characteristics which had caused his former discharge led the foremen in the Rosenwasser factory to join in a round-robin declaring they could not endure his violent and abusive language, and again he was discharged.

When the Department of Justice, through Assistant-Attorney-General Houston Thompson and Charles B. Brewer, Special Assistant to the Attorney-General, heralded in the press its determination to prosecute the Kenyon case, Creeden saw his opportunity for revenge. He wrote the Department

of Justice that he could furnish evidence of fraud on the part of an officer and a manufacturer. And on the unsupported word of this vengeful, mendacious, discharged employee, the officials named caused a supine grand jury to indict nineteen men, including Col. Hirsch, Lieutenant Samuel Grass of the Quartermaster's Department, and Morris Rosenwasser, president of Rosenwasser Brothers.

During the trial of the Rosenwasser case Messrs. Thompson and Brewer presented all the evidence they had been able to obtain, with all the instrumentalities of the government at their disposal, in the course of an investigation which had lasted from July, 1918, until March, 1919. Under cross examination it was developed that the sole charge against Col. Hirsch and Lieutenant Grass was that they had accepted supplies in which there was question of slight technical deviation from the specifications. It was shown that they had done so by direction of the Quartermaster General, Henry G. Sharpe, who had instructed commissioned officers "not to let inspectors reject any articles of supplies of equipment which will answer our purposes in this great emergency."

It was shown that the government's star witness, Creeden, had obtained eight different appointments from the government and had been discharged as many times; that there was in the files of the Department of Justice a letter from W. M. Offley, Assistant Superintendent of the New York Branch of the Department's Bureau of Investigation, written in 1917, saying that Creeden offered evidence of fraud in return for a high salaried position. Creeden admitted that he was an ex-convict; that his photograph adorned the Rogues' Gallery of New Jersey; that his Bertillon measurements were on file at the Penal Reformatory at Rahway.

On the witness-stand Creeden brazenly confessed that he had repeatedly perjured himself; that he had obtained his positions with the government by perjury; and he declared that he would not hesitate to perjure himself "to get a job, if the job was a good enough one." It was shown that he was holding a temporary government position, and had on file a letter from Charles B. Brewer strongly recommending that it be made permanent. Leon Meth, next to Creeden probably the government's most important witness, also confessed to perjury on the witness-stand.

It was on such evidence as this that two high officials of the Department of Justice had caused the indictment for felony of nineteen reputable citizens, including two commissioned officers of the army.

When counsel for the defense moved that Creeden be taken into custody for his self-confessed perjury, there was presented the extraordinary and shocking spectacle of an Assistant-Attorney-General of the United States and an Assistant U. S. District Attorney defending a confessed perjurer and pleading that he be not taken into custody. During the trial, certified copies of the order of General Sharpe, which in itself exonerated the army officer defendants, were furnished to the representatives of the Department of Justice with the plea that common justice demanded that they ask for the dismissal of the case against the officers. This they refused to do. In dismissing the case, Judge Garvin instructed the District Attorney to ask the grand jury for an indictment of Creeden and Meth for perjury.

Mr. Burleson as a Business Man

THE WEEKLY has often criticised Mr. Burleson for errors he has committed in the execution of the heavy responsibilities which the President has thrust upon him. But the criticism has invariably been specific and constructive—never general. Of late a part of the press has shown a marked tendency to criticise Mr. Burleson in the most general manner. All sorts of charges, as irrelevant as they were destructive, have been made. Some writers have stated bluntly that Mr. Burleson was altogether without business experience and that the errors charged against him are the result of the lack of such training rather than of political mania or personal idiosyncrasies. Nothing better could be expected of one whose life has been spent upon public affairs, to the exclusion of business, they inform us.

All of this is to be deprecated. It is untrue and unfair. Politics has been an avocation—a side line—in Mr. Burleson's career. Business has really been his principal interest in life. He has prospered. He is rich. His success as a business man has been far greater than as a politician. Compare, for example, the creation of a personal fortune—variously estimated at a million and upwards—out of Texas farm lands as a sample of his business acumen, with, let us say, the results of the last Congressional campaign, which he helped to direct.

As an evidence of his thoroughly developed business ability—his capacity for getting a dollar's worth for every dollar paid—consider the manner in which Mr. Burleson developed 2,000 acres of indifferent land into the most profitable plantations in Hill and Bosque Counties, Texas.

Take, for example, the contract made "by and between the Texas State Penitentiaries" and Mr. Burleson and his brother-in-law. This contract is an extremely long document and cannot be reproduced in full, but a few of the more important sections will satisfy any fair-minded person that it represents the handiwork of no business novice.

It provided that the State would furnish Mr. Burleson and his brother-in-law with 125 convicts, "whites and Mexicans," who would work the plantations on the "share system," whereby the State would receive sixty per cent of the profits and the brothers-in-law the remaining forty per cent.

In specifying the detailed financial arrangements, the contract provided that any moneys the brothers-in-law advanced for running expenses would be repaid to the "parties of the second part, with interest at the rate of *eight per cent*," and that "they shall pay *70 cents per day*" for each man who might be employed solely by the brothers-in-law, on work in which the State had no share.

These arrangements indicate an uncommon degree of business acumen. Which of Mr. Burleson's critics can show a contract that compares with the document in question?

But this was not all. Anyone might sign up for a bargain, but it is the wise business man who takes precautions to insure its consummation. Mr. Burleson and his brother-in-law saw to it that the men they hired would do their work honestly and faithfully—there was to be no chance for shirkers. Section 10 of the agreement guarantees that "the guards in charge require each and every convict, when physically able,

to do and perform good and sufficient work and in such manner as shall be required by the party of the second part."

There is no labor union nonsense here. Each convict did a day's work and the hours were set by the sun; in the summer, twelve to fourteen; in the winter, ten. Any fair-minded man should be convinced by even these few sections of the contract that Mr. Burleson knows how to engineer successfully business deals of considerable size. But objection may be made that while he is capable of planning major operations, he is incapable of handling details.

To offset any such contention, reference need only be made to Section 14: "The parties of the second part shall pay to the parties of the first part the sum of twenty-five dollars per month for the slops."

Frankly, there is no way at this distance from Bosque and Hill Counties to estimate whether or not Mr. Burleson got \$25 a month out of this bargain, and it is presented merely to show that his mind covers the most minute details when he is concerned with business. There is no reason to believe that the profits from the pigs and the stys was disproportionate with that from the land and the convicts. While it is impossible to render a detailed accounting of Mr. Burleson's profits, there is available the statement of "Captain" J. L. Brooks, who was in charge of the convicts, and this should satisfy any unbiased mind that the State lived up to its bargain. Here are a few sentences taken at random:

"I think a man is entitled to good, wholesome food and plenty of it to give him strength to carry on farm work.

"We never have religious services.

"There is no kind of school on the farm for the convicts.

"There is no effort made to teach them at all.

"I have been working convicts sixteen years. I know when a man is working or not.

"When it is necessary I believe in corporal punishment. I whipped Luce and Oliver on the Fourth of this month. My record shows B. F. Luce eighteen licks, offense laziness; Joe Oliver seventeen licks, offense laziness. I whipped them on the rump. In whipping them I don't throw them on the floor and strap them. I didn't have to. Their bodies were exposed and they were red and bruised up a little."

So much for discipline, education, and religion. Concerning hours of labor, the Captain said:

"I take the men out to work about daylight. It is light enough to see a man well. We work until noon. We try to take an hour off at noon. Then we go to it and stay until dark." From all of which it would appear that Mr. Burleson got seventy cents worth of work out of the convicts for each day they were employed, and tolerated no nonsense from preachers or teachers.

If this chapter of Mr. Burleson's life, partial and incomplete as it is, does not present ample proof of his business capacity and his ability to carry through large and profitable affairs, with due attention to details, then we give up.

"Bubbles"

Colonel George Harvey has no use for a League of Nations of any kind and frankly proclaims his views on the question. He is an extremist with whom it is not always easy to agree, but at least he brings logic to his arguments, and it must be admitted that he has punctured various bubbles in the Wilson-Smits League plan, as he did in the course of a two-hour speech in Boston Thursday evening.—*The Providence Bulletin*.

"Suitable and Splendid." Why Not?

WHAT more fitting memorial to the gallant sons of America who fought and died abroad could be devised than an exact reproduction of the Washington Monument, to be erected, through voluntary contributions by our whole people, upon the famous battlefield in France?

The Washington Monument is our one great distinctive, National creation. It is, moreover, our most notable work of art and it is unique. Its replica, rising high from the historic ground where the blood of the Sons of the Sister Republics mingled in the death struggle for freedom and civilization, would strengthen the ever-living ties that bind securely the two great liberty-loving peoples and would be for all time an inspiration to both.—*Harvey's Weekly*, Feb. 22, 1919.

WHY NOT GIVE BOTH?

SIR,—The time may come when what you suggest will be right and proper, but at present when the most prominent representative of the United States in their midst is insisting that they forget their own slain flesh and blood, the barely alive, pitiful wrecks of what once were women, the physical devastation on every hand—then it would seem the part of American manhood to show some finer feeling and not expect too much of these suffering, wronged people. Don't put it in their power to say that they asked for bread and were given a stone.

MARY B. ALLAN.

Anacortes, Wash.

WILL BE OVERSUBSCRIBED

SIR,—The thought is a very happy one in every respect, and if presented to the American people will be promptly oversubscribed. Among the inscriptions that will fill the faces of the base, it seems to me that it would be in excellent taste that one should record forever America's imperishable gratitude to France and her eminent son for the part they had in the founding of this Republic when it greatly needed the aid so graciously extended.

J. BOOKWALTER.

Minneapolis, Minn.

FROM ALL THE PEOPLE

SIR,—Your idea is all right. The project is perfectly feasible. The writer would gladly be one of three million to give a dollar, one of a million to give three dollars, one of three hundred thousand to give ten dollars. The monument should be a contribution by all the people of the United States.

D. R. HAND.

Columbia, So. Carolina.

READY

SIR,—As to the Washington Monument in France, we favor it and are ready to contribute from our modest means. Keep up your work of protection of our people.

O. B. MORRIS.

Pace's, Halifax Co., Virginia.

READY, ALSO

SIR,—When you are ready for subscriptions I shall be ready to do my bit.

W. E. GREENLEAF.

Ridgefield, Conn.

A Washington Monument for France

(Some Responses from the Press)

It is a splendid suggestion and will have our support.—W. L. TAYLOR, Editor *York (Penn.) Dispatch*.

I think it is a good idea and well put. I am republishing it this week.—H. J. CALNAN, Editor *Kansas Chief*, Troy, Kan.

I think the idea of a "Washington Monument for France" is eloquently beautiful and I shall be very glad indeed to co-operate in any plans that may develop for the fruition of this splendid thought.—A. H. VANDENBERG, Editor the *Grand Rapids Herald*, Grand Rapids, Mich.

The suggestion of a Washington Monument for France is splendid. It should be carried through. We want a great shrine, like Arlington, for our beloved and heroic dead over there. Col. Harvey's Washington Monument would mark it suitably and gloriously.—JOHN ARTHUR KAUTZ, Publisher *Kokomo Tribune*, Kokomo, Ind.

I endorse "A Washington Monument for France," and will advocate it in this paper. I have just become acquainted with the *WEEKLY*—it is the best thing in America. Regret deeply what I have missed.—J. C. LATHAM, Editor the *Canisteo Times*, Canisteo, N. Y.

THE Washington National Monument, an exact reproduction of which on the soil of France we believe to be the most fitting memorial that could be devised in honor of the American soldiers who fought in the Great War, is the greatest achievement of its kind in the world.

The towering white shaft, of pure Maryland marble, stands near the bank of the Potomac river and in front of the Executive Mansion at the National Capitol. From the base, one hundred and twenty-six feet square, the firm, straight lines, tapering gradually until they reach the pyramidion, rise to a height of five hundred and fifty-five feet. The shaft can be seen from any elevated point within fifty miles of the city.

Free of all those artificial embellishments which are meant to enhance but usually detract from the beauty of works of this nature, it has a striking simplicity and dignity that seem to breathe the spirit of the great leader himself. It is what Washington would have wanted.

In the lower walls of the obelisk are enormous stones, gifts from various States and foreign nations, bearing inscriptions in Washington's honor and expressing a hope for the preservation of the Union which, through his military and political achievements, was brought into being. In a recess in the corner-stone have been placed numerous books, maps, coins, and other articles of historic value, donated by the notable men of that time.

The erection of the memorial is mainly due to the efforts of the Washington Monument Society, an organization formed in the early part of the nineteenth century by Chief Justice John Marshall. A competition for a suitable design was carried on, in which many of the foremost artists and architects participated. The sole stipulation was that the designs should "harmoniously blend durability, simplicity, and grandeur." Robert Mills, of Washington, was the winner, and the monument as it stands to-day bears many of the original features conceived by him. The corner-stone was laid in 1848, but as the work had to be discontinued during the unsettled days of the Civil War period, the monument was not finished until 1884.

This idea strikes me as a magnificent and beautiful one. I am glad to lend the co-operation of the *American* and will see that our editorial department pays it deserved attention.—E. P. NEILL, Manager *Aberdeen Daily American*, Aberdeen, South Dakota.

I have read with interest Col. George Harvey's article and acquiesce in its suggestions. I shall be glad to give any such campaign all my personal support and that of my newspaper.—ORMOND A. FORTE, Managing Editor the *Cleveland Advocate*, Cleveland, Ohio.

The suggestion appeals to me strongly and I sincerely hope that it will meet with the approval of our people and receive their contributions to the amount necessary to pay the cost of such a monument as is proposed.—C. W. PICKETT, Editor *New Haven Times-Leader*, New Haven, Conn.

The plan Col. Harvey proposes is admirable, for the Washington obelisk is to my mind the most satisfactory memorial ever erected in America to any man, occasion or cause.—W. P. BAKER, Editor the *Post-Standard*, Syracuse, N. Y.

Contemporary Echoes

(From the Chicago Post)

CHICAGO is always proud to welcome a man of engaging personality, intellectual power and charm in the use of the English language—meaning by these terms, of course, Col. George Harvey of New York and of the world, of the *North American Review* and even more enjoyably of *Harvey's Weekly*. He was with us the other night, and we heard him with pleasure.

Survey the field of journalism and of authorship, and you will find that it doesn't so greatly matter which side of a question a man takes as it does with what ability and acumen he maintains himself. Soaring orators of today mention Hamilton and Jefferson in the same breath, oblivious of the painful fact that in their day each of these statesmen regarded the other as a source of every dangerous tendency in American life. It is far easier to recall that Blaine and Conkling were famous orators and enemies than it is to specify what they fought each other for. And posterity may fall upon such evil days as to forget all about Col. Harvey's attitude toward the league of nations except that he was one of the most gifted participants in a controversy that once divided the foremost men of the United States into two hostile camps.

This is not the time or place to find fault with Col. Harvey's arguments or rashly brush the bloom off the joy we have all taken in his presence here. Suffice it to say that if there are any real or apparent flaws in the league of nations, he will spy them out; and if there is one way more effective than another to marshal those objections, Col. Harvey will take precisely that way. Rarely has a cause or its advocates been held up to more biting scorn or more captivating raillery; and it would be quite beside the mark to mention how obtusely those to whom the league of nations appears as the shadow of a great rock in a weary land will go on writing and working and praying for its success.

(From the Indianapolis Times)

This is to be said of Col. Harvey: he is unambiguous in his opposition to the league of nations. And for that reason, the promoters of the Harvey meeting are unfortunate because of the humiliation the address may inflict upon Chairman Hays.

There was also a mischievous disregard of times and seasons and personnel and place. This is the home of Mr. Hays and this is the time of all times when the minimum of publicity should be given to league opposition. Moreover, behold that bewildering list of jurists! Is the world to understand that the Republicans are going to fly in the face of the eminent Mr. Taft and make the league a partisan affair? Is it to get the impression that Mr. Hays' own home folks are going to accept the challenge of Mr. Cummings and commit the Republican party to the opposition?

If age makes us all quietists, as Goethe pretended to believe, then Col. Harvey is yet in the first flushes of youth, for he persistently declines to keep the peace. Years seem to add facility to his speech.

The task of explaining, however, will fall to Mr. Hays, or those other gentlemen in active politics—New and Watson.

(From the Schenectady Union Star)

As an example of American tactics in getting at the root and heart of a matter and hitting the metaphorical nail on the head, the address of Colonel George Harvey at Indianapolis Monday night on the proposed League of Nations constitution stands out prominently in the ocean of matter that is being written and uttered on this subject.

Col. Harvey refused to let fine phrases obscure hard facts. His effort shows that he has done straight thinking at the expense of platitudes. His conclusions in reference to the document which which Mr. Wilson says we must accept to control our foreign relations for all time are crushing in the exposure of the fallacies which underlie it.

The address itself will stand comparison with the product of patriotic Americans of the past, of the present, and those to come.

(From the New York Evening Telegram)

Colonel George Harvey, addressing the City Club in Boston, is to be congratulated for the clearness of his views and the conciseness of his expression.

It is the more welcome because of the awful mess of contradiction the proceedings in Paris have resulted in, largely because of the attempt to forge a League of Nations and weld it to a peace treaty.

"Has anybody heard so much as a whisper from Paris of the slightest consideration of the future welfare of America?"

asked Colonel Harvey. "If America has a single advocate among our commissioners to the great conference no sign to that effect has appeared in the published reports."

We must insist on plainer speech from the Peace Conference. If Mr. Wilson is speaking for the people of the United States he must take them more into his confidence.

And Mr. Wilson cannot expect that he will be permitted to hold the Monroe Doctrine in one hand and with the other interfere in the affairs of Europe.

Let us come down to Earth.

Our own doorstep needs attention.

(From the Philadelphia Record)

A three-column article on the League of Nations looked likely to be interesting, so we turned to the opening sentence: "Colonel George Harvey in discussing the President's views said"—and that's as far as we read.

A wise guy.—EDITOR.

(From the Providence Bulletin)

When Col. George Harvey proposes that a duplicate of the Washington Monument be erected on some American battlefield in France, preferably Chateau Thierry, does he not realize that the very first move made by the democracy-savers will be to revise the proposition by substituting the name of Wilson Monument?

How about a referendum?—EDITOR.

(From the St. Louis Globe-Democrat)

Col. George Harvey, who calls them "the fourteen commandments," must yield the palm to Chancellor Day of Syracuse, who dubs them "the fourteen international beatitudes."

(From the Hartford Courant)

Colonel Harvey has accepted the inevitable and rechistened his "Weekly," which could not be called "War Weekly" any longer. He tried to get along with "The Weekly" but that would not go, and he has at last named it "HARVEY'S WEEKLY," which it surely is and all along has been. Nobody but Harvey called it anything else, but all of them call it as outspoken and as vigorous a publication as the public gets.

(From the Milwaukee Sentinel)

"I would rather," says Col. Harvey, "fight for the Monroe Doctrine than for the Akoond of Swat." Well, yes. The U. S. is not internationalized, or denationalized to the contrary extent.

Statement of the Ownership, Management, Circulation, etc., required by the Act of Congress of August 24, 1912, of HARVEY'S WEEKLY, published weekly at New York, N. Y., for April 1, 1919.

State of New York, County of New York, ss. Before me, a Notary Public in and for the State and County aforesaid, personally appeared George M. Gottfried, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the Business Manager of HARVEY'S WEEKLY, and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management, etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, embodied in section 443, Postal Laws and Regulations, to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business manager are: Publisher, North American Review Corporation, 171 Madison Avenue, New York, N. Y.; Editor, George Harvey, 171 Madison Avenue, New York, N. Y.; Managing Editor, none; Business Manager, George M. Gottfried, 171 Madison Avenue, New York, N. Y.

2. That the owner is George Harvey, 171 Madison Avenue, New York, N. Y.

3. That the known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 per cent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: None.

4. That the two paragraphs next above, giving the names of the owners, stockholders, and security holders, if any, contain not only the list of stockholders and security holders as they appear upon the books of the company but also, in cases where the stockholder or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting, is given; also that the said two paragraphs contain statements embracing affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees, hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner; and this affiant has no reason to believe that any other person, association, or corporation has any interest direct or indirect in the said stock, bonds, or other securities than as so stated by him.

(Signed) GEORGE M. GOTTFRIED,
Business Manager.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 29th day of March, 1919.
(Seal)

MAY C. GUERIN,
Notary Public, Kings Co., N. Y.
Certificate filed in N. Y. Co. No. 37. (My commission expires March 30, 1919.)

Letters From Our Readers

SPANISH WAR VETERANS AND THE LEAGUE

SIR,—I am enclosing you a copy of a resolution passed by our local campaign of Spanish War Veterans, which will explain itself. Somewhat less than a year ago, a friend of mine subscribed to your WEEKLY to be mailed to me. I am free to say that until that time I had never heard of it, but since receiving the first copy it has been the greatest solace to my soul, and I couldn't keep house without it. If you find you cannot continue the WEEKLY at the present price, I will be glad to pay whatever additional may be necessary. Since the war began in 1914 I have been a great admirer of the late Theodore Roosevelt. I believe if it had not been for him and his teachings we would still be too proud to fight and have been hollering for peace without victory.

What I am leading up to is that you seem to be the only man with the courage of his convictions and strength of character enough to attempt to do what Roosevelt was doing, and I want to say that I think you are doing it mighty well. There is a regret that comes to the minds of some of us old-fashioned Americans, and that is that the strong men of the past generation are rapidly passing, and Henry Watterson seems to be about the only one of the old régime, unless I can include you, and I have no idea of your age.

I imagine this would be of interest to some of your other readers. Anyhow, I hope you may live many years, because the country and the world needs your services.

ALMON S. REED.

Cedar Rapids, Iowa.

[ENCLOSURE.]

S. L. Dows Camp No. 4, United Spanish War Veterans, in regular session March 14th, 1919, unanimously resolved:

That it is the sense of this organization that our Representatives in Congress be advised of our opposition to so-called Internationalism, as set forth in the constitution of the League of Nations, and that we stand first and foremost for national integrity, one country, one flag, and for a speedy conclusion of peace with our enemies.

Be it further resolved, That we commend the stand of the thirty-seven Senators in their action taken regarding the aforesaid League of Nations, and that we believe the League of Nations to be of secondary consideration to the consummation of peace, and that if our Representatives in Congress, after the peace treaty is signed, believe that a League of Nations is necessary, that the said Representatives should have ample time for deliberation and discussion, before the adoption of same.

(Signed) COMMANDER.

"ADVICE AND CONSENT"

SIR,—I am an enthusiastic and delighted reader of HARVEY'S WEEKLY, and because of the stand you have taken on the burning questions confronting us, I am encouraged to address you to make the following suggestions:

First.—Is not the time over-ripe for a change in our law making the date of the assembling of Congress in regular session shortly after its election, instead of the present date whereby it convenes thirteen months after it has received its mandate from the American people?

Second.—Touching the matter of the making of treaties, if the President makes the pending treaty as he proposes to do, he will, the very instant it is signed (and I care not what kind of a treaty it is), have done so without the advice of the Senate, for advice comes before, and not after, the consummation of the act. That is to say he will have made the treaty in a manner not contemplated by our Constitution and in direct controvention thereof. This he will have done deliberately and intentionally. He will, then, in my humble judgment, have acted in an arbitrary and unconstitutional manner, and thus been guilty of malfeasance in office, for which he can be impeached and removed from office.

It is high time our people set the seal of their condemnation upon usurpation of authority by him and make him and the world know that the American people intend to preserve the Constitution and the representative form and spirit of government received from the forefathers. Will you not, sir, in your inimitable way, support this stand at the proper time?

RONGIER THORNE.

Glen Cove, N. Y.

[(1) Undoubtedly this change should have been made long ago. The Republican party should inaugurate the change at the first opportunity.

(2) While it might be maintained successfully that the President would violate the spirit of the Constitution in taking the action suggested, custom would seem to afford sufficient warrant technically. Of course, no treaty becomes

binding upon the nation until approved by two-thirds of the Senate. Practically, moreover, the President seems to be getting a fair amount of advice from the co-ordinate branch with or without his own consent.—EDITOR.]

ROOT AND BRANCH

SIR,—I have just read with much interest and appreciation your Indianapolis address. The thing that pleased me most in it was your statement that you are against the League of Nations in any form—theory, principle, or practice. This is my position. I want no compromises. I am against the thing root and branch. It is as plain as anything can be that it is an alliance or it is not. "League" in my dictionary is defined to be "an alliance, as of persons or states." If we are going to have an alliance, let us be plain and above board with it, and tie up with states that think as we do, and leave the rest out. There is no need of anything of the kind, however, as the people have sense enough to know when they ought to act for their interests—that is, everybody but the President and his hangers-on.

I sincerely hope you may be able to keep up this good work, and I hope you will hammer on the point mentioned: of NO COMPROMISE. I do not like the concession contained in polite phrases. You and Roosevelt were the men to handle this matter. Now that he is gone, it is up to you.

C. G. HORNOR.

Guthrie, Oklahoma.

LOWELL AND MOSES

SIR,—Mr. Lowell in reply to Mr. Lodge said:

"One never gets very far in this argument without hearing from the Farewell Address. Don't laugh at the Farewell Address. That Farewell Address was one of the greatest documents ever made in its day—and so were the Ten Commandments. But soon things are no longer adapted to new conditions."

Please tell me what you think the distinguished educator had in mind? That the Ten Commandments had become obsolete?

In order to stand by the man who has taken both sides of every question which has arisen in the past six years, one would have to do even bigger stunts than to slur both the Farewell Address and the Ten Commandments.

But where are we going to land when the president of Harvard University in order to bolster Mr. Wilson is willing to slur anything and everything, no matter how sacred?

JOHN E. CARTER.

Lowell, Mass.

A PRIVILEGE AND A DUTY

SIR,—The work you are doing for a sturdy nationalism instead of a sickly internationalism entitles you to the thanks of the Republic.

There are great numbers of your fellow citizens who feel as you do, but who can not express their thoughts with the crystal clearness of your sentences.

We can at least attempt to cheer you in your work by expressing our appreciation of the great work you are doing in this crisis in our national affairs.

If I can be of any financial assistance in broadening the circulation of HARVEY'S WEEKLY among those who help to mold opinion, I would regard it not only as a privilege but a duty.

H. H. BELL.

Muskogee, Oklahoma.

FROM SAN DIEGO

SIR,—The WEEKLY arrives promptly and its arrival is anxiously awaited. Your logical reasoning of the complex situation this country is now undergoing, is a power for good government.

If we had more fearless writers like George Harvey, confidence would be restored, and business would again live on easy street.

W. W. WHITNEY.

San Diego, California.

A CHRISTENING APPROVED

SIR,—I desire to tender my congratulations over the change in the name of the WEEKLY. It is so distinct a part of Colonel Harvey that it is proper it should bear his name.

I wish for HARVEY'S WEEKLY much of success in its field of labor, and I read it with great interest.

J. B. ARDIS.

Shreveport, La.

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VOL. 2

WEEK ENDING APRIL 19, 1919

No. 16



"REPARATIONS"

Newtie Cootie Decorates General Wood for refusing to let him fight for his country

The Hidden "American" Plan

SPEAKING as a candidate for President in 1912, Woodrow Wilson said:

If there is nothing to conceal, then why conceal it? If it is a public game, why play it in private? If it is a public game, then why not come out into the open and play it in public?

I, for one, have the conviction that government ought to be all outside and no inside. I, for my part, believe that there ought to be no place where anything can be done that everybody does not know about.

I cannot imagine a public man with a conscience having a secret that he would keep from the people about their own affairs.

Addressing the Congress as President in 1918, just before sailing for Europe, Mr. Wilson promised:

I shall be in close touch with you and with the affairs on this side of the water, and *you will know all that I do.*

We frankly concede that when, last week, we expressed a doubt of Senator Brandegee's ability to obtain for the American people the privilege of examining the terms upon which their nominal representatives at the Peace conference had proposed to incorporate their country in a world organization, we laid ourselves fairly open to a charge, if not perhaps of positive insolence, at least of gross impertinence.

Even though the President's widely advertised adherence to the general principle of pitiless publicity and his specific insistence upon open covenants openly arrived at had not sufficed to discredit the suggestion, there remained his tacit, but none the less definite, profession of willingness that this should be done. Under circumstances which have prevailed unvaryingly in the past, with respect to the proper attitude of public servants toward their masters, we should not have dreamed of making such a reflection upon the integrity and plighted faith of an Administration.

The record of subsequent happenings, however, seems clearly to justify the aspersion of quite unprecedented disingenuousness. After waiting nearly five days for response to his wholly courteous request, Senator Brandegee received the following communication:

ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE.

WASHINGTON, April 4, 1919.

My dear Senator Brandegee:

In the absence of Mr. Polk I beg to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of April third, reporting your conversation with the President on February 27th, at which time you discussed certain phases of the proposed plan for a League of Nations. Unfortunately, the Department has not yet received a copy of the "American Plan" to which you refer. I am, however, communicating with the Mission in Paris on this subject and will let you now as soon as a reply is received.

Sincerely yours,

(Signed) WILLIAM PHILLIPS.

Honorable Frank B. Brandegee,
United States Senate,
Washington.

To this Senator Brandegee replied:

UNITED STATES SENATE
Committee on Foreign Relations.

April 9, 1919.

Hon. William Phillips,
The Assistant Secretary,
Department of State,
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. Phillips:

Yours, dated the 4th instant and mailed the 8th instant, is at hand.

I note that on the 4th instant Mr. Polk, to whom I had ad-

ressed my communication of the 3rd instant, was absent, and that my letter was delivered to you.

I note further, that you state that "unfortunately the Department has not yet received a copy of the 'American Plan'" for the so-called "League of Nations" which the President told me on February 27th that he had presented to the Peace Conference in Paris.

I am surprised that this important State paper is not in the Department—or at least a copy of it, and I agree with you that it is, to say the least, "unfortunate."

I trust that the communication which you state you are having with the "Mission in Paris" on this subject will be successful in producing a copy of this "American Plan" for the information of the country.

I thank you for promising to advise me as soon as a reply is received. I remain,

Very respectfully yours,

FRANK B. BRANDEGEE.

While comment upon a performance savoring of unfamiliarity with established official courtesies may seem invidious, a simple recital of the facts is obviously essential to completeness of record. Senator Brandegee's first communication was delivered in person by his secretary to the secretary of Assistant Secretary of State Phillips on the morning of April 4. The reply quoted also was dated April 4, but the envelope bore the post-mark "Washington, D. C., Apr. 8, 6 p. m., 1919." When it was dictated and typewritten is a matter of idle speculation.

Whether, however, the Assistant Secretary's note of "the absence of Mr. Polk" was literally exact is a question to which Mr. Polk might well pay incidental attention. If so, he was the victim of gross imposture perpetrated by a person of strikingly similar pulchritude, who on that very day, April 4, called at the residence of Senator Brandegee and, in the absence of that gentleman, left a visiting card which was the exact counterpart of his own. Later, too, Mr. Polk informed the *Evening Sun* that the Senate "did get a prompt reply dated April 4," although "for some reason the letter of acknowledgment was not delivered till April 8 or 9," the reason being obviously that it was not posted till April 8. "He said," somewhat tartly we should judge, according to the *World* of April 11, "that the Peace conference was sitting at Versailles, not here."

Since Mr. Polk could hardly have assumed that Mr. Brandegee was not unaware of this fact, the remark clearly implied a rebuke to the Senator for not forwarding his communication directly to Paris. This offense, we are convinced, however, Mr. Polk will, upon reflection, regard as pardonable, upon the theory that Mr. Brandegee honestly supposed that there was still a State Department in Washington, to which an official communication could and should with propriety be addressed. His error, therefore, seems to have been a natural one and hardly calling for severe reprimand. If further extenuation be required, it might be found in the difficulty confronting an outsider in determining the precise address of a President-at-large. "Europe," of course, might reach him, but then again he might be at sea; how could one tell?

This painstaking recital, be it understood, is not designed to bear the slightest reflection upon either Mr. Polk or Phillips. Both are admirable officials and honorable men. Both, moreover, are bound in loyalty to serve their master as best they can and if at times it should seem necessary to disregard

their natural straightforwardness, their doing so should in all fairness be attributed, not to wrong intent, but to the atmosphere of secretiveness, hypocrisy and deceit in which they live.

The real point, of course, relates to the contents of the document itself. The *Sun* puts the matter with characteristic succinctness in these words:

Senator Brandegee, who has the right to know and apparently has had the President's promise that he shall know, has been unable for five weeks or more to drag forth from behind the combination lock of secret Wilsonian diplomacy the contents of the original plan for a League of Nations which the American delegates originally submitted at Paris. Mr. Brandegee may succeed later, with the powerful assistance of Colonel Harvey, in obtaining publicity for this very important document. We hope that he will succeed, for it is essential to the truth of history that there shall be opportunity to compare that which the President first proposed in the name of the American people with that which the President finally submits to the United States Senate for ratification.

It goes without saying that, while regretfully questioning the extent of our influence with the Administration ascribed to us by the *Sun*, whatever aid we may be able to render to Senator Brandegee in his praiseworthy endeavor to enlighten the people is wholly at his disposal. But our hope is slight. It is not for the American people to know what their representatives did or why they did it. Even though procrastination and evasion should prove inadequate to the preservation of secrecy, the magnitude of the betrayal of the country which would be revealed by publication constitutes, in our belief, an insuperable barrier. Neither now nor ever, we are convinced, will the American people be permitted to know what their President proffered to foreign Powers in their name.

Nevertheless no harm could come from trying. Why should not Senator Brandegee heed Mr. Polk's suggestion and send a cablegram direct to the State Department as embodied in the President? Probably Burleson wouldn't send it; and yet it might catch him somewhere or whereabouts,—with results which might let at least a glimmer of light into a particularly dark place.

Get Together

MR. HOMER S. CUMMINGS, successor of Duncie McCormack as chairman of the Democratic National Committee, has no doubt whatever of the success of his party next year.

"The first thing that indicates Democratic success," he said in Detroit, "is the absolutely certain incapacity of the Republican party to carry out a constructive programme."

He may be right. Quite likely he is. Surely no party ever before was confronted by a task more herculean than that which must be performed to overcome the disastrous consequences of the destruction wrought by the Democratic party during the past few years. The consequences are simply incalculable. Out of the welter of ignorance, sectionalism, socialism, waste and extravagance has arisen a condition which is positively appalling. Of paralyzing taxa-

tion there is no end or limit. Commitments of the Government which must be met make it certain that not less than four and probably six billions a year must be wrung from the people for a long time to come. The billion wasted by Baker on air-craft alone has been "charged off," but the obligation remains. The two billions or thereabouts required by Hurley "await adjustment." The contracts entered into without rhyme or reason involving yet greater sums must be fulfilled. Prices "fixed" arbitrarily by doubling or quadrupling for the benefit of classes cannot be reduced. Gross favoritism of the cotton growers must be paid for in continuing excessive costs to manufacturers and so on to the consumers. Incomes have faded into nothingness and cannot be restored even in part for years to come.

The railroads have been wrecked by Democratic mismanagement and pandering for votes. A greater number of employes whose wage increases amount to nearly \$1,400,000,000 a year are now required to produce a billion deficit than formerly provided dividends for the great army of stockholders. Ordinary and essential sums for railway maintenance cannot be met out of the \$1,200,000,000 additional dragged from the public and the companies are compelled to borrow, borrow, borrow, to meet their maturing obligations. Burleson impudently and with no moral right adds millions and millions to telegraph rates, against the vehement protest of the second largest company, for no purpose on earth except to win the votes of the employes for government ownership and Socialism. And so it goes and has gone all along the line until readjustment and reconstruction upon a just and enduring basis seems virtually impossible of attainment. Truly, a frightful heritage for any party!

Whereat Chairman Cummings exults mightily. Out of the wreckage created by his own party, resulting in the strangling of industry, the stoppage of development and growth of the country and the distress and hopelessness of millions of frightfully burdened people he hopes to draw the forces of discontent and despair to the banner of the Pied Piper chanting echoes from voices in the air. Rejoicing in belief that destruction has been so complete that reconstruction cannot be achieved, he contemplates, buzzard-like, the prospective miseries of his fellows as a means of winning a partisan victory.

Whether or not the last hope of Mr. Cummings will be realized remains a question, but his cynical frankness is surely worthy of the highest commendation. His sole reliance, he unhesitatingly declares, is upon "the impossibility of Republican harmony," coupled with the assumption that a sufficient number of voters can be fooled to enable those who have been bribed to carry through. That is fair warning and one which the majority in Congress would do well to take to heart. Clearly, the first requisite is subordination of all minor differences to the main issue and prompt organization of the Senate for effective work to the end that the Nation shall be saved as a Nation beyond peradventure and that the people shall be empowered at the earliest possible moment to regain the prosperity of which they have been deprived in about equal measure by the war and the Democratic party.

Harmony is the watchword of salvation.

Get together!

The Revised Version

WHAT does the Revised Version of the British-Wilson Covenant of the League of Nations mean?

We may concede that it is generally much more lucid, intelligible and definite than the muddled, self-contradictory and obscure abortion which the President attempted to foist upon us—not, bear in mind, as a tentative draft for free discussion, but as a letter-perfect finality and a consummate creation of the highest human genius. For such comparative lucidity, many thanks. We can at least guess at what the thing means.

There have been made or partly made some of the amendments which indignant Senators and other spokesmen of aroused America so righteously demanded; and some of them are those which the President at first most strenuously and passionately opposed and which he declared to be either unnecessary or impossible. The Monroe Doctrine above all was declared to be both unnecessary and impossible. Yet he himself has put it in, after a fashion, *nemine contradicente*. For these concessions, many thanks. But we should like to know why they were granted, and what the inevitable inference is concerning the merits of the whole scheme, and the wisdom of its promoters. When a man urges acceptance of a scheme which he declares to have been so carefully thought-out and so perfect as to be unsusceptible of improvement, and then eagerly assents to its being turned inside out and radically remade, things stricken out which he deemed indispensable and things inserted which he considered inadmissible, and as zealously as before urges its adoption in the new form which completely stultifies the old, he discredits himself save as a self-seeker equally ready to cry "Good Lord!" or "Good Devil!" so long as he can get something or anything adopted as of his devising.

This bicameral Parliament of Man is obviously and confessedly to be a close corporation, under the substantially absolute control of the Big Five. Its Upper House is to consist for all time of nine members, of whom five will represent the "Five Great Powers," and the other four will represent all the rest of the world. Perhaps the inequity of this will be more apparent if we resort to the analogy of the United States, which so many have invoked in connection with the League. Let us suppose our Senate to consist of nine members only, and that of these one each came from the States of New York, Pennsylvania, Illinois, Ohio and Texas, and the other four from all the remaining forty-three States. What sort of a national Senate would that be? How would the forty-three States feel at having only one Senator for ten or eleven of them, while five States had a Senator apiece? What sort of an international Council would that be with the Big Five sending a member apiece, and all the rest of the world sending only one for each dozen nations? How would four dozen nations feel at having only one representative for each dozen of them, while the five had one each? Let us remember that, according to the Fourteenth Commandment, this League of Nations is to be "a general association of nations formed for the purpose of affording mutual guarantees of political independence and territorial integrity to great and small states alike." It would be a ghastly travesty upon that ideal to say that while the United States should have one

delegate all its own, Argentina, Brazil, Chili, Colombia, Ecuador, Bolivia, Peru, Paraguay, Uruguay, Venezuela, Mexico and Cuba should have only one among them all.

It will not escape notice that each member of the League is to guarantee every other member against alien aggression. That fine old relic of the Holy Alliance would thus obligate us to be ready at call to send our army and fleet to any part of the world in which one nation was attacking another. That would be intolerable. But it would also be illogical and unjust, if we are to take seriously the somewhat equivocal recognition of the Monroe Doctrine which the President has so belatedly injected into the Covenant. For we should then be in the extraordinary position of being not only authorized but obligated to rush to the scene whenever Esthonia got into a scrap with Abyssinia, and at the same time of saying "Hands off!" to Switzerland and Monaco when Guatemala and Uruguay became unfortunately involved in war.

We have said that the Revised Version is more lucid than the original. Perhaps we should have said less muddy and muddled, in view of one of the provisions. We are told that all members are to be required to submit to arbitration or inquiry all international disputes save those which are purely domestic—that is, all international disputes save those which are not international! But there is not a hint in that bovine Hibernicism as to what are and what are not international. We are still left in the dark as to whether immigration and tariffs, both of which are common subjects of international negotiation and treaty, are to be regarded as international and therefore arbitrable, or as purely domestic.

Again, the Covenant affects to declare what disposition shall be made of the former German colonies, and of the non-Turkish territories of the Ottoman Empire. We must wonder at its moderation in not also prescribing what reparation Germany shall make to Belgium and the conditions of the return of Alsace-Lorraine to France. It ought to be obvious to the simplest intelligence that the disposition of the lands in question is a matter for the Treaty of Peace, and not for this Covenant. Indeed, it would be impossible to make a satisfactory treaty of peace without such disposition. The transfer of it from the Treaty to the Covenant appears, therefore, to be either a piece of amazing ineptitude or a sly attempt to fulfill the threat of the President, that Treaty and

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BY GEORGE HARVEY

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Covenant will be so interwoven that they cannot be acted upon separately but must stand or fall together.

It will be observed that the demand of Mr. Taft and others has been granted, in prescribing what vote shall be necessary for the adoption of any measure by the Council. In most matters, and always excepting as otherwise expressly stated, a unanimous vote will be necessary. That, it is assumed, will protect this country from action inimical to its interests. Yes; and it would usually prevent almost anything of importance from being done. It would almost certainly prevent the taking of any action displeasing to any nation represented in the Council of Nine. It would prevent the Council from being dangerous by making it useless. Also, when the Council does succeed in getting all its members to agree to some decision or action, it will be nothing in general but to advise or to recommend, leaving it to the various nations to do as they please about it. If anybody has ever devised anything more futile for good or more menacing of ill than that, the Muse of Fame has not yet learned his identity.

What is to be said of, what is to be done with, a thing so self-stultifying, a thing so self-contradictory in its corrections, a thing so prolific in promises and so meagre in potency of performance? The treaties of The Hague were at least not hypocritical, no matter what may be said of some of their signatories. They frankly and avowedly trusted to the free will of the nations for fulfilment. They made no pretence of power. But this thing makes loud pretensions of world-governing force, and at the end cynically confesses that the exercise of force depends upon the taste and fancy of the individual nations which possess it. It is going to guarantee political independence and territorial integrity to all nations, great and small alike; but it will do so by entrusting the bossing of the whole world to a close corporation of the Big Five, and by saying that all guarantees may or may not be made good, according to the inclination of individual nations. For such pretentious hypocrisy there can be but one fitting fate—rejection; but one fitting place—the scrap-heap.

Facts and Memories

THE *World* pronounces "absurd" the contention of various Senators "that the President was irrevocably opposed to any attempt to change the original text of the draft and that it was futile to suggest amendments," and the Hartford *Times* chimes in:

The openness of the presidential mind is attested by the long list of amendments and alterations (most of them of American origin) which have been made by the committee. Nobody ever pretended that the Constitution of the League of Nations as presented in the form of its original draft was perfect and final, Senator Brandegee ought to know this. Colonel Harvey, we are convinced, does know this, although prone to forgetfulness when under the necessity of writing snappy, readable things for his sprightly *Weekly*.

We rejoin to the *World* that, inasmuch as Mr. Wilson has reversed his position upon every public question and pretty nearly everything else, it would be clearly illogical to assume that he is "irrevocably opposed" to anything, except his personal interests, in the safeguarding of which thus far he has been wholly consistent.

To the Hartford *Times* we may remark that whatever "amendments and alterations" may finally be accepted by

Mr. Wilson are of exclusively Republican as well as of "American" origin and will be so accepted because otherwise the Senate would surely reject the plan; also that "forgetfulness" is one of the attributes of defective human nature which we do not happen to possess. It is quite unnecessary to rely upon the recollection of Senators, distinct though that is, for evidence that the President objected to any material change. Did not Mr. Wilson himself say plainly in his invitation to each of the Senators whom he asked to dinner:

"Each article was passed only after the most careful examination by each member of the committee. *There is a good and sufficient reason for the phraseology and substance of each article.*"

What can that mean if not precisely what we have said? Had the *Times* perchance "forgotten"?

We never took any stock in the story that the captain of the *George Washington* refused previously to land in New York because he feared that the head of his distinguished passenger would not go through the Narrows. It seemed, if not a ribald jest, the merest pretext. In any case, judging from current reports from abroad, whatever apprehension the cautious mariner felt then is likely to be dispelled before the next arrival.

The Clock Has Struck

WILLIAM ALLEN WHITE writes to the *World* that the choice of mankind lies between the "revolutionary Socialism" of Wilson and the "anarchy" of Lenine.

Well, William Allen, as a recently appointed ambassador to meet the Bolsheviks, ought to know as much about it as his colleague, the delectable Herron, and probably more than the fiery-eyed Steffens or Bullitt, the kid. There is nothing particularly new in the statement that the programme comprises "nationalization of industry and redistribution of wealth," but when we are told that the only choice of mankind lies between Wilson's "revolutionary socialism" and Lenine's "anarchy," it is time to sit up and take notice.

William Allen, don't you believe it! Get out of that foetid atmosphere and come back to Kansas. Why, God bless you, Old Top, the U. S. A. is going to be right here doing a large business on small margins for years and years and hundreds of years after Wilson and Lenine and the whole kit and kaboodle of their ilk have been gathered into the bosom of whoever happens to be on duty wherever and whenever they arrive.

We simply don't want somebody to put anything over on us; that's all. And it isn't going to happen; that's settled. So don't worry. We are all right. We are not going to have either "revolutionary socialism" or "anarchy" or anybody who stands for either—much longer.

It has become a matter of indifference to us how long the rest of the bunch stay over there, but we miss you, William, yes we do.

So William, dear William, come home; there is nothing particular the matter with Kansas, but you have been away long enough. Only don't please fetch your colleague. Emporia wouldn't stand for Herron.

The Demnition Total

THE Great Joy Ride is expanding. Mr. Baker, the Washington *Post* informs us, is accompanied on his trip to Europe by fifteen members of the House Military Committee. The mission of the Fifteen is to "inspect." They will "inspect" not only in France but in Italy, Belgium, Great Britain and Germany.

Their tour abroad is not to be confounded with the ordinary tourist's tour. The ordinary tourist foots his own bills. The bills of the Congressional tourist are footed by the plain American tax-payer. The tax-payer perforce stays at home. This, of course, is as it should be. The business of the tax-payer is to pay taxes. He can't pay taxes unless he works. He can't work unless he stays at home. On the other hand, the business of the Congressional Joy Rider Tourist is to "inspect." The tax-payer stays at home and works and pays taxes. The Governmental Joy Rider Tourist goes abroad, tours and "inspects." A just and equitable division of labor. *Shakung song affaire*, as the touring Congressmen may put it in French, tempered possibly by a slight Missouri accent, when they get back from their travels.

It will take fully six weeks, it is anticipated, for the Congressmen to do all the "inspecting." There is a lot of it to do—scenery, hotel cuisines, the progressive restoration of de luxe railroad travel, interesting battle fields and what not. And then some time will be lost, of course, pottering around American camps and army headquarters. Altogether, six weeks time is none too long for a satisfactory short tour abroad under present conditions. Including the ocean trip both ways, say two months in all. Probably the whole expedition will not cost the tax-payers over \$100,000—mere "chicken feed" as compared with the majestic total cost of removing and maintaining the Executive and Departmental branches of our Government 3,000 miles over seas for six months or more, with the incidental population of stenographers, clerks, "specialists," professors and "experts," and with the inevitable train of wives, daughters, sons and sons-in-law. The tax-payer will see the propriety of tightening his belt and buckling down to real work when he gets this demnition total of the entire Joy Ride before him.

As to what this total will be there is nothing certain save that it will be a whopper. In addition to their salaries—copious no doubt—each and every one of the professors and experts and specialists gets eight dollars a day for expenses. There has been no recent census of these groups, but the "experts" and specialists alone are present in serried battalions. They are experts and specialists in pretty much everything, including piety and morality, as exemplified by the pulchritudinous Herron. One of them is even a "territorial specialist." If you ask us what a "territorial specialist" is, we give it up. But that is what this "specialist" is. He says so himself. He has got it on his card. Eight dollars a day spending money over and above salary is what each of these professors, "experts" and "specialists," irrespective of sex, draws from the American tax-payer for professing, experting and specializing in Paris for half a year or so. And the same liberal allowance above salary goes to every

clerk, stenographer and routine-work employee. Sons, daughters and sons-in-law, unattached, may or may not come in on this. We are not informed. Possibly some of them do. And why not? It seems to be a sort of free-for-all trough and it is the tax-payer's business to see to it that it is kept filled and not to inquire who is feeding from it.

And after all, these are only the small-change items in the grand total of the little bill that is stacking up. Wait until you get the Paris Houses—White and Colonel—bills, to say nothing of the State, War and Navy Secretariat costs of administration from Paris! Then, probably, we shall begin to get into real money. For instance, we have taken over the entire Hotel Crillion, velvet upholstered furniture and all. The Crillion used to have the reputation of being about the most expensive hotel in Paris, and it lived up to it. In addition to six months or so rent of the entire plant, plus supplies and maintenance, the intimation now is that we will have a wear and tear bill to pay big enough to refurnish the house from cellar to garret.

And that again is only a negligible item in the grand total. Oh well, you can not expect to transport and maintain the Government of the United States over seas for half a year without paying for it. Charge it up to the high cost of keeping us out of peace for six or seven months after the war is ended and let it go at that.

Disposing of the Debses

DEBS goes to prison. The Attorney-General of the United States declared, with much circumstance but with commendable directness and emphasis, that he would strongly oppose any attempt to secure Presidential clemency for him, and the Supreme Court, having declined to entertain an appeal, issued a formal writ for his arrest and imprisonment. Thus he is disposed of for ten years, unless for some incomprehensible reason the President should act against the counsel of his chief legal adviser; which we shall not expect him to do. The last preceding Democratic President dealt with Debs effectually at the beginning of his incendiary career. It will be well if the present Chief Executive is equally resolute at the culmination of that career.

This disposition of Debs gives cause for profound satisfaction. In saying that, we mean to convey no touch of vindictiveness nor desire for persecution. There is simply a desire for justice. Of the man's guilt there can be no question. He himself admitted it and gloried in it. Other men have been convicted of the same offense, and have been sent to prison for a similar term of years. There can be no good reason for not sending Debs there too. The fact that he is a more conspicuous individual than the others, that he has been a leading agitator for many years, and has been a candidate for the Presidency, entitles him to no immunity. Rather it adds to his culpability. Crime is more mischievous when committed by a prominent man than by an obscure one.

Neither can we perceive any ground for clemency in the fact that the war is now ended, though that will be urged by Debs's friends. His offense was an attempt to hinder the prosecution of the war; and it will be argued that, now

that the war is over and won, we can afford to overlook such opposition. Had he been brought to trial at once, while the war was still raging and passions were hot, imprisonment would have seemed appropriate. But to send him to prison now, long after the commission of his offense, and long after the war, in spite of his opposition, has been won, seems too cold-blooded. It can do no good. The country will be just as safe with him at large as with him locked up. Et cetera.

To all this we demur, as quite aside from the point. The fact that a crime does not achieve its entire object does not make it a right act. It does not divest it of criminal nature. It was not Debs's fault that his acts were not fatally mischievous. He did the worst he could. If a man tried to wreck a fire engine at a fire, but failed to stop its working, and the fire was extinguished in spite of him, he would not be exempt from penalty for his crime. Debs tried to wreck the military machine with which we were putting out a world-conflagration. He failed. Perhaps he persuaded a few weak minds to become slackers. His effect upon the course of the war and of our participation in it was nil. But that is no reason in the world why he should not pay the penalty of his evil purpose and effort.

The same principle holds good in other cases. It is being argued that there should be a universal amnesty for all "political offenders," for all slackers, pacifists, quasi-traitors and what not, because the war is ended and their pernicious activities could do us no harm. The reasoning is specious. They are just as much criminals now as when their crimes were committed, and are just as worthy of punishment. To hold otherwise would be in effect to say that no crime shall be punished unless it succeeds in its criminal intent. That would make a mockery of jurisprudence.

We have no pleasure in the punishment of any man, per se. It is not an agreeable spectacle to see a fellow man sent to prison. But there are other considerations than the pleasant and agreeable. We do not believe in playing lightly with assaults upon the security and integrity of the nation. Debs at the crisis of the war strove to hinder and defeat the Government in its prosecution of it. At a time when the security of the nation depended upon getting as many troops under arms as possible, Debs sought to prevent it from getting them. Such acts should not be and cannot be ignored. Debs and all like him should be made to suffer for their crimes.

T. R. and W. W.

"I N hearing my orations," says Cicero, "the people admire my intellect and my art, and interrupt me with applause"; and Demosthenes replies:—"True, indeed! You employ the audience for yourself; I occupy it only with the things of which I speak. Your hearers admire you. My hearers forget me, attentive to my purpose. They praise you, they are too absorbed in what I say to praise me. You are ornate, but there is little ornament in my speeches. They are composed of precise, strong, clear reasons which are irresistible. You make the audience cry out—'Ah! how eloquently he speaks!' I make my audience exclaim 'Come on and let us march against Philip!'"

Business by Townmeeting

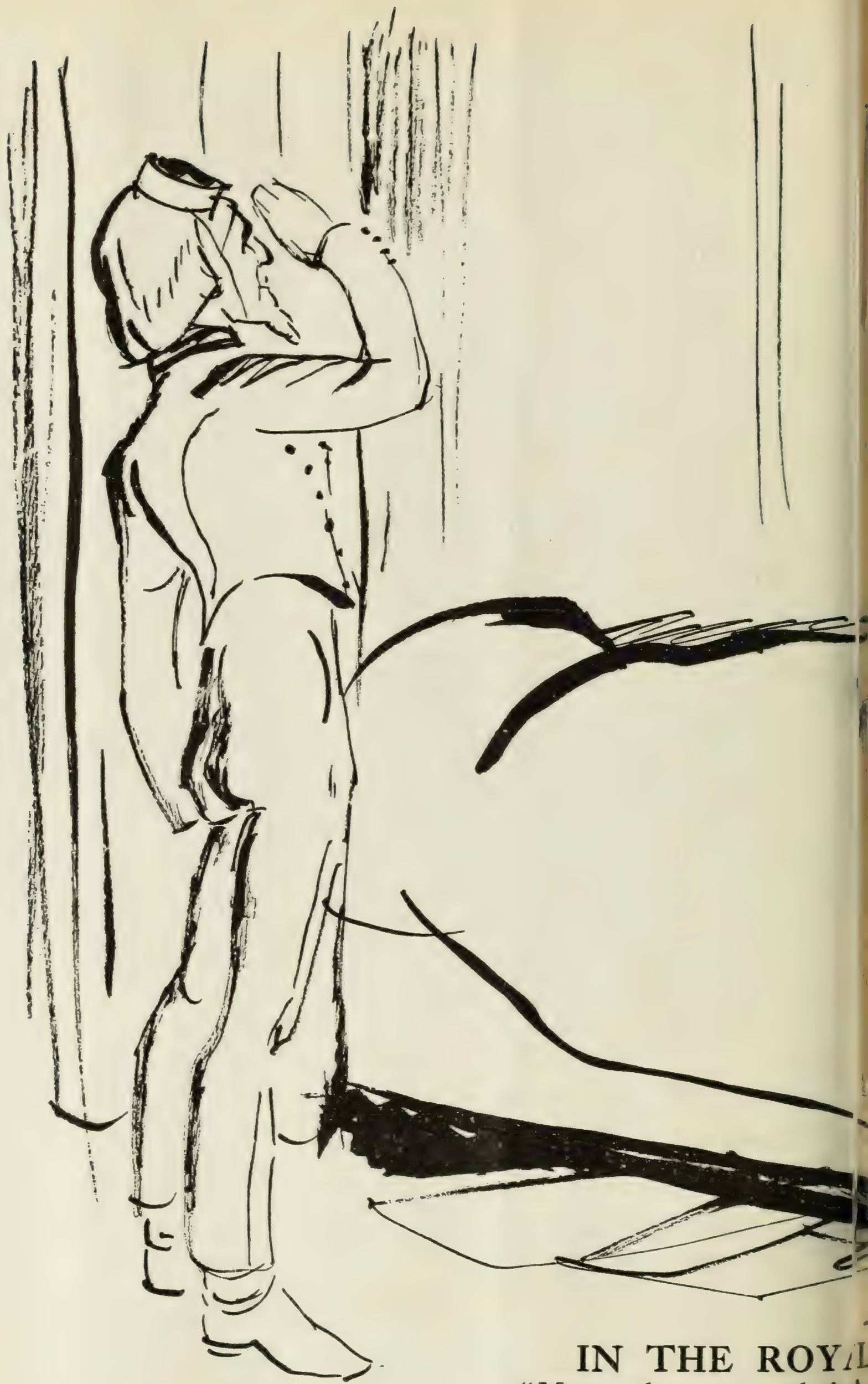
FEW, probably, will be surprised at the failure of nationalized industries in Russia. That country has never ranked high in business efficiency; the time during or immediately following a great war, or of domestic agitation and revolution, is not auspicious for any commercial venture, and the men who have assumed charge of affairs in that country are by their own confession inexpert. In such circumstances, failure was to be expected, though perhaps not of such proportions. There is reason for some surprise at the appalling magnitude of the disasters which are reported.

Thus we are told that in three months the nationalized clothing factories lost 17,000,000 rubles, and the shoe-making shops 4,000,000. The Council of Popular Economy has spent 3,000,000,000 rubles in such ventures. In not a single one of the 513 industrial establishments nationalized by the Soviets are goods produced at a cost which could be adopted as the sale price. The cost of manufacture under the nationalized system is so great that the goods have to be sold for much less; at an average, probably, of about half their actual cost. Moreover, the Soviets have thus far seized only those industries which supply the chief necessities of life and which are therefore bound to be much patronized. If they should extend nationalization to all industries, the country would be bankrupted to pay the deficits in accounts.

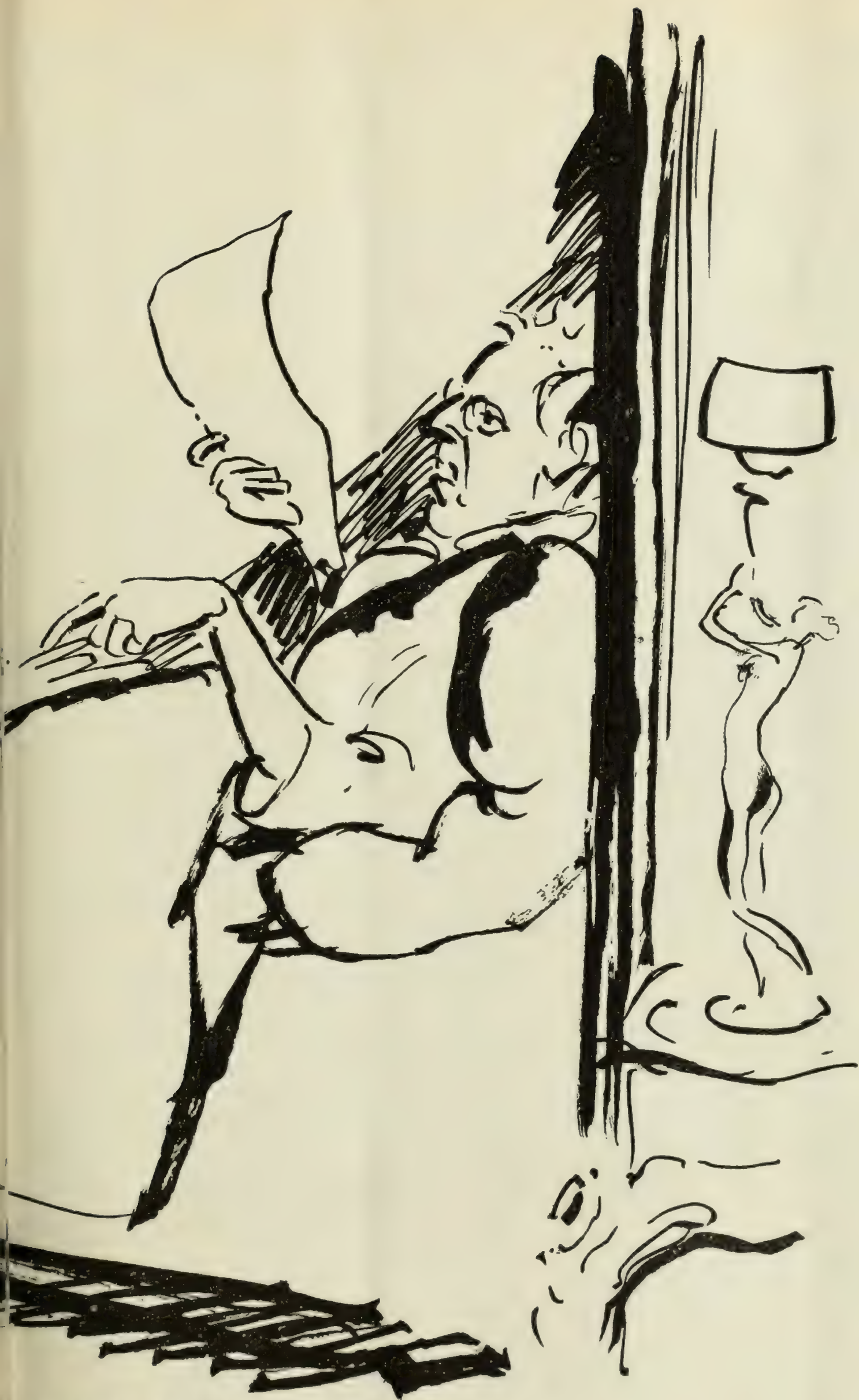
It will not do, however, to be scornfully censorious of the Russians for making such a mess of their great experiment. Other nations, boasting a far higher degree of intelligence and business acumen, have made similar experiments with similar results; even our own. Simultaneously with these discreditable reports from Russia come tidings of the results of our own experiments, if possible, still less satisfactory.

Our experimental nationalization of the railroads, for example, has proved little short of disastrous. Despite an arbitrary increase of passenger fares and freight rates to almost prohibitory figures, far above any which even the most self-seeking of private owners would have ventured to demand, the roads are falling behindhand and are showing millions of dollars loss every month. Another example is found in the telegraphs, which are now costing us much more for a poorer service—the result, we are told by those well qualified to know, of the inefficiency and bad management of the Government. These are two selected industries, among the most necessary of all to the public, for which the Government was sure to have enormous patronage, and the prosperity of which was not impaired, but rather was enhanced, by the conditions of the time.

In brief, the nationalization of industries has proved as marked a failure in America as in Russia, in circumstances which make it either immeasurably less excusable or immeasurably more condemnatory. If the failure here is chargeable chiefly to inefficiency, there is indeed no possible excuse that will avail—in a nation which vaunts itself above all the world for business and industrial efficiency. If the cause of the failure is inherent in the system, then no condemnation can well be too strong for a system which in such circumstances shows such results.



IN THE ROYAL
"My yacht, my yacht! A
"Yes, sire; certainly, sir;



BEDCHAMBER

"Kingdom for My Yacht!"
"Et de suite, sire!"

The Week

WASHINGTON, April 17, 1919.

THERE is no better news of the week than that the questions of reparation and of the Sarre Valley have been settled by the Quadruple Council to the satisfaction of France. That is stated on the authority of M. Clemenceau himself, and if the Grand Old Tiger is satisfied, everyone else should be; save Huns and assistant Huns. There is really nothing more important in all the prescription of peace terms than that France shall be satisfied; meaning that she shall have ample reparation for her losses and adequate guarantees for her future security. For the future of Europe lies with France to a paramount degree. It is France who must be the westward bulwark of civilization against the Hun. It is upon France that the storm would again break if ever Germany should renew the war. The order of conquest proposed in 1914 would have to be followed. Germany could not venture to attack Great Britain without first disposing of France; nor to attack America without first disposing of both France and Great Britain. The true policy of defense is, therefore, to make France as strong as possible. She is the first line.

It is good news, too, if it proves to be true, that the Germans are to be summoned to Versailles to receive sentence next week. There has already been far too much delay, and the delay has been too costly. We do not now refer so much to the spread of Bolshevism though undoubtedly the failure to make peace promptly has given opportunity and even provocation for that species of devilry. But still more lamentable has been the suffering of France and Belgium, and in only a lesser degree of other countries, in not receiving even the first instalment of indemnity nor knowing what they were to receive, and in having no basis for rehabilitation and resumption of industries. There has been far too much talk about the need of peace to keep Germany from falling into chaos, and too little thought of the need of it for the relief of Germany's victims.

One of the most amazing muddles of the week is that over our relations with Russia. Two circumstances brought it prominently to the fore—in addition to the President's extraordinary partialty for Lenine. One was the mutiny among American troops on the Archangel front. The other was the activity of Lenine's official legation in this country in pushing the propaganda of Bolshevism. The mutiny was based on the ground that the troops had been drafted to fight Germany, with which we were at war, and not to fight Russia, with which we were not at war. Detestable as mutiny is, *per se*, in this case it certainly had an extraordinary excuse since the fact was precisely as the mutineers stated. We are *not* legally at war with Russia or with any faction in Russia.

This was brought out indisputably by the second incident of the week. Dr. William T. Hornaday, a loyal and logical American, wrote to the Department of State to ask why an active Bolshevik mission was tolerated in this country while we were at war with the Bolsheviks in Russia. Was this

not toleration of an enemy agency? The State Department's reply was that the United States is not, from a legal point of view, at war with Russia, or with the Bolsheviks; wherefore the activities of Bolshevik propagandists were not illegal. That is, as we have said, undoubtedly true. We are not at war with the Bolsheviks of Russia, any more than we were at war with Huerta or with Carranza in Mexico. We are simply maintaining troops in Russia to fight and kill the Russians, and incidentally to get killed by the Russians. But we are not at war there; oh, dear, no! The fighting of armies is not war. No wonder that Dr. Hornaday speaks of the English language as having lost its meaning and of justice as having become a joke.

We should hesitate to determine which policy toward the Bolsheviks is the more obnoxious, that of the President or that of Mr. Hoover. The President, having appointed three American Bolsheviks to hobnob with Lenine and his fellow criminals, wants to give the Lenine Government official recognition. That is to say, he would give such recognition to a Government against which our soldiers are fighting. Mr. Hoover would send food supplies to the Bolsheviks, on the benign principle of choking a cat with cream. That is to say, he would, potentially, supply food to the Russian army that is fighting against our own.

If anything were needed for the condemnation of the Bolshevik régime and the demonstration of its utter unfitness for recognition it would be its own attitude toward this country and the Allies. We are told that, in return for food and recognition, the Bolsheviks are willing "to agree to a suspension of executions and punishments and to the suspension of the campaign to extend Bolshevism and to overthrow the existing order in the countries of the associated Powers." In other words, if we will give them food and recognize them as the lawful Government, they will for a time stop stealing and murdering, and for a time refrain from conspiring for sedition and revolution in our own country. Truly, that is an engaging offer!

Mark this, however: that no matter what we do, even if we give food and recognition, and the Bolsheviks therefore take a brief vacation from ravishing and murder, Lenine and his gang will still "refuse to call democratic elections or consent to the convocation of a constituent assembly in Russia." Of course, the Sixth Commandment demands for Russia "unhampered and unembarrassed opportunity for the independent determination of her own political development and national policy . . . under institutions of her own choosing." But are we expected to make ourselves accessories to a denial of self-determination to the Russian people, and to acquiesce in preventing them from choosing their own institutions? We have been talking about "making the world safe for democracy," and are now to deny to Russia the first principle of democracy in favor of criminal oligarchy holding its place by force and terror. That is what would be directly and unmistakably implied in the recognition of Lenine which the President, on the recommendation of his Bolshevik agents, is said to be desirous of giving. "Recognize Bolshevism in Russia," says Lenine, "and we'll stop—for a time—trying to introduce it into the United States." Our recognition of it in Russia

would do more to stimulate and promote it here than all the intriguing and conspiring of Lenine's agents; which doubtless is a leading reason why he so earnestly seeks recognition. It ought to be impossible for us to be led into such a trap. America is not and will not be Bolshevik.

Mr. Wilson stubbornly declines to let the representatives of the American people come together to make their collective judgment known and their collective influence felt in the matter of the coming peace.

If our Senate and House of Representatives were to pass such votes in support of his attitude as those of France have just passed in support of M. Clemenceau, he would be enormously strengthened. If, on the contrary, they dissented from his policy, that would be convincing indication that he was not in accord with the American nation and did not accurately represent its wishes. One of the greatest errors that the President has committed in the whole business has been his refusal to let Congress be in session during the progress of the peace negotiations.

Bear in mind that the only Congress we have had in existence during the war has been one that was elected before we went into the war—elected on the platform, "He kept us out of war." Bear in mind that the Congress which the American people elected while they were in the war, and when they were bringing the war to a successful termination, is held in abeyance and is not permitted to do the work for which it was chosen and which there is urgent need of its doing.

The campaign for the Victory Loan has already begun, though the date formally set for it is not until next week. The amount sought is about a billion dollars less than was expected, while the interest rate and other terms suggest a certain looking to banks and large financiers rather than to the common people for subscriptions. The difference between the two rates of interest— $3\frac{3}{4}$ on notes subject to taxation and $4\frac{3}{4}$ on those exempt from tax—tells an interesting story. Of course the average citizen among the many millions who subscribed to the last Liberty Loan did not purchase enough bonds to cause his income from them to figure at all in the normal income tax. We shall hope that there will be many millions of subscribers for moderate amounts in $4\frac{3}{4}$ notes; but we shall rather expect to see the bulk of the loan taken in large blocks at $3\frac{3}{4}$. The name "Victory Loan" would be more appropriate and more inspiring if the victory of the war were now complete instead of being still a matter of hypothesis and acrimonious controversy.

There will be no occasion for surprise if another increase of railroad rates is ordered before the Government relinquishes its grip upon them. That means that there is no occasion for surprise at anything which happens under the system of government control. Despite enormous increases of rates to the helpless public, the roads have been running steadily behind, each month showing a bigger deficit than the preced-

ing. Early in December last the President urged Congress to give its prompt and best attention to the problem of revised railroad legislation. But the Congress to which he addressed himself, and which was supposed to be quite subservient to his will, adjourned three months later without doing anything, and the President himself will not permit the present Congress to act upon this supremely important matter. So we go on. The public pays extortionate prices for execrable service, and the taxpayers foot the bills of a swiftly-growing deficit. One of these days, no doubt, the roads will be turned back to their owners, suffering from impaired business and inflated costs of operation. Such a price is to be paid for the Administration's adventure into state socialism.

The Turks have just hanged one of their former Cabinet Ministers for his crimes against Armenia. Even the Unspeakable Turk can set an example which Germany might well follow, but will not.

We cannot regard it as a matter of national pride that American influence in the Peace Congress balked the movement to hold William Hohenzollern personally responsible for his crimes. The logic of the exemption is not convincing. We may concede that the President of a republic should not be held responsible for the public acts of his country, since he is not a monarch but merely the chief executive of a sovereign people. His fault, if any, is simply that he did the will of his employers. But an absolute sovereign, such as the German Kaiser was, who declares that he takes orders from nobody, that his will is the only law, and that he is responsible for everything that is done, can claim no such exemption. He is not an agent but a principal. He does not obey orders, but gives them. According to his own gratuitous boasts, William Hohenzollern is personally responsible for all the criminal acts of his Government and of his army, and it will be a lamentable lapse of justice to let him go unpunished. America, of all countries, should not have stood in the way. Have we forgotten the *Lusitania*?

The peculiarly atrocious murder of the Saxon Minister of War is only the latest of a long series of such performances, indicating the essential savagery and cowardice of the Huns. A civilized people may revolt, depose officers of government, and even put to death those whose official crimes have warranted such punishment. But to throw a man into the river and shoot him as he tries to regain the shore, is simple barbarism.

The fact that the "final draft" of the League prepared by the Big Four provides substantially that the Big Five shall boss all creation, suggests interesting developments when the score or more of states that are thus to be bossed have a chance to express their opinion. Seeing that the Covenant and the Peace Treaty are to be born together, and that the former now enters the crucial stage which may make ducks and drakes of the whole business, while the latter is only just beginning to try to catch up, the prospect of an "Easter Peace" goes a'glimmering—unless it be Easter of next year.

Politicalmaster-Generalling

IN those remote days when we had a mail service and when you sent a letter confident that it would get there, railroads had the privilege of forwarding their own railroad business letters and documents on their own trains without payment of postage. The privilege was restricted to each individual company. It was not interlocking. No company was permitted to send postage-free letters and parcels beyond its own lines.

Then came the McAdoodling epoch. With some few inconsequential exceptions, all railroad lines became one co-ordinated Government line. That gave the Railroad Administration a chance to get letters delivered from one end of the country to the other in spite of the wrecked mail service. Furthermore, it enabled the Railroad Administration to lift some \$2,000,000 of its proper deficit from its own shoulders and dump it on the Politicalmaster-General's mail service scrap-heap. The Interstate Commerce Commission reports show that when we had railroad and mail services, the railroads used to buy about \$2,000,000 worth of postage stamps annually.

It was not the mere money saving, though, which moved the railroads to inaugurate their own mail service. Economy had nothing to do with it. The railroads personally conducted their own mail service because they wanted their letters to get there. So do a lot of other business men and business concerns, for that matter.

But these last are mere people—the ones who furnish the money. The railroads are the Government. So is the Politicalmaster-General the Government, and we cannot escape the unpleasant suggestion that the Railroad Administration hardly played fair with Mr. Burleson when it took all the railroad postage stamp business away from him bodily—and he busily engaged at the time in annexing and confiscating cable, telephone and telegraph lines and conducting running fights with the owners thereof, and with most of the employees under his administration!

Not that the railroads got away with the postage stamps without the Politicalmaster-General making a grab for them. He set his Legal Department to work. He all but "got the law" on the railroads. Solicitor Lamar handed down an "opinion" that the railroads had no right to conduct their own mail service. The railroads pigeon-holed the "opinion" and went right on running their own postage-free post office. It was too important that their letters get to their destinations in the lifetime of the present generation to let a mere "opinion" head them off.

Meanwhile the Politicalmaster has been Generalling out in Montana. He has properly snubbed some substantial but inconsiderate citizens of Lewiston, in that State. They offered him post office accommodations and a rental of a dollar a year in a fine building in the heart of the business district of the town, where the people wanted the post office to be. The proposed post office building had everything—light, water, heat and rent, all free—to offer, but not a scrap of political pull. The Politicalmaster General sternly rejected their highly improper proposal. The post office went to another building at a \$3,000 a year rental, offset by a Deservingly Democratic pull. This was the result of open market bidding for a post office site. One bid was a dollar

a year and no politics. The other was \$3,000 a year and all politics. Politics and a cost of \$3,000 a year to the taxpayers won.

And, incidentally, "may we not" ask if the Politicalmaster-General has abolished the Commissioner of Patents? A letter duly stamped and addressed in plain print—big, black letters—to the "Honorable Commissioner of Patents, Washington, D. C.," was sent from New Haven a few days ago. It came back bearing a Washington postmark and the "Return to Writer" legend customary in cases of failure to deliver. The Politicalmaster-General's home experts could not find the Patent Office in Washington. This is strong presumptive evidence that the Politicalmaster General has abolished the Commissioner. He has been wiping villages, towns and large and flourishing cities off the map with a free hand of late, and just as likely as not the Patents Commissioner has been exterminated along with the numerous urban populations. Of course there is the possible explanation that the Patent Office has been moved to Paris along with the other Government Departments established there. But even then the New Haven letter might have been forwarded. It looks sadly as though the Commissioner of Patents were gone. We fear he is no more.

A New Crime Discovered

THE Newgate Calendar seems to need amplification. One used to suppose that it itemized the whole gamut of human iniquities. But other times, other crimes. It has been reserved for the Year of Grace 1919, and for the Department which is presided over by one of the ablest public servants the President has ever known, to discover a new and quite unique variety of turpitude, warranting imposition of some of the cruel and unusual punishments which are forbidden by the Constitution.

The crime in question consists, so far as can be perceived, in entering the military service of a friendly nation, either before or after this country's alliance therewith. Or perhaps it consists in being honorably mustered out of such service at the end of the war. All we know is that the doing of one or both of these things places the luckless doer beyond the pale of the law, both civil and military, and deprives him of the rights and immunities guaranteed to all citizens by the Constitution.

Here are the facts: Some 2,700 men came over on the *Mauretania* the other day. They were Americans. They had served in the British army. They had been paid off, honorably mustered out, and demobilized, and were desirous of returning to civilian life in their own land. But when they reached New York harbor they were treated as incorrigible and dangerous felons. They were not permitted to land, to disperse, and to repair to their respective homes. Instead, they were kept aboard the ship as prisoners, under military guards, without being informed of the nature of their offence or the reasons for their detention, without opportunity to secure bail or to consult counsel, or even to telephone to friends for assistance. Next day they were transported to a camp, where they were held in similar fashion. Finally, they were dismissed from custody and permitted to go their way—without hearing, trial, or explanation. Incidentally, their personal

effects were seized, or withheld from them, and they were left in uncertainty as to how, when, or where to recover them.

This treatment of men, whether soldiers or civilians, was unprecedented and anomalous. Also, it was thoroughly scandalous and outrageous. As one of them has publicly pointed out, they were either civilians or soldiers—and since they had been mustered out of the military service, it is difficult to see how they could have been anything but civilians. If they were civilians, they should have been dealt with by the civil authorities, and should have been immediately confronted with the charges against them under which they were denied entrance into the United States. But they were seized and held by the military authorities, and were denied all information as to the reason why. If they were soldiers, they were entitled under military law to be informed of the charges against them; but they were not. In either case they were entitled to some sort of a hearing, at which they could vindicate themselves against whatever imputations had been made. But no hearing was given to them. They were seized arbitrarily and despotically, held indefensibly, and finally dismissed (quasi-surreptitiously) without amends or a word of explanation.

So we ask: What sort of crime is it for Americans to serve in the British army, in a war in which we ourselves are a party allied with Great Britain, that it should be thus punished?—punished in a manner unknown to and grossly repugnant to the Constitution and to both the civil and the military laws of the United States?

“It is to laugh,” sneered Chairman Cummings when asked what he thought of the proposed American Legion of soldiers.

“And fools who came to scoff remain’d to pray,” quoth Oliver Goldsmith.

Further Idiocy

THERE is a hitch in war-time prohibition. The thing has been enacted and proclaimed. So far as we officially know, our success in the war, and the fulfilment of the Fourteen Commandments, still depends upon the nation’s “going dry” on July 1.

Strangely enough, however, while this indispensable act of national siccation has been, as we have said, enacted, signed and promulgated, no provision whatever has been made for its enforcement. The Internal Revenue bureau has hitherto been the official champion of the excise laws, tracing the blind tiger to his lair and battling with the moonshiner on his native heath. But now the Commissioner declares that this war-time prohibition is no business of his, as obviously it isn’t. It is the Commissioner’s business to look out for revenue, but this is a matter not of revenue but of renunciation.

The gentlemen who distil spiritus frumenti after June 30 will do so without licenses, of course; but then—they couldn’t get licenses, anyway, because none will then be issued; so they will not be culpable for not getting them.

They will be making the stuff without paying taxes on it, but then—there will be no taxes imposed on it for them to pay.

So in the absence of licenses there can be no violation

of the license law, and in the absence of taxes there can be no tax-dodging. Wherefore, like the traditional flowers that bloom in the spring, the issuer of licenses and the collector of taxes will have nothing to do with the case.

Who, then, shall enforce the law? We should not be a bit surprised to see the Politicalmaster-General grab at the job, just as he grabbed at the cables and telephones and all the rest. But in default of him, who? The United States District Attorneys? Beyond doubt they are the prosecuting officers. But we are not informed that any provision has yet been made for them to have a numerous army of stool-pigeons and spies to listen at doors for the popping of corks and to peer through keyholes for the glow of wine when it is red in the cup. The District Attorney prosecutes cases when they are presented to him, and he sends the Grand Jury abroad sometimes, on an inquest. But generally that body acts only upon such cases as are presented to it by the prosecutor. If either it or he is to await and to depend upon the preferring of complaints by volunteer inquisitors, we shall presently see a joyous sight, with zealous prohibitionists playing the part of neighborhood Paul Pry’s, while, in communities where no man cares to incur the odium of spying, the law will remain a dead letter.

The case is quite characteristic of the slap-dash way in which this and other fool legislation has been imposed upon this long-suffering nation. Although we were told that the thing was vitally necessary to our winning the war, it was left fatally incomplete; and the President, who wanted it, is so busy trying to persuade Europe that he is the whole United States of America, that he cannot or will not provide for its completion by giving Congress a chance to enact the necessary legislation. Yet if it is not completed and some agency is not provided for enforcing the bone-dry law, the Germans may wallop us in the war after all!

Americans First

WHEN Chancellor Day last week offered a resolution to the New York Methodist Episcopal conference lamenting that the attention of the world is being turned to prevention of future wars, while peace adjustment waits, “with the common foe becoming more arrogant and the problems of the nations which united for freedom becoming more complexed by the delay,” one of the members protested that it was a covert attack upon the President. Whereupon the sturdy American Chancellor raised up his voice and said:

‘I very studiously kept the name of President Wilson out of the report. But if the brother who has spoken infers there is criticism of him between the lines I will not apologize.

I am at liberty to criticise the President or any other official of the Government, and if that day should come when that is not possible, then we would be drifting to a condition far worse than that which existed in autocratic Germany.

If you think there is criticism of President Wilson, between the lines, I will say to you that I had a right to write the line in. I do not agree with President Wilson. I believe he has usurped the power of other branches of the Government and has overlooked some of the rights of the people.

“The report,” said the newspapers, “was adopted by an overwhelming majority.”

Blessed be the name of the Lord!

Your Monument—If You Believe

WHAT more fitting memorial to the gallant sons of America who fought and died abroad could be devised than an exact reproduction of the Washington Monument, to be erected, through voluntary contributions by our whole people, upon the famous battlefield in France?

The Washington Monument is our one great distinctive, National creation. It is, moreover, our most notable work of art and it is unique. Its replica, rising high from the historic ground where the blood of the Sons of the Sister Republics mingled in the death struggle for freedom and civilization, would strengthen the ever-living ties that bind securely the two great liberty-loving peoples and would be for all time an inspiration to both.—Harvey's Weekly, Feb. 22, 1919.

A FITTING MEMORIAL

SIR,—I read with much interest an article which appeared in a recent HARVEY'S WEEKLY advocating the erection of an exact reproduction of the Washington Monument in France. Such a monument would indeed be a most fitting memorial to our sons who fought and died abroad.

JOHN J. REINHOLD.

Marietta, Penn.

A HAPPY THOUGHT

SIR,—Your suggestion for a memorial to our soldier dead is indeed a happy thought. Would it not be possible to enlist the co-operation of the Washington Monument Society of Washington, D. C., in carrying out the scheme? It has been my desire for a long time to write and congratulate you on the courageous stand you have taken in the WEEKLY and are continuing to take. Signing myself one of America's unofficial advance guard in the great war,

WILLIAM STRONG, Lieutenant.
(Retired, Canadian Machine Gun Corps.)

Laurentian Sanatorium,
Ste. Agathe des Monts, P. Q.

SHOULD INTEREST EVERY AMERICAN

SIR,—The suggestion of a memorial to our deceased soldiers in the form of a replica of the Washington Monument to be erected in France is one that should interest every American, but more particularly those whose loved ones are now forever sleeping in that far-off land and the more fortunate whose fathers, husbands, sons, and sweethearts have been safely returned to them.

WILLIAM H. WALSH, M.D.

New York.

LAFAYETTE, WE COME

SIR,—Permit me to add my humble word of appreciation of your proposition for a replica of the Washington Monument in France. We used your article in full with editorial comment praising it, and if you press the movement, as I hope you will, you can count on us to render every assistance possible, not only in Uniontown but in this county, Fayette, named after the illustrious LaFayette, who was royally entertained here on his visit to America in 1825. I think your idea is great, and here's wishing it every success!

Uniontown, Pa.

H. G. STURGIS,
President and Editor,
The Morning Herald.

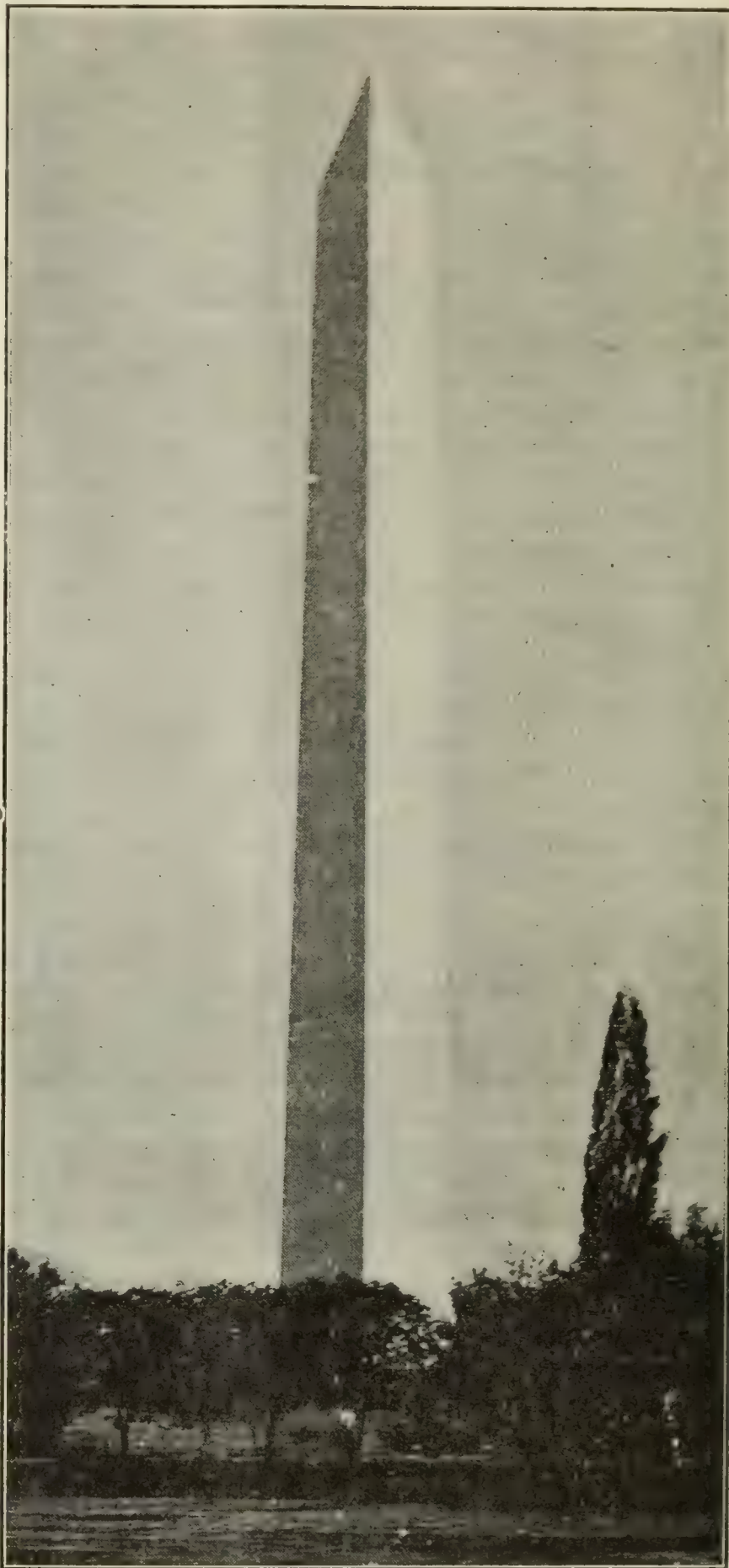
REDEDICATED TO SACRIFICES

The suggestion in HARVEY'S WEEKLY that the people of the United States make as a national gift to France, a duplicate of the Washington Monument, will strike a responsive chord. A monument of this kind would become for France a pillar of cloud by day and of fire by night and like the divine fires of the Persians it would involve a nation's sacred duty to always guard and always feed the holy flame. The American press can promote no greater testimonial for a national gift to France than the erection of a new Washington Monument, rededicated by the mutual sacrifices in both countries to the liberties of mankind.—Jamestown (N. D.) Alert.

THREE MILLIONS ARE READY.

Since the closing of the war we have heard of several suggestions for building a fitting monument in France in honor of our boys who gave their lives in the cause of liberty, but the best we have read is by Col. Harvey. That a suitable monument will in the not distant future be erected in France, is unquestioned,

and the suggestion that an exact duplicate of the beautiful and stately Washington Monument be erected by the people of the United States, is in our opinion a suggestion most commendable. We feel sure that three million patriots would gladly contribute to its cost.—HAL C. FULLER, Editor and Publisher, The Lehigh Valley Argus.



IF you believe that this beautiful expression of American ideals and American art should rise as a permanent monument to our sons who have fallen on the battle-fields of France, if you believe that it will forever say to the world what you wish to say in perpetuating the cause of liberty for which they gave their lives—write to the WEEKLY. Your words will count more than those of the most brilliant writer: this is to be *your* monument. It is for you to declare, and declare now, whether America is to do this splendid thing or to let slip, through inaction, one of the shining moments of history. Write to the WEEKLY today.

Real News from Texas

SIR,—I fear this is bound to be a long letter, but I am sure it will prove interesting to you. There is so much to tell, and to me at least, it is so amazing,—so contrary to my preconceived notions, and so promising,—that I am fairly bursting to unbosom it all on someone, and select you as the goat, because I think you will appreciate it as I do. So here goes.

I am on the way home from a flying ten days' trip through some of the Texas oil-fields. I visited El Paso, San Antonio, Houston, Galveston, Ft. Worth, Dallas, Wichita Falls, and Ranger. It was my first visit to that vast and wonderful country, larger and richer than the entire German Empire at its zenith. I spent all of my time, when not eating or sleeping, in reading editorials in all the local papers, and interviewing everyone I could possibly talk to, regarding political conditions and local sentiment.

I had the opportunity to meet many men prominent in both politics and business, and to get their views, and all that I can say is, that if Newt Baker, who was making the same towns at the same time for the same purpose, got the same reports from the same people that I did, he left that grand State as disappointed in spirit as I am elated.

I was in El Paso the day that Mr. Baker addressed the business men there, and at practically the same time that he was speaking, I was visiting with a senator who has long been prominent in the State legislature. He is a man of large means and interests—a man whom I should judge to be the finest type of old Democratic Southern gentleman. "Aren't you going over to hear the Secretary of War?" I asked. They all have that slow, distinct, delightful way of speaking, so musical to Northern ears. "I wouldn't go fifty feet to hear that little twit-twit," he drawled,—and then, while I recovered from my amazement, he went on: "The gentlemen who have been with him this morning and who had hoped to learn something about the future of Fort Bliss and El Paso as a military post,—to decide upon which was heralded as his reason for coming here,—report that he has asked just three questions: 'How do you people feel about the League of Nations?' 'How do you,—who have benefited so much,—feel toward the Administration?' and, very guardedly, 'What is the sentiment regarding a third term?'"

So there you have the whole story in a nutshell. Mr. Baker's swing about the country is nothing in the world but a trip to sound out this sentiment,—and his trip across the water will be just the logical sequence, to make his report. I only hope his report tallies with mine, for if it does, it will save Mr. Wilson from a smothering defeat.

When I said good-bye to my good wife at Tacoma, three weeks ago, she said: "You would better be mighty careful how you talk down in that country, for if you get started along your usual line, about the Administration, someone will take a shot at you,—or you'll be lynched." I had a brief but wholly adequate experience in the army, and consequently have some pronounced views which I have not hesitated to express on all occasions. So I really went down there prepared to be most discreet, and to listen without giving expression to my own sentiments. But instead of being a pacemaker in the race of violent opinions, I soon found that I was running last, and way out from the pole. In other words, if I was Herod, I was at once out-Heroded by practically everyone I talked to. I enclose, for example, just a sample editorial. This, as you will see, is from the *El Paso Times*, an old rock-ribbed Democratic paper, but I don't think HARVEY'S WEEKLY at its best ever condemned in stronger terms the Administration or Mr. Burleson, one of Texas' native sons.

My, but they are bitter! It would seem as if the Administration had taken particular delight in goading Texas. At the bottom of it all is, of course, the Mexican fiasco, and the chagrin and disgust at the treatment of the various delegations of leading Texas business men who went to Washington, in all good faith and seriousness, to plead for a strong, definite, protective policy to American interests and business men who had been invited to come into Mexico by Diaz, and encouraged to go by all our former Administrations. These delegations of prominent democrats were received by Mr. Bryan only because Mr. Wilson declined to see them and turned them over to him, and they were insulted, snubbed, and accused by him of "exploiting the poor downtrodden Mexican." And they all say that, today, Bolshevik Russia or Red Germany at their worst, though on a larger scale, do not present any more chaotic, unholy, or unhealthy state than unhappy Mexico. It is an ever-growing, running, festering sore, and, as one good Texan expressed it, "like any disease that comes from 'bugs' it can only be cured by eradicating the bugs, and vaccinating against a recurrence of the plague." When Carranza falls, as he may at any minute, the old tumult will break forth worse than ever,—and yet, while I was there in El Paso, 5,000 good new American rifles and

a large quantity of ammunition went across the bridge into Mexico with the "special consent"—so the papers said—"of the Department of State." Was the ruling made from Washington, or from that far distant seat of Government oversea, where conditions in Mexico are too trivial to distract a mind-matching contest?

I asked one fine old doctor in Ft. Worth pointedly, "What do you think of Mr. Wilson?" "Mr. Wilson," he said in that same slow, deliberate manner, "is doing this country one splendid, outstanding service, which will live in history as the great accomplishment of his Administration"—and then he paused, waiting for me to ask him what it was. I was silent, because I supposed of course he was referring to the "League of Nations," and I did not want to express my views on that subject. Seeing that I was not going to ask him, he then asked me, "And do you know what that is?" "No," I said, though I thought I knew perfectly well what he meant—it just shows how wrong one can be. "Well, sir," he said, "Mr. Wilson has at last succeeded in breaking up the so-called Solid South. Never again will the Democratic party be able to take it for granted that 160 or 170 electoral votes are salted away on the shelf, to be used when needed. In fact," he continued, "damned if I don't honestly believe that the next election will show the South to be solid Republican, and our children will always be able to point to Mr. Wilson as the man who accomplished for the country that which will certainly be one of the greatest of blessings and deserve the gratitude of all posterity."

"Doctor," I said, when I had recovered from my astonishment, "did you vote for Wilson at the last election?" "Yes, damn it," he said, "but I prayed for Hughes." And then he went on, "It's almighty hard" (I wish I could convey in writing that delightful drawl) "to break the habits of a whole life time; but" (and here he held up his right hand) "never again! Ex-Senator Bailey put it in words for us the other day, what we all felt for so long; and now that the ice is broken, while I would naturally prefer to vote for a big broad-gauge Democrat like Grover Cleveland, I'm prepared to vote for a good Republican with a clear conscience; and, say, if Leonard Wood runs, I'll go on the stump for him."

Can you picture a true-blue Southerner praising Lincoln at the expense of Wilson? I could not—two weeks ago, but now I'll believe anything. I was talking for a long time with another member of the Legislature, a scholarly, splendid gentleman who was in Burleson's class at college, and who has known Col. House intimately all his life. I asked him if Col. House was a particularly able man. "Yes, sir," he said dryly, "Col. House is a very wise man; he knows enough to keep his mouth shut, and that's something that few men know, especially as well as Col. House." Then I said, "Do you regard Mr. Wilson as a big man?" He waited a long time before he answered. Then he said, "What's that old adage about 'a man is known by the company he keeps?' When I think of the way Lincoln invited Stanton, who not only was a political rival, but whom he did not like personally, to sit in his cabinet, in what of course during the war was the most important post, and contrast that with Mr. Wilson, surrounding himself with Baker, Daniels and Lansing, when Root, Roosevelt and Wood,—three Americans who were internationally known,—were 'rarin' to go, you can draw your own conclusions as to my opinion of Mr. Wilson's bigness."

And so I could go on. I warned you at the start that this would be a long letter, though I really am not half through. I could tell you of many of the things that irritate Texas; for instance, they were tearing down the vast cantonment that had been built at Fort Bliss for the troops on the border, piling the lumber in great piles and burning it; at the very time when they were paying enormous prices for lumber and excessive wages to build the cantonment 80 miles away at Deming, on as desolate, barren, hot, inaccessible and unsuited a site as the middle of the Sahara desert would have been. I could tell you about the Mexican peons who make up all the section crews on the railroads: they formerly got \$1.05 per day, and were contented, and worked well; now they get \$2.50 per day, average about 3 days' work a week, are always dissatisfied, and often won't work at all. It used to cost \$23.00 to ship a car of cattle from Marathon to El Paso, and it took one day; now it costs \$42.00 and takes two days. And so forth. I could continue indefinitely. Had I attempted to keep a note-book, it would resemble an unabridged dictionary; for, as one of them put it: "Altogether, we're 'fed-up' on the Wilsonian Brand."

And so, my dear Colonel, let me urge any of your readers who feel anxious about the future, and want to be reassured that the country is still safe, sane, and sound, to take a trip through that erstwhile stronghold of rock-ribbed Democracy, the Lone Star State.

Tacoma, Wash.

A. G. BROWNE.

Letters From Our Readers

MEMORIAL OF AN HONEST SOLDIER

SIR,—The following is a transcript of the epitaph on a gravestone in an English churchyard:

In Memory of

THOMAS THETCHER

a Grenadier in the North Reg.
of Hants Militia, who died of a
violent Fever contracted by drinking
Small Beer when hot the 12th of May
1764, Aged 26 Years

In grateful remembrance of whose uni-
versal good will towards his Comrades,
this Stone is placed here at their ex-
pense, as a small testimony of their
regard, and concern.

Here sleeps in peace a Hampshire Grenadier,
Who caught his death by drinking cold small Beer.
Soldiers be wise from his untimely fall
And when yere hot drink Strong or none at all.

*This memorial being decay'd was restored
by the Officers of the Garrison A. D. 1781,*

An honest Soldier never is forgot
Whether he die by Musket or by Pot.

*This Stone was placed by the North Hants
Militia, when disembodied at Winchester
on 26th April 1802 in consequence of
the original Stone being destroyed.*

Can't you just imagine Grenadier Thetcher's views on
Prohibition?

London, Eng.

H. L.

THE LEAGUE AS A RATTLE

SIR,—Words are inadequate to express appreciation for your Indianapolis address. Every American should read it.

Our thanks are also due to Elihu Root for his logical and constructive criticism of the proposed constitution of the League of Nations, and for his suggested amendments which would tend to make a good covenant out of one that is admittedly bad. But, "if I may be permitted" to make a reservation, at the present moment there are just two arguments in favor of the League of Nations scheme. First: It is blessed with a beautifully alluring and high sounding title. Second: Its object is gloriously ideal.

This may be compared to a baby's rattle, beautiful to look at, and enticing in sound.

It is criminal, however, to hand our patient and long suffering people a rattle when we need the nourishment of peace.

Not only our people but "all mankind" are suffering industrially and economically for the conclusion of a peace treaty.

This is certainly the first and fundamental function of the Peace Commission.

After a peace treaty, with the way open toward industrial reconstruction, we will be mentally and physically better prepared to consider any whangdoodle notion that is put up to us, and perhaps we may even swallow a league of nations *provided it does not deprive us of any of our constitutional rights.*

I am glad that you stand pat.

F. J. BAYLESS.

Binghamton, N. Y.

STRAIGHT AMERICANISM

SIR,—Allow me to congratulate you on your Indianapolis speech. As a description of straight Americanism, it is entitled to rank with anything written or spoken during the Great War. You certainly are not "too proud to fight," and I just want you to know that I am one of those who agree with the principles you stand for.

It would seem as though the world, after fighting gross, un-

scrupulous materialism in the person of the Blond Beast for four and a half years, is now swinging to the other extreme and striving to adopt impractical measures to insure permanent peace and happiness.

Wilson has hypnotized the European war-worn peoples with his prettily worded platitudes. The strong men of Europe while not agreeing with him yet don't dare oppose him because they fear revolution.

It remains to be seen whether the U. S. Senate, the last stronghold of American Common Sense,—which Wilson has to conquer before he can put into effect his non-American and Internationalist theories,—will have the courage as well as the patriotism to stand firm.

Better, if necessary, a good big row *now* in our American Family, no matter how far it goes or what it costs, than an International row later which might come upon us like "a bolt from the blue" and kill the American spirit forever.

I stand for

First—My family.

Second—My country.

Third—The world.

I maintain that the League of Nations stands for the World *first* and my country last, therefore I am unalterably opposed to it and hope it will be defeated and thrown out when presented to the Federal Senate for ratification.

More power to your voice and pen in the good work you are doing!

WALLACE C. RICHARDSON.

New York City.

THE TRUE RING

SIR,—I have just read your Indianapolis speech in the WEEKLY of the 22nd ultimo.

It is superb; has the true ring of a true American. It should be read by every American who loves his country. Our fathers ordained our Constitution and set up this great republic under the shadow of the gallows—this republic that has grown in wealth and power, in freedom and prosperity, in union, solidarity and devotion of its people till it has become the cynosure of the eyes of all the world and the envy of all the peoples of the earth. Now, are we to pool the destiny, the sovereignty and the freedom of our country with a voting syndicate of all the other nations of the earth? I say never should we do it under any form, shape or fashion.

But the League of Nations folly is to be so interwoven with the Peace Treaty as to *force* the Senate to adopt it?

Force a brave American statesman to "betray his country and assassinate her liberties!" No, all Hell couldn't do that.

GEO. L. BURKE.

Sapulpa, Okla.

A FORTRESS MONROE DOCTRINE

SIR,—To meet the conditions, the Indianapolis speech was the greatest since Lincoln.

There has never been a time in history when so many people with good sense have been muddled for so long.

Godspeed!

ENGLISH WHITE AMERICAN.

Fortress Monroe, Virginia.

STILL BATTLING

SIR,—God bless you! The work you are doing is of incalculable benefit. Nothing comes to my desk in the course of the week which gives me greater joy and inspiration than your WEEKLY; but why drop the "War" out of the title? It still smells of "battle" and I know, as long as you are preserved to us to wield your inimitable pen, it always will.

FRANK KNOX.

Manchester, N. H.

WHO HAS THESE NUMBERS?

SIR,—I have tried hard to complete my volume of the WAR WEEKLY but thus far have not been successful. Could you, as a great favor, ask your readers to let me have, if they do not themselves intend to bind the volume, the following numbers? Nos. 15, 16, 17, 21, 22, 25, 26, 30, 31, 32, 33 and 39.

I shall be glad to pay any reasonable price.

FRANK BLAKE GOODWIN.

P. S.—Should you receive any of the missing numbers please telephone me and I will send for them.

F. B. G.

New York City.

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No. 17



"ALL MINE"

"Before the war was over we stated our peace terms. A few days later President Wilson proposed his famous fourteen points which practically embodied my statement."—*Lloyd George to Parliament.*

The "Guarantees" to France

THIS is the logic, and these are the facts, of the case concerning the "guarantees" to France:

France is the "outpost of civilization" against the Hun. President Wilson so calls her. She is in direct contact with Germany. It is against her that German attacks for twenty centuries have been chiefly launched. It was upon her that the last attack was made. It will be upon her that the next German attack is made, if ever another one is attempted.

France is therefore supremely interested in gaining security for the future; both for her own sake, which she naturally first regards, and also for the sake of the rest of the world, to which she has never shown herself indifferent. But the rest of the civilized world is no less interested in it; both for its own sake and also for the special sake of France, to which no nation can afford to be indifferent. We owe it to France to give her security for her own sake, because of what she is worth to the world; and we owe it to ourselves to do so, because another German attack upon France would ultimately be an attack upon us. Germany, let us remember, could not attack the United States or the United Kingdom without first attacking France; and there is no reason to suppose that she would ever attack France without the purpose of also attacking us.

France realizes all this—perhaps, because of propinquity and experience, more keenly than any other nation. Therefore, through both M. Clemenceau and Marshal Foch she asked, argued and pleaded for a treaty of peace the terms of which would give her the greatest possible security against the foe beyond the Rhine. That was logical. That was reasonable. That was just. That was in the highest degree desirable. That had previously been regarded by all as a matter of course.

Strange to say, however, objection to it was made in the Peace Congress, and that objection came from President Wilson.

It seemed to arise partly from his persistent obsession of the need of "peace without victory," partly from an inexplicable desire that Germany should not be made to suffer the humiliation of feeling that she was beaten, and partly, perhaps chiefly, because of his infatuation for General Smuts's League of Nations which was promptly to usher in a Utopian millennium.

This became, therefore, notoriously the chief matter of dispute and difference. At the very beginning, M. Clemenceau spoke for some alliance or other international agreement which should make France secure. Upon this, President Wilson poured the vials of his austere wrath, insisting that there must be no such alliance or balance of power, but merely a League of Nations which would be all sufficient.

France yielded, for a time—willing, in her splendid chivalry and generosity, to wait and see what promise of security the Smuts-Cecil-Wilson League would afford. Now she sees, as the whole world sees, that the League will give her no assurance whatever of protection. Against another onset of the Huns its resounding phrases would not be worth the paper the Covenant is written upon. So far as it goes, she

is betrayed into the hands of foes who outnumber her two to one.

In her desperation, France again seeks other assurances of security, and since she cannot have them where she wanted them, in the treaty of peace, she seeks them in other—extraneous, perhaps more or less secret—compacts.

We are told that both Great Britain and the United States have given her the desired assurances, and that it is only because of this that she now agrees to the treaty as it is being drafted. It may be that Great Britain has given her such assurances. We should not be at all surprised, and we should be much gratified, to know that such was the case. Great Britain is free to do it. She has done so before. She has never inveighed against a balance of power; not even against a secret treaty.

That the United States has done so is manifestly impossible. The Senate is not in session, and therefore could not have ratified a treaty to that effect; without which there could be no such assurance. It may be that the President has done so. But then it is simply Mr. Woodrow Wilson who has done so, and not the United States. We should not be surprised to know that he has. The fact that to do so would be flatly to reverse and repudiate his former policy—that it would mean accepting the balance of power and secret treaty system which he has hitherto detested as the Abomination of Desolation—would be no deterrent; especially in view of the enticing prospect of gaining French acquiescence in the League of Nations scheme and of himself arrogating a personal authority which he has no right to exercise and no power to enforce. But autocratic pretensions could not annul the Constitution, and his promises would not be worth the breath it took to utter them.

If such an arrangement could be efficient, moreover, we should be compelled to regard it as pernicious. We are in favor of all possible guarantees for the security of France, God bless her! But they should be given to her in the proper way; which is the way she at first desired. They should be in the treaty of peace, where they belong, and not in some League of Nations or some supplementary alliance. That is all that France wanted. She asked for a treaty of peace which would assure her reasonable security, and which all the signatories would, of course, be bound to maintain. But our President refused her that, and it is now intimated that he seeks to atone for the refusal by making some super-treaty arrangement which would, if made, be far less satisfactory to France and far more objectionable to the United States.

For it is one thing, and a perfectly permissible American procedure, to make a treaty and to fulfil its terms at no matter what cost; and it is another and very different thing, and a decidedly un-American thing, to tie ourselves up in an offensive and defensive alliance with a foreign Power.

That seems to be the gist of these much talked-of "guarantees to France." It is not creditable to American diplomacy, to American patriotism, or to American regard for international relations.

The "American Plan" Again

WE were taken to task rather sharply when, last week and the week before, we announced that President Wilson would never allow the American people to see the League of Nations plan which he prepared and which was "put aside" in favor of the British plan. We were reminded that the President had assured Senator Brandegee at the White House on February 27 that the rejected American draft was available, and that there could be no possible objection to its publication. As the President inadvertently overlooked this detail in the more pressing and engrossing duties upon which he was bent, we were told that it would be forthcoming immediately in reply to Senator Brandegee's formal request to the State Department. All that the President needed was a gentle reminder of his promise.

Mr. Polk, the Acting Secretary of State, was of the same opinion—at least the *World* so indicated—when he received Senator Brandegee's communication dated April 3; and, true to his promise, he promptly relayed it to the American Mission at Paris, expecting, we assume, as prompt authorization to release the document. After patiently waiting since April 3, Senator Brandegee received the following communication:

The Counsellor
For the Department of State
Washington

April 18, 1919.

My Dear Senator Brandegee:

In my absence Mr. Phillips acknowledged your letter to me of April 3, reporting your conversation with the President on February 27, and requesting that a copy of the American plan of the League of Nations be furnished to you so that you may know what our representatives at the Peace Conference had recommended and that the plan may be made public.

A cablegram was sent to the Mission on the subject, explaining that the Department had not yet received a copy of the American plan to which you referred. I have to-day received a reply from the American Mission stating that copies of the American plan will be brought back at the time of the return of the President and the Mission to the United States.

The Department had no copies of this plan, as the files of the Peace Mission are being kept together in Paris until the conclusion of the conference, and in the meantime the Department is not receiving the draft proposals presented to the various committees and sub-committees.

Very sincerely,

FRANK L. POLK.

Time was when we might have been surprised, if not actually shocked, at the lapse of fifteen days between a communication from the Senate concerning a matter of great national interest, and a reply from the State Department. But time has developed a mental shock-absorber. Comment can avail little or nothing. If the delay were not quite typical of the present processes of our Government, we might be inclined to ascribe some other motive—but let it go. We pass to more important considerations.

The communication from Mr. Polk merely tends to add official confirmation to the announcement we have already made, to the effect that the President has no intention whatsoever of allowing the public to see the American plan. The simple truth is that he dare not. If it were otherwise, what possible reason could he now have, after a promise made on February 27, for authorizing such a cablegram as that upon which Mr. Polk's communication is predicated?

Is there anyone so ignorant of the ways of our present Administration as to credit that letter? It is without exception

the most astonishing communication to which we have ever seen the name of a State Department official attached. The assumption that there are no available copies of the plan in Paris is too ludicrous to discuss. Even if there were only one copy of the precious document in existence, surely it is capable of reproduction. A fairly competent copyist could turn out a perfectly satisfactory "black sheet" in an afternoon or so. We were almost on the point of seriously suggesting to Senator Brandegee that he offer to pay the bill for copying, when, by an after-thought, we were reminded that the Mission is somewhat short of funds, owing to the failures of its second \$5,000,000 appropriation to pass at the last session.

We have no intention of criticising Mr. Polk. He has kept his word like the honorable man he is, and we regret that he was compelled through a sense of duty to affix his signature to such a letter. He has our sincere sympathy. He was never fitted to labor in this atmosphere of duplicity. Is it any wonder that he is thoroughly disgusted with this sort of thing, and that he has prepared to resign the moment Mr. Lansing returns to Washington?

But this is all beside the issue. The essential point, and the whole point, is that the President of the United States is afraid, for reasons best known to himself, to allow the people of the United States to see the programme to which he secretly attempted to pledge them and their children's children. It is a typical instance of his practice of pitiless publicity. We doubt not that he hopes by delay and evasion to forestall publication altogether. But unless we are very much mistaken, the American plan—his plan—will be demanded on the day the Senate meets, and it will be forthcoming before the British plan is discussed.

Is argument needed to show how much better results would have been achieved if this country had sent Colonel Harvey to the Paris Conference instead of President Wilson?—*Boston Globe*.

We should hate to think so; but wait a minute, General: Did *the country* send President Wilson to the Paris conference? What!

A Fighting Speech

MR. LLOYD GEORGE is at his best in a "fighting speech," and such his talk in the House of Commons assuredly was. Whether it was necessary for him to be quite so rampant and belligerent, may be open to question. The occasion for it is not convincingly apparent at this distance; unless indeed it was subjective, the speaker thinking that he would be most effective if he lashed himself into a rage against somebody. However, it was in many respects an immensely clever speech, from the political point of view; and that, of course, is the point of view from which it is chiefly to be regarded. The time has not yet come for him to make a statesmanlike accounting of his stewardship. That will come when the Peace Treaty is completed and its terms are disclosed. His present task was to "fix his fences" in the Parliament upon whose favor his official existence depends. His address was thus to the House of Commons rather than to the world at large.

What he did say that is of general concern may be

divided into three heads. What he said of the magnitude, complexity and importance of the work of the Peace Congress was all true, and not a word of it was new. Every thinking man knew it all before; though perhaps it was well to remind us of it all again. Commendable, too, though also not novel, was his denunciation of mere nagging at the Congress. His picture of "wild men screaming through the keyhole" of the council chamber was of course exaggerated, but we can forgive it for the confession which it implies that the work of the Congress, after all the talk about "open covenants openly arrived at," has been chiefly done in secret. But we are entirely agreed with him that mere railing at the Congress is deplorable, and that the only fitting criticism of its work, so far as we are permitted to know its work, is that which is meant to be constructive and helpful.

The second head is that of Russia, and on that we cannot help regarding Mr. Lloyd George as lamentably disappointing. His only plea is a *non possumus*. He gives us no light, no comfort, no promise. It may be that intervention would be the monstrous folly which he declares; though surely he errs in comparing intervention in chaotic Russia, at the request and with the active cooperation of the best part of the people, with an invasion of a well-organized and united Russia.

But let that pass. He deprecates intervention while intervention by its own act is in fact in progress. The question is not that of intervention or no intervention, but of effective intervention or an intervention which simply annoys and exasperates but accomplishes nothing more. It is seldom that an important statesman in an important speech has treated a supremely important matter less satisfactorily.

When we come to the third head, the glowing assurances of complete harmony among the Allies, and particularly between them and the United States, we are almost, in the words of the hymn, "lost in wonder, love, and praise." And we cannot ignore the significant circumstance that it was precisely in this part of his speech that the Minister roused his fighting spirit to its highest pitch. Of course, it all ought to have been, and ought to be, precisely as he pictured it. But we cannot help wondering whether, if it had been otherwise and if there had been a "little rift within the lute," he would have deemed it politic or tactful to say so. It seems to us, without the slightest reflection upon his candor and sincerity, that it was substantially necessary for him to insist that the proceedings of the Congress, or at least of the Supreme Council, had been marked with concord. On the other hand, accepting his assurances of harmony at their full face value, it must be said that the Congress has permitted monstrous injustice to be done to it in current reports. How it was possible for so many, so circumstantial and so positive reports of sharp disagreement to be sent out, and without official denial, if they were untrue, must be regarded as "one of those things which no fellow can find out."

So far as his appeal to Parliament on British politics was concerned, then, Mr. Lloyd George's speech was presumably a success, at least for the time. So far as its appeal to the world was concerned, it was one third platitude, one third disappointing, and one third puzzlingly equivocal. And "the rest is silence."

Remember What It Is!

THE zeal of some, apparently including the President, for giving some sort of recognition to the Lenine Government in Russia, suggests the existence and exercise of an amazing facility for forgetfulness, or else an incomprehensible indifference to what should be regarded as intolerable conditions.

Let us recall, briefly and temperately, what the Bolshevik Government has done, and what it means.

It forcibly abolished the Constituent Convention. That was a representative body, chosen freely by universal suffrage of the Russian people, for the purpose of determining the permanent government of the former empire. Of its legitimacy there was no question. It was regarded with confidence by Russians of all parties,—except the Bolsheviks.

It instituted and long maintained a reign of terror, marked with plunder, rape and massacre, directed against the property-owning and educated classes, which drew from the State Department of the United States scathing condemnation.

It made the Treaty of Brest Litovsk, which was a gross betrayal not only of the loyal allies of Russia but of Russia itself, and was so shamelessly infamous in terms that even the Germans who dictated it have expressed their disgust with it.

It repudiated all the foreign debts of Russia, including the great loans made from the common people of France many years before the war for the building of railroads and other public works in Russia. It ordered the confiscation of property, without compensation and without discrimination in regard to titles.

These are the acts of Bolshevism. These are the things for which Lenine and his Government stand.

It is well to recall these facts. It is well to refresh our minds concerning the character of the unspeakable thing which it is proposed to recognize as the Government of a great empire, the thing with which it is proposed that we shall enter into diplomatic, commercial and social relations. It is well to consider whether, after fighting to "make the world safe for Democracy," we shall give countenance and aid to democracy's most malignant and most implacable foe.

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BY GEORGE HARVEY

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The League and the Southwest

NO development in the discussion of the League of Nations during the last month merited more attention and received less from the press than Senator Borah's trip through the Southwest. Of course whatever Senator Borah says demands and receives attention, no matter what the subject or where the place; but in this particular instance the effect of his speeches was even more important than the precise method used or the argument propounded. The effect was peculiarly important, because it presented the first opportunity vouchsafed to the people of these sections to hear the League analyzed by one of the half-dozen leaders of the country who are irreconcilably opposed to it in practice and in theory.

There has been no end of high-priced propaganda intended to assure people everywhere that the country, and particularly the West, was enthusiastically in favor of the league. The well-managed press bureaus of the various organizations which are financing the propaganda have filled column upon column of the daily papers with arguments made by various speakers in favor of the League and of the "whole-hearted" support they received from their audiences. And it must be said that, to the everlasting shame of our press, opponents of the League, with few exceptions, have been denied space.

Senator Borah made seven speeches—or, to state the fact precisely, he made the same speech seven times with slight alterations, and we shall record, as briefly as possible, the receptions it received.

On April 1, he spoke before an audience that jammed the largest hall in Huntington, West Virginia. During the afternoon many people came in from the countryside. They drove or motored from fifteen to twenty-five miles, and the people of Huntington said they had never seen such interest evinced except when a Presidential candidate spoke in their city. These people were apparently confused. They did not understand the question at issue, and they said frankly that they had heard one side only, but now they wanted to know "the whole truth."

Senator Borah reviewed our historical policies based upon Washington's Farewell Address and the Monroe Doctrine, and the people applauded him wildly when he assured them that the happiness of America rested on a continuation of these policies rather than an experiment in international Socialism. He asked them if they were willing to place America's destiny in the hands of a minority representative at the Capitol of the League of Nations, and they answered with one voice that Washington was their one and only Capitol.

They applauded when he attacked, as a method of suffocating Democracy, the proposal to guarantee the integral parts of any Kingdom or Empire. When he explained that there was no plan of disarmament, but that the covenant proposed to allow European and Asiatic Powers to meddle with, if not actually to dictate the size of our army and navy, they displayed keen resentment.

When he showed them that the League of Nations proposed setting up an unprecedented autocracy, and that "men everywhere" would have no control over the representatives—in effect, that there would be no self-determination—their resentment grew even stronger.

Finally, when he asked all those who had read and understood the document to put up their hands, none responded; but they responded very actively and with much anger when he asked if they approved the President's plan of so entwining the League with the treaty of peace that war must continue unless America accepted the abortion.



(C) By Champlain Studios, N. Y.

SENATOR BORAH

It was evident to the most casual observer that these people had seen new light.

At Columbus, Ohio, on the following night, a great crowd braved a rain-storm to hear the Senator speak, and it was apparent to the most uninitiated that the audience was enlightened and convinced by his argument. As in Huntington, the people had been plainly confused, because they had heard but one side of the argument.

In the Auditorium in Chicago, on April 4, a monster mass meeting applauded him vociferously, and indicated clearly that they were opposed to the Wilson-Smuts or any other League of Nations which was to be built on the renunciation of America's independence.

At St. Joe, Missouri, the papers informed the public that Senator Borah and Senator Reed (who spoke from the same platform) had difficulty in making themselves heard above the vociferous opposition of their audience. This is absolutely false. There were approximately 6,500 people jammed into the biggest hall in that part of the State. When Senator Reed began, a man in the gallery sought to disturb the meeting by heckling the speaker. He was thrown out, in spite of the fact that the speaker urged that he be brought forward and encouraged to ask any question that he desired answered. Following this single evidence of rowdiness, the audience

riveted their attention on the statements made by both speakers, and repeatedly punctuated their arguments with great applause.

Those who are familiar with audiences and their indicated attitudes have been convinced that the people of St. Joe are as strongly opposed to the League, now that they have been told the truth, as they were enthusiastically in favor of it when they know nothing of its significance save what they could draw from the platitudes of its advocates. As every one knows, Senator Reed has been pilloried by all the bootlickers that could be assembled on the call from Washington, because he, a Democrat, has dared to defy the President, and asserts the truth in the plainest kind of language.

At Topeka, Kansas, a storm resulted in the gathering of but a small crowd, from whose attitude it was difficult to draw any conclusions except indifference. At Wichita, the reverse was true. The hall was packed, and, if the attitude of the audience may be accepted as typical of Kansas, the people of the State understand the sinister nature of the League, and have their hatchets out for the man who forces it upon them. We respectfully suggest that the Senators from Kansas attend to this statement.

Senator Borah's last speech was made at Tulsa, Oklahoma, a rock-ribbed Democratic stronghold, where, as in Kansas, the people have apparently begun to analyze the League, with the inevitable result that a true understanding of it produces.

The lesson taught by the Southwest is a very simple one. The people want permanent peace, and, without giving the subject any particular thought, they were led to believe that the League of Nations would fulfill their desires. Now that they are beginning to understand it, they realize not only that it will fail to insure peace, but will undermine our own institutions and pledge us to unimagined responsibilities. They are beginning to liken it to the wares presented so plausibly and affably by those patent medicine men who once upon a time did such a thriving business in the Southwest, and they want none of it.

Since his return from his trip, Senator Borah has issued the following illuminating statement, which we reproduce as given by the *Times*:

It is difficult to discuss in detail the effect of the changes in the proposed constitution in view of the fact that we have not the language of the instrument, but only someone's construction. When we remember the construction which was placed upon the instrument before, we are not sure that the construction is one which it is safe to follow.

But it would seem, first, that the proposed League would commit us to alliances with European and Asiatic Powers and oblige us to take part in the ordinary conflicts and turmoil of Europe.

Second—That we still assume the tremendous obligation of guaranteeing the territorial integrity and political independence of all nations members of the League; and the argument is that all nations are ultimately to become members of the League, so that we will guarantee the territorial integrity of all nations.

Third—That under the voting arrangements of the League, control of the entire machinery of the League remains with European and Asiatic Powers.

Fourth—The provisions for disarmament are wholly ineffective. There is really no provision for disarmament whatever. The whole matter of disarmament rests as it is now with the judgment and discretion of each nation, that is, each nation determines for itself to what extent it will disarm. Of course this is no disarmament at all.

Fifth—If the jurisdiction and power of the Executive Council remains the same as heretofore, then the language preserving the Monroe Doctrine is inappropriate and wholly inadequate.

Sixth—The League still fails to provide any machinery for the application of the principle of self-determination, without which there can never be peace. Until this principle is fully recognized and the machinery for its peaceful application provided for, the League of Nations would be simply a vast machine based upon military power to oppress and hold in subjection all small nations and to sterilize all progress.

Seventh—It still fails to provide any check or control whatever upon the part of the people over the five or nine men within whose unlimited and undefined discretion rests the question of peace or war. It still remains not a league of peoples, not a league of free nations, but a league of diplomats, of officials, of imperialists. It still leaves it in the power of those five or nine men, assuming now that we are going to live up to the provisions of the League, to commit us to war.

These are some of the things which seem still to inhere in the proposed League, and, this being so, I could not and would not support it. Indeed, I think the real issue is now formed and the real contest now begins.

"I am perfectly willing," said Secretary Baker upon his departure for foreign parts to join his colleagues, "to let the people of the country decide between what the War Department has done in three years and what Senator Chamberlain has said in three years." To which we have only to add that his willingness or unwillingness is quite unessential. The decision was rendered long ago.

Contrasts

REMARKS multiply in French and other foreign papers about the unique status of President Wilson at the Peace Congress, now, at the culmination of the work, as well as at the beginning of it, and throughout the negotiations. These are not always judicious, and do not always touch the real gist of the matter. The President's position is indeed very different from that of any other member of the Congress, but not always exactly in the respect and to the effect which they seem to think.

His unique status was of course assured in advance, in the very fact of his going as a delegate. Whether he had the circumstance in mind or not, it was obvious that he would technically outrank all his colleagues. There was no other Chief of State there; no other President, no King or reigning Prince. At Vienna and at other international conclaves, heads of states had been present. At this Congress he alone enjoyed that dignity. It is true that he affected to deprecate being thus regarded, saying on one occasion that he preferred to rank merely as a Prime Minister; but the fact of his solitary distinction remained, and was never forgotten.

Far more significant, however, is the circumstance that he alone is at once irresponsible to a Parliament and yet, paradoxically, is entirely dependent upon a Parliament for the approval and validity of his work. His colleagues depend upon parliaments for their official existence. An adverse vote at Westminster or at the Petit Bourbon might any day call Mr. Lloyd George or M. Clemenceau home, as a private citizen. But Mr. Wilson's place is secure. Nothing can disturb his official rank, short of something which is of course unthinkable. That fact, upon its face, gives him an incalculable advantage over the other members of the Congress.

On the other hand, he suffers this disadvantage, that he cannot himself and alone make a treaty or any binding

agreement whatever, but must submit the results of his labors to the Senate of his national parliament for its approval. And this is the feature of the case which now increasingly looms into prominence and significance as the end of the Congress approaches.

The contrast between him and his chief colleagues is heightened by the contrast between his conduct and theirs. M. Clemenceau can make a treaty without consulting Parliament; yet he periodically seeks votes of confidence from that body, as advance assurances of its approval of whatever he may do. Mr. Lloyd George can himself make a treaty; yet only the other day he took the trouble to go over to London to explain his course to Parliament and to secure its support. Both those statesmen have on such occasions declared frankly to their Parliaments that they would not go back to the Peace Congress unless it was the will of those bodies that they should do so, and both have been sent back by overwhelmingly favorable votes.

The President, however, who can do nothing without the approval of Congress, or at least of the Senate, makes no attempt to secure the approval of that body. He does not even sound its sentiments. He virtually ignores it. He does more than passively ignore it: he does so actively, by refusing to give it an opportunity to express itself concerning his work.

M. Clemenceau got a vote of confidence the other day, through M. Pichon, of 360 to 126. It was of course most gratifying, and greatly strengthened his hands at the Congress; though there was a certain risk in seeking it, since if it had not been favorable, he would have had to resign. Mr. Wilson gets no such vote. He seeks none. From one point of view he needs none. But would it not be worth having? There would be no such risk in seeking it as that which M. Clemenceau ran, for if it were adverse, he would not have to resign. It cannot be, therefore, that he is afraid to seek it. Yet if the Senate were now in session, and if it were to adopt a resolution expressing confidence in him and approval of his policy, his influence at the Congress, great as it now is, would certainly be enhanced.

But perhaps the Senate would refuse to do that; perhaps it might even pass a resolution of disapproval. What, then, will happen to his work when he completes it and submits it to the Senate for ratification, as he must do? If the Senate does not approve it while he is doing it, there is no assurance that it will do so when he has finished it. Meantime he suffers the detrimental handicap of making agreements which may be repudiated, and of engaging in work concerning the end of which he can have and can give no assurance.

Sir,—In reply to Colonel Harvey's challenge in the Sun, in which he opposes a League of Nations or an alliance of any kind to which the United States shall be a party, I desire to combat his views. If there had been an alliance between England and America before this war started and they had threatened to oppose Germany, experts the world over admit that there would have been no war.—*Letter to Trenton Times.*

If there had been an alliance between England and France in 1776, experts the world over admit that there could have been no successful war for the independence of the United States.

Poor Dear Germany!

MR. VILLARD'S *Nation* rails shrilly against "the peace of coercion" which is being prepared by "an unsatisfied and vengeful enemy" against the "outraged people" of Germany.

That is because the Peace Congress seems inclined to require Germany to make some partial reparation for the irreparable thefts and destruction of property which she has wantonly committed upon her neighbor nations. The particular measure of reparation which Mr. Villard has in mind in making this eructation is that Germany shall be required to pay \$25,000,000,000 during a period of thirty years—say \$834,000,000 a year. To do this, he protests, "would rob Germany of any shadow of economic self-determination and put 70,000,000 people to work as slaves for the Allies and America. It is neither moral nor economic."

That is to say, it is immoral to make a thief surrender stolen goods. Also, it would be uneconomic to give France and Belgium a fair chance to regain the industrial prosperity of which Germany deprived them.

Of course it was, in Mr. Villard's mind, quite moral and economic for Germany to inflict losses of twice twenty-five billions upon other countries, wantonly and for her own pecuniary gain. It was entirely moral and economic for her to inflict such losses of seven billions upon Belgium alone. It was in complete accord with the moral law and with sound economics for her to steal more than \$900,000,000 in cash from Belgium under the guise of "war contributions and fines." It was the height of morality and economy for her to steal and to destroy \$1,150,000,000 worth of Belgian machinery, materials, and factories.

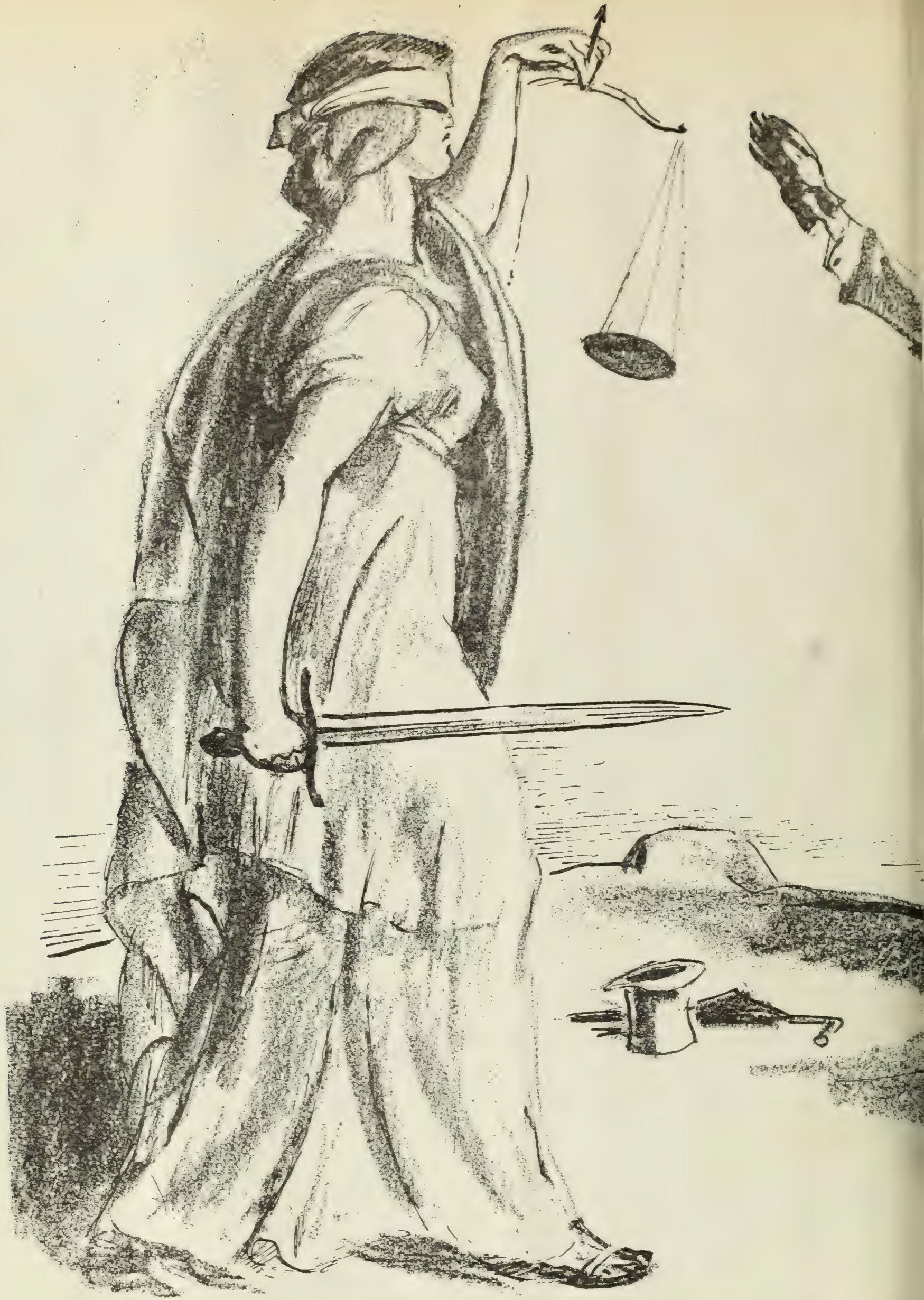
But to make the thief disgorge the plunder, to make the destroyer rebuild the ruins—what an outrage! Why, cries Mr. Villard, "No German Government which agreed to such a proposal could endure for a day!"

Remember that Germany came through the war unscathed; that not one of her cities was destroyed; that not one of her factories was plundered, dismantled and burned; that not one of her mines was flooded and wrecked; that not one piece of her machinery was stolen and carried away; that not one of her orchards or forests was cut down. Her industrial efficiency remains unimpaired, just as it was before the war. Indeed, it is actually increased, by the enormous mass of stolen machinery and materials with which it has been endowed.

We expect ravaged Belgium to rehabilitate herself. We expect plundered and prostrate France to "make good" under the crushing load of debt which Germany has imposed upon her. But to ask uninjured Germany to make even a fifty per cent. restitution of her thefts and vandalism, that would be "coercion" by a "vengeful enemy" upon an "outraged people."

Give us an ounce of civet, good apothecary, to sweeten our imagination!

Oh dear, oh dear! After all was said and done, agile Frank Hitchcock slipped in under the flapping wings of Mr. Taft and got from the President-at-large all the credit for having helped to perfect and interject a parody on the Monroe Doctrine. Poor Pud'nhead!



THE PROTECT



OF THE HUNS

The Week

WASHINGTON, April 24, 1919.

WE are told that when the Blond Beasts are finally corralled "somewhere in France" it is the purpose of President Wilson to "converse personally" with them. We shall not affect, at that, a surprise which we do not feel; though if anything could surprise us in this whole diplomatic orgy it would be that. But we must at least regret that our own nation seems thus doomed to suffer triple ignominy: First, by demanding "peace without victory"; second, by intervening to save William Hohenzollern from personal punishment for his personal crimes; and third, by entering into conversational relationship with the representatives of the destroyers of the *Lusitania*.

We remember that not so very long ago a conspicuous American statesman spoke feelingly, almost passionately, of an "intolerable Thing, without conscience or honor or capacity for covenanted peace," which must be "shut out from the friendly intercourse of the nations," and added that we could discuss peace only "when the German people have spokesmen whom we can believe and when those spokesmen are ready in the name of their people to accept the common judgment of all the nations." We must confess that we fail to discern in those just and manly words any warrant for entering into conversations with unrepentant Huns who come to us with muttered threats to reject the "common judgment of the nations," and to refuse to accept any peace which does not accord with their criminal desires and designs.

The postponement of the meeting of the Italian Parliament accentuates the crucial character of the dispute over Fiume; in which the American delegate to the Peace Congress plays a peculiar part. At one time we have been told that the whole question was submitted to him for his decision; again that he had withdrawn from the conferences over it and would have nothing more to do with it; and a little later in the same day that he was reentering the conferences. The explanation of his withdrawal can not be regarded as altogether satisfactory. It is said that it was because Italy bases her claim to Fiume upon the Pact of London, which was made before America entered the war, and which "America regards as nullified with all other secret treaties." Now if the President wants nothing to do with a controversy over the Pact of London because America was not a party to it, well and good. That is logical and commendable. On that ground he might well stay out of the dispute and leave it to the makers of the Pact to settle it among themselves. But there is no apparent justification for saying that "America regards" that Pact as "nullified with all other secret treaties." We know of no such act or declaration of nullification ever adopted by the American Government. Certainly the mere dictum of the President in favor of "open covenants openly arrived at" was not and is not sufficient to abrogate treaties. The Pact of London may be righteous, or it may be iniquitous. But at any rate it was made in good faith, and we know of no power on the part of the American President to set it aside as null and void.

The Fiume dispute is, we must admit, one of the most puzzling and trying in the whole situation. The international compact under which in good faith Italy entered the war certainly cannot be set aside as negligible. The claim of Italy to the port of Fiume has substantial basis. But so has the claim of Jugo-Slavia. It is highly desirable that Italy, that the legitimate desires of the Italian nation, shall be gratified. It is also desirable, and in fact necessary, that Jugo-Slavia shall be erected into a real nation, with ready access to the sea. These are the factors of a problem which must be solved, and the solution of which will probably require some substantial concessions on both sides.

The reported decision to make Dantzig a "world port" recalls the words of the Thirteenth Commandment, and provokes the pertinent query whether to give Poland a narrow alley ending in a No Man's—or Everyman's—Land will satisfactorily assure that country "a free and secure access to the sea." To this may be added another query: whether a "world port" is an ideal device for avoiding controversy, friction, and conflict. Most statesmen of experience and observation regard it as more likely to lead to such things than to avoid them. As for the logic of the proposed arrangement, the less said about it the better. Dantzig is by right either German or Polish. No other nation has any claim to it. There used to be in our school-books a story about a man who decided a controversy between two boys as to the ownership of a nut by cracking the nut, giving each boy half of the shell, and himself eating the kernel. But we never thought that it was intended for a guide to benevolent diplomacy.

There seems to be some uncertainty as to whether the German delegation to Paris this week will prove to be composed of plenipotentiaries or propagandists, the chances favoring, however, the latter. We hear intimations that the Huns will insist not only upon making the Fourteen Commandments the basis of the peace terms, but also upon interpreting the Commandments in their own way. That would be tantamount, of course, to a dictated peace, but a peace dictated by the Germans. To any such proposition or attempt, there should be but one answer, and but one man to make it. That man is Ferdinand Foch.

There is talk of a movement to consolidate Honduras and Salvador into one state, at which Guatemala expresses apprehension and suggests that she may have to appeal against it to the Peace Congress or the League of Nations or somebody. It is not particularly gratifying to have it so much as hinted that a purely American question should be referred to a non-American tribunal for settlement. Time was when the appeal would have been made instinctively to the United States. But since then, we have done to death by our own perversity the Central American International Court of Justice, the most hopeful and beneficent organization ever

effected in that part of the world, and have intimated our purpose of throwing all the American nations into the general melting-pot of the world. After that we can scarcely expect those states to look to us for friendship or counsel.

The President seems still to be in doubt as to when he will permit the people's representatives to come together to transact the people's business. Apparently the date depends partly upon when he can himself come home to his official place of business, and partly upon the progress which is made in transacting the business of other nations. The former consideration really ought not to matter, since the President has assured us that even at three thousand miles away he can and will keep in the closest touch with Congress. As for the latter, the primary function of the American Government is to attend to the affairs of the American nation. Whether there were any peace treaty to be considered or not, there is enough American business of the most important and urgent kind to be transacted to warrant the immediate meeting of Congress.

The National Association of Manufacturers reports that in seventeen out of twenty-two principal groups of American industries, business activity is only from 25 to 50 per cent normal. That is certainly an unfortunate if not an ominous showing. But most significant are the two salient reasons for such depression among the eleven mentioned. These two are, first, Delay in Signing the Treaty of Peace; and second, Continued Government Control, Management and Operation of the Railroads. Those are the chief causes of this general and grave depression of business, to which most of the other nine are subsidiary, and they are causes for which the Administration must be held responsible. If it had not been for futile fiddling over the League of Nations, and autocratic attempts to meddle with and boss matters which concern us little if at all, the Peace Treaty might have been signed weeks ago. If it were not for the President's unwillingness to summon into session a Congress which he was unable to get packed with subservient lickspittles, the railroad question might have been settled weeks ago; as indeed he himself urged that it should be.

"A strike on the part of employees working for the Government," says the Politicalmaster-General, "is not permissible." "They can't put you in jail for that," said the lawyer to his client. "But," replied the latter, "I am in jail." A strike is not permissible. But it occurs. It was in full operation when the Politicalmaster-General thus denied it permissibility. If the principle be established that public utilities are to be owned and operated by the Government, as the Politicalmaster-General believes they should be, and if the employees in them must never strike, it obviously follows that the employees must surrender an important part of the common rights which those in other occupations enjoy. In Great Britain it was once proposed, and indeed for a time practiced, to deprive members of the classified civil service of the electoral franchise; but the system was soon regarded as odious. We were never enamored of strikes; but we should regard

it as an ominous thing to create a vast army of Government functionaries with either greater or less rights of citizenship than the rest of the nation.

Upon one timely subject the nation must be cordially agreed. That is, that the Victory Loan must be fully subscribed; indeed, that it should be promptly over-subscribed. There could be no better way of commemorating the close of the war, no better way of welcoming home our returning soldiers—save giving good employment to all who need it—and no more convincing way of showing our sincerity in the great cause in which we have been fighting, than thus "finishing the work we are in." The occasion lacks, of course, the strenuous appeal of actual war; but it would be unspeakable discredit to us to confess less power in the appeal of victory and of peace. We do not know what the terms of peace will be. We do not know when the actual peace will be concluded. But those considerations have no bearing upon the need of subscribing this loan. Before that obligation of patriotism and of honor, all differences of party and of policy must be held in abeyance. The duty at Paris is to make an honorable and triumphant peace. The duty here is to subscribe the Victory Loan.

A lot of the State legislatures which a little while ago went hell-bent for ratification of the Prohibition amendment, are now reported to have heard from the people and to be very chary about enacting laws for the enforcement of the thing under their "concurrent power" with Congress. That is an old trick, to be "for the law but against its enforcement," but we should doubt whether in this case it will result in much credit or profit to those who resort to it. The movement of a crawfish is neither dignified nor convincing.

The British appear to have carried their point concerning the German cables, fifteen of which are to be taken from German proprietorship and placed at the disposal of the "Allied and Associated" Powers. We suppose that the latter part of that clumsy phrase refers to the United States. If so, we have no objection to the decision. Indeed, we cordially approve it—on one condition. That is, that such of the cables as touch American shores—two of the fifteen, we believe—shall not be put under the malign and destructive sway of the Politicalmaster-General.

The Chaldeans have called upon the President, seeking self-determination and presumably American tutelage under a mandate of the League of Nations. 'Tis well. But where are the Hittites, and the Hivites, and the Perizzites? Fetch on the worthy Amorites, and the merry Jebusites. Shall not the Geshurites have a hearing too? And the Avites, and Gittites and Eshkalonites, and the subjects of Og, King of Bashan—surely they must have places in the League of Nations.

Germany, we are told, will make counter-claims of war indemnities against the Allies. The Teutonic sense of humor is certainly exquisite.

Who is Our President?

THE oft-quoted Clause 6, Section I, Article II, of the Constitution, reads: "In case of the removal of the President from office, or of his death, resignation, or *inability to discharge the powers and duties of said office*, the same shall devolve upon the Vice President."

In a matter of vital importance to the people of all the forty-eight States of the Union, a personal appeal for immediate Executive action was recently addressed by cable to the President at his place of abode in a foreign country 3000 miles across the seas. To this urgent appeal Mr. Wilson replied with the distinct admission that he was unable to act because he was at such a great distance from the country of which he is the Chief Magistrate. In other words, he has specifically declared his inability to discharge the powers and duties of his office. His disability in this respect is not a question for investigation. It is a demonstrated, admitted fact. By reason of his self-expatriation, Mr. Wilson has confessedly disqualified himself for those duties to the faithful performance of which he pledged himself when he took his oath of office.

If the above-quoted words of the Constitution mean anything, they mean that inability to discharge the powers and duties of the Presidential office cancels Presidential authority in the person thus impotent, and automatically transfers that authority to the Vice President. They at the very least throw an ominous cloud of uncertainty over the legality of every exercise of Presidential functions which Mr. Wilson may undertake. They throw a cloud of uncertainty as to the legality of every Executive act, of every appointment Mr. Wilson has made since he committed the unheard-of breach of all custom, tradition, and precedent by physically removing himself from the field of his Executive jurisdiction and endeavoring to establish the seat of that jurisdiction in a foreign country over a thousand leagues away.

The Constitution designates no degrees of inability to discharge the powers and duties of the Presidential office. It does not leave the door open to plead ability to perform certain functions as an offset to inability to perform certain others. Either the President is competent to discharge all the powers and duties of his office, or he is incompetent to discharge any of them. If Mr. Wilson confesses that by his act of self-expatriation he has made himself impotent to do his sworn duty as Chief Executive in one instance of emergency vital to the welfare of the country, has he not by that act disqualified himself for any exercise of the authority originally confided to him?

Of course all this was discussed pro and con on a theoretical basis at the time Mr. Wilson announced his astounding decision to go abroad for an indefinite absence at a time when so many intricate economic and legislative problems were coming with bewildering rapidity upon the country. His staunchest political and newspaper supporters questioned both the propriety as well as the legality of such a step. There was sound legal authority for the belief that physical removal of a President for so long a time and to so great a distance constructively created that very "inability" which, under the Constitution, automatically transferred the Presi-

dency to the Vice President. The entire country was uneasy and angry, and justly so, at the innovation and at the autocratic implications which the innovation inevitably carried.

But, as usual, to all these protests, both of his advisers and of the public, the President turned a deaf ear. He met the objection of inability to perform his Presidential duties while so far away with the flat statement that by cable, wireless and couriers he could perform those duties as well in Paris as he could in Washington. Even theoretically the proposition, on its face, was absurd. And now, in actual practice, it has been demonstrated to be absurd.

The cumulative blundering ineptitudes of Mr. Burleson had at last precipitated an acute crisis in one branch of those public utilities which, as a whole, he has mismanaged with such seemingly inexhaustible resources in sheer incompetence as to have resulted in something approaching a national disaster. With a fatuous arrogance almost beyond belief, he had precipitated a strike which paralyzed the telephonic service of all New England. The sick were suffering and dying from inability to summon prompt medical attendance by telephone. The mechanism of business was dislocated and in confusion. It was a crisis when, if ever, prompt Executive action from the White House was imperative. Eleven Massachusetts Senators and Representatives, including the chairman of the Massachusetts Democratic Club, and all of them influential leaders in Mr. Wilson's own political party, cabled an urgent appeal to the President to come to New England's relief; to settle the strike, and, above all, to remove the preposterous Burleson. Undoubtedly, in response to such an appeal from such a source, the President would have responded had it been possible for him to do so. But it was not possible. He was too far distant in a foreign land to act decisively and intelligently, as the crisis demanded, and he replied with that unqualified confession. Here was a full and distinct admission by Mr. Wilson of his inability by reason of his residence abroad to discharge the powers and duties of his office.

Now, with that "inability"—which under the Constitution annuls his Executive authority—thus demonstrated and confessed, it is submitted that an adjudication by the Supreme Court as to whether Thomas R. Marshall or Woodrow Wilson is President of the United States would be both pertinent and desirable.

As to the general form of the League constitution, it is the result of various compromises between earnest men, each with insistent demands behind him, and while mere verbal amendment is easy, there is no provision of it but what has reached its present form through labored effort to accommodate conflicting desires and necessities. The ablest minds of the nations have devoted vast thought and consecration to realization of this ideal, and they are entitled to have their work approached in sympathetic and even reverent spirit, not as if they had conspired to wreck the United States and the world.—*Indianapolis Star*.

Of "reverent" we feel uncertain, but "sympathetic" is undoubtedly exact.

The Burlesonized cables are not so congested that they cannot fetch long speeches from Sir Josephus to the effect that, of all our Presidents, only Jefferson, Lincoln and Wilson have had "hearts aflame."

Our Awful Burden

UNQUESTIONABLY one of the first thing that Congress will do when it reassembles will be to rescue the telephone, telegraph and cable lines from the grip of the Politicalmaster General. Plans to that end as well as plans for a thorough investigation and exposure of the wreckage of the mail service are already taking shape. A mass of data has been collected which, when published, will make a record of stupidity and incompetence in the handling of the postal service alone such as has rarely, if ever, been matched in the history of Governmental incompetence. Supplement this with the tens of thousands of individual cases of complaint from one end of the country to the other, and the urgent necessity of ejecting Mr. Burleson from office will be so apparent that the President's duty in the premises will be incontestably obvious.

That Mr. Wilson will rise to this duty is rather more than doubtful, however clear beyond question it may be that nothing short of Mr. Burleson's removal will meet the wishes of a long-suffering public now aroused to a point little short of a nation-wide outburst of rage.

If the President should stubbornly refuse to lift this blight from the Postoffice Department, the end may possibly be attained by process of impeachment. The seizure of the cable lines and of the telegraph and telephone lines, after the signing of the armistice, were acts of dubious legality, to say the least. As has been recited so often on the floor of Congress and in the press throughout the country, the resolution granting authority for these seizures was passed solely as a war measure. It was distinctly understood and agreed in the preceding debate that only as a measure of actual war emergency would the authority granted be exercised. It was even urged by Administration spokesmen that the lines might never be taken over—that the critical war conditions making such a step necessary might not arise.

All of which was sham pure and simple. When the telegraph and telephone lines were seized, the armistice which destroyed the Germans' power of resistance had been signed. When the cables were seized the President had already formally assured Congress that the war was over. It was not to meet a condition of a mere technical state of war that executive authority was granted. It was to meet a possible emergency of actual, active warfare. The seizure when all danger of such an emergency had passed was wholly immoral, if not actually il-

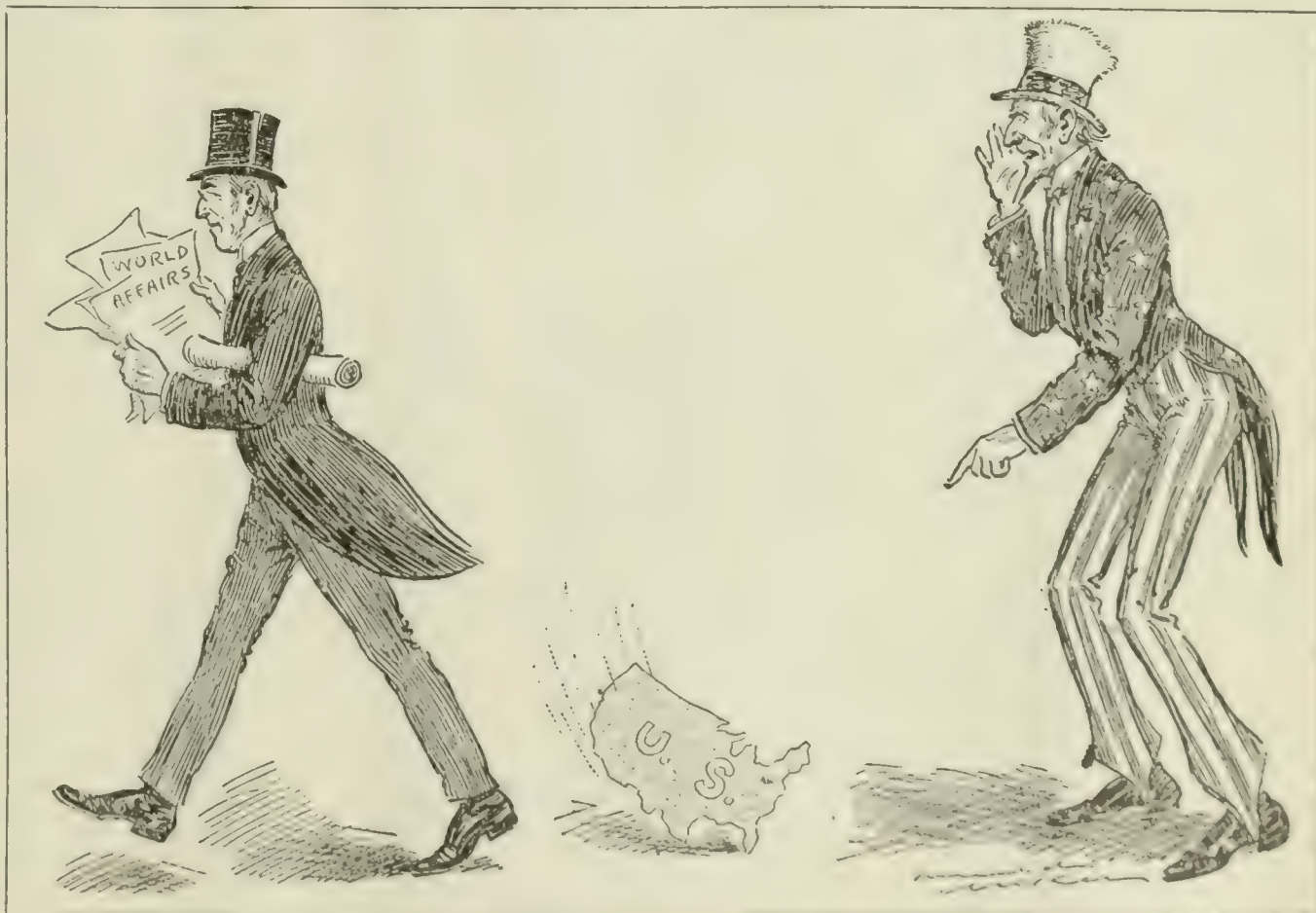
legal. If the wires were illegally seized by the Politicalmaster-General, the question of whether he is not open to impeachment and removal from office may well engage the attention of the coming session of Congress. As a matter of fact, almost the only hope of getting rid of him during the present Administration rests on the institution and success of some sort of Congressional action. The chances that the President will remove him are remote. The idea that he will resign is inconceivable.

His power further to wreck the telegraph, telephone and cable services must and will be taken away from him the moment Congress can get around to that wholly congenial task. His continuing power to wreck the mail service, alas, is another matter.

"The greatest danger," says the *Indianapolis Star*, "is that of posing as some sort of superstatesman who loves his country so well that he will not barter away its rights for a mess of pottage or something of that sort," and, continuing, the *Star* adds:

There was too much of this in the recent address here by Col. George Harvey. He smote his breast in the presence of high heaven and vowed that no matter what inferior patriots might do, he would never surrender the American flag or the American Constitution or the American sovereignty to any foreign Power. He invited the inference that those who favor the League of Nations are a rather poor sort of patriots, who don't care much for their country, but would throw its rights and powers away to the first pied piper who came along playing through the streets. Doubtless such a thing would be very far from the thought of Colonel Harvey or of Senator New.

We cannot speak for Senator New, he is fully capable of caring for himself; but the sentiment expressed was by no means "far from the thought" of ourselves; it was very near. Are we to infer that Brother Shaffer would consciously "barter away" our national rights for "a mess of pottage or something of that sort"? We don't believe it.



"Hey, Mister—You Dropped Something!"

—From "Life."

Surprising Information

WHAT a knowing one, to be sure, is that gentleman who diagnoses our American politics for London *Truth*! Under the head of "Notes From New York," for instance, in a recent number of that excellent journal, the way he does take the cover off the political cauldron here and disclose and analyze the complicated contents thereof is amazing. No use trying to bluff or lead *him* into error. He sees right through everything. And how well he does know us! How sensitive his touch to every variation or flutter in the pulse of our public opinion! Through all the warring currents and cross-currents of our seething flood of politics he paddles his light canoe with unerring skill straight to the goal. He negotiates every revolving eddy; explores every stagnant bayou. He knows us better than we know ourselves—knows and tells us all about ourselves.

So, it is a relief to have him assure us in the very first line of his incisively sagacious analysis of a condition here that "personally" he "does not worry about the Senate." Senators Lodge and Knox, he says "may bluff Europe," but "there is no evidence that they have impressed their neighbors." There you are! He puts his finger right on the nerve centre. Of course he could have told, if he had wanted to, just why these and the other Senators who signed the new Declaration of Independence have not "impressed their neighbors." It is because all these Senators have pygmy minds. We know they have, because an Exalted Personage said so.

But in the very next sentence *Truth's* remarkable publicist gets down to real information. Referring to the course of Senators Lodge and Knox, he makes this penetrating observation:

Already we can see that their line splits the Republican Party, which doesn't like it, especially when the banks and the Steel Corporation and other respectable interests are driven into Mr. Woodrow Wilson's arms. If all the believers in the League of Nations vote Democratic, with Mr. Taft wooing them with his famous chuckle, what will be the fate of the G. O. P.?

Ah, what indeed will then be the Republican Party's fate! Here are all the believers in the League voting the Democratic ticket, lured on thereto by the siren Taft chuckle, and Mr. Wilson all the time with his arms full of banks and Trusts "and other respectable interests"! Aye, and the latter statesman, too, is just as likely as not to chuckle almost any time. A mighty good chuckler he is, if it comes to that. He told us himself in his Indianapolis speech how "Woodrow sat back and chuckled." That was when the slaughter down in Mexico was at its gayest. So, here is a double-header chuckle, and Woodrow with an armful of banks and Trusts for the Republican Party to buck up against! It looks as though Chairman Hays had a sizable job ahead of him. It seems to be one likely to call for all of that organizing skill and political intuition for which he is so noted.

The sage of *Truth* is not limited to mere knowledge of American politics. He is especially strong on the mechanism of the American Government. "A new Congress only meets," he informs us, "when the President remembers its existence." So, if the fact that there is a new Congress in existence should happen to slip the watching mind of our

President-at-Large for a year or so, we would have no Congress. We might thus have an entire Administration without any Congress at all, if a President happened to be afflicted with a poor memory. Now, how few of us even suspected this curious Constitutional kink?

But it is not to be supposed that the Publicist is informative only on the larger and weightier questions. His knowledge of minor matters is equally amazing. We are proud of Mr. Wilson's "dare-devil courage," he informs us, and possibly Mr. Wilson himself shares the London correspondent's opinion in this respect. At all events that theory might account for the remarkable "fighting-blood-up" speech in Boston, and might even explain the still more astounding swank in Washington about hanging League opponents higher than Heaven, and heads down at that.

What we would like to know is, whether our own creel is or is not creeling here for London *Truth*?

Under Which Flag?

AMERICA.

My country, 'tis of thee,
Sweet land of liberty,
Of thee I sing;
Land where my fathers died,
Land of the pilgrims' pride,
From ev'ry mountain side
Let freedom ring!

My native country, thee,
Land of the noble free,
Thy name I love;
I love thy rocks and rills,
Thy woods and templed hills;
My heart with rapture thrills
Like that above.

Let music swell the breeze,
And ring from all the trees
Sweet freedom's song;
Let mortal tongues awake;
Let all that breathe partake;
Let rocks their silence break,
The sound prolong.

Our father's God! to Thee,
Author of liberty,
To Thee we sing;
Long may our land be bright
With freedom's holy light;
Protect us by Thy might,
Great God, our King.

Read carefully these glowing words of patriotism sung by millions of patriots for many years, and then read the following address by George Harvey, editor of THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.—*Manufacturers Record*.

With what devilish satisfaction the remnants of the Potsdam gang must observe the efforts of Colonel Harvey, and certain newspapers, not all outside of Boston, to discredit the League of Nations covenant by everlastingly whanging about it as a "British scheme."—*Boston Herald*.

Before the war was over we stated our peace terms. On behalf of the Government I made a considered statement, considered by every member of the cabinet, as to what we conceived to be the terms on which we could make peace. That was last year. At that time those terms received the adherence of every section of opinion in this country. There was no protest from any quarter. A few days afterward President Wilson proposed his famous fourteen points, which practically embodied my statement.—*Lloyd George to Parliament*.

Does Editor Cobb or the Hartford *Times* or the Boston *Herald* desire additional proof of "The Genesis of the Fourteen Commandments"?

Is The Monument Feasible?

YES, because the crux of the whole idea of the erection of a replica of the Washington Monument in France is a free-will offering straight from the people of America to the people of France, in recognition of the immeasurable service rendered to both by those of our own who were privileged to make the crowning sacrifice. Surely such a token of gratitude and honor from heart to heart of the democratic millions would count for vastly more than the customary perfunctory governmental testimonial.

We have obtained from our Army engineers an estimate showing that the total cost of the Monument, built of marble corresponding in quality and color to that used in the original, would not exceed \$3,000,000. More than three millions of Americans were engaged in the war. Is it conceivable that they themselves and others for them would fail to produce the equivalent of one dollar for each? We cannot believe it.

The official figures given below show that 2,810,296 men were called to our armies. They all served in the fight for freedom, either here or in France. The grand total is swelled by many more than the two hundred thousand, which would make the whole number of American men and women three millions. Thousands of American men fought in the French and British armies. Thousands and thousands more, both men and women, fought in the armies of mercy and morale which we voluntarily mobilized.

If you believe that this monument to them should come into being, write to the WEEKLY today.

THOSE WHO SERVED

Alabama	62,046
Arizona	8,385
Arkansas	50,761
California	71,945
Colorado	24,549
Connecticut	34,743
Delaware	5,244
District of Columbia.....	10,576
Florida	25,673
Georgia	69,051
Idaho	13,517
Illinois	186,790
Indiana	75,280
Iowa	71,823
Kansas	45,888
Kentucky	60,297
Louisiana	57,941
Maine	16,465
Maryland	35,423
Massachusetts	83,965
Michigan	101,422
Minnesota	76,917
Mississippi	45,248
Missouri	97,139
Montana	28,163
Nebraska	32,162
Nevada	3,253
New Hampshire.....	9,201
New Jersey.....	74,837
New Mexico.....	9,133
New York.....	266,952
North Carolina.....	60,822
North Dakota.....	19,174
Ohio	147,556
Oklahoma	66,981
Oregon	18,250
Pennsylvania	212,728
Rhode Island	12,076
South Carolina.....	45,707
South Dakota.....	22,194
Tennessee	62,179
Texas	123,089
Utah	11,908
Vermont	7,316
Virginia	60,836
Washington	31,085
West Virginia	46,854
Wisconsin	75,485
Wyoming	8,190
Alaska	1,962
Hawaii	5,523
Porto Rico.....	15,787
Total.....	2,810,296

INSTANTANEOUS RESPONSE

SIR,—Your suggestion for erecting in France a replica of the beautiful and dignified Washington Monument as a memorial to our dead is indeed an admirable one and one which should meet with instantaneous response; for to worthily commemorate a nation's dead, citizens who have given their lives in their country's service, is an age-old impulse of the human race. To-day, America mourning her dead, is filled with this desire to build a memorial that will be a lasting tribute and a testimony to their sacrifice for country and world freedom.

E. M. FRYER.

Philadelphia, Pa.

AN ECHO OF INSPIRATION

SIR,—I am sending you today a calendar accompanying a beautiful picture of the Washington Monument. The more we look at the picture and what it symbolizes the more we feel that it has been more or less of a desecration to use the picture of the Washington Monument for an advertising purpose. It seems almost like using our flag for the same purpose, but we have thoughtlessly used it and inasmuch as you have expressed such wonderfully clear thoughts on the reproduction of the Monument in France, we are sending the calendar as an echo of your inspiration.

Columbus, Ohio.

W. D. MCKINNEY,
Sec. Southern Ohio Coal Exchange.

DISTINCTIVE, TYPICAL

Col. George Harvey urges that nothing could be more fitting for this purpose than a replica of the Washington Monument. This, he says, is our one great distinctive national creation, our most notable work of art, and is unique.

The idea is a good one. . . .

Col. Harvey has obtained from army engineers an estimate showing that the total cost of the proposed monument, built of marble corresponding in quality and color to that used in the original, would not exceed \$3,000,000. This is a large sum, but would it, for such a cause, seem so to more than 100,000,000 people? It is likely that they would respond to a call for this particular memorial far more readily than for any other. It is an idea sure to have a popular appeal.—Indianapolis (Ind.) *Star*.

REMINDER AND WARNING

This seems to be a really splendid idea, both to have this particular monument and to have it paid for in the way he suggests. The Washington monument, in its simplicity and in its magnificence, typifies the spirit of America.

We can imagine the patriotic thrill that an exact replica of this monument would give to visitors in France from this country in all future years; what a reminder, and indeed a warning it would be to all the peoples of Europe of the power for righteousness which is this country; and especially what a fitting tribute to our soldiers who died there.—Carrollton (Mo.) *Republican-Record*.

Letters From Our Readers

MR. WHEELER EXPLAINS

Sir,—In your periodical of August 31, on page 16, you make the following reference to the undersigned:

"Like other moral men he was opposed to our entrance into the war, and now that we are in, he favors the only course open to one of his type, that of making the evil of war work for good."

You are mistaken in our attitude concerning our entering the war. I was in favor of going into the war much earlier than we did, in fact I could see no excuse for keeping out of it after the sinking of the *Lusitania*. National Constitutional Prohibition would have been adopted whether war came when it did or not. War Prohibition was enacted because of the emergency which we faced. There was no excuse for allowing the beer and liquor industries to continue wasting food, fuel, transportation facilities and man-power when they are needed to help win the war. This war has aroused the patriotism of the people and made them more unselfish, and self-sacrificing for others. Under such conditions, of course, it is easier to fight a recognized evil like liquor traffic. We will keep up the fight against the liquor traffic until it is abolished, not only in this country but throughout the world.

Washington, D. C.

W. B. WHEELER.

(Attorney and General Counsel of
Anti-Saloon League of America.)

[We congratulate Mr. Wheeler upon his attitude toward the war, and wish that he might be as correct on all other matters.—EDITOR.]

NO "WEASEL WORDS"

Sir,—I desire to commend your Indianapolis speech as voicing my sentiments as clearly and positively as I feel, in powerful language beyond my ability to use.

In particular I consider your summary of your conviction beginning with "I am opposed to this covenant as it stands," concluding with "I hold that the nation affords the only hope for Democracy," as the greatest utterance we have had from any public man. There are no "weasel words" in your speech and I hope there is some political party sufficiently intelligent to put forth your principles as a platform and go before the people on these principles so clearly put. You have defined the real and only reasons why the present Administration should be ousted. This thing, the covenant, must be fought vigorously, or it will win and we will find ourselves with a dozen scraps on our hands where now we have only one.

One of my sons gave his life to destroy the beast, and now sleeps in the Argonne. The other son, happily, is now being mustered out. They made their sacrifice that peace might come and abide with us; not that the fourteen points might be made into an ambiguous treaty.

But I must not bore you more. I and all the influence I possess are with you to the end.

W. H. SEAMON.

Globe, Ariz.

FROM A YOUTH OF SEVENTY

Sir,—I had been suffering from Wilsonian neuritis and mental anemia, due to lack of nourishing pabulum, when a friend recommended HARVEY'S WEEKLY. The first "dose" put hair on my breast, vigor in my frame, light in my eye and hope in my heart.

And now—in my youthful seventies—I am ready to meet all comers. Seriously, since our great and beloved Roosevelt has gone, I have felt that there was no one left to speak for me so that the whole country could hear. Then HARVEY'S WEEKLY was brought to my attention.

I will not pretend that you, or any one else, can anticipate and express my sentiments as Roosevelt did. But you come much the nearest to doing so on all political questions. And I wait hungrily for each number.

On the prohibition question I am forniced you, teeth and toenails. But I can afford to smile amiably at your harangue on that subject, for, you see, I am on top, as it were.

In your March 15th issue, speaking of the possible result of the referendum vote of April 7th in Michigan, you closed your editorial with these words—"It is to laugh—or weep."

Permit me to correct. It is both.

I laugh.

You weep.

All the same, here's to your health.

E. C. CHANDLER, D. D. S.

P. S.—You spoke approvingly in one of your editorials of Hon. Albert J. Beveridge. Why wouldn't he be suitable Presidential timber for 1920?

E. C. C.

Steubenville, Ohio.

MORALITY BY LEGISLATION

Sir,—I cannot tell you how much I enjoy reading HARVEY'S WEEKLY and what a sympathetic chord its utterances strike in my breast.

Mr. John H. Kirby, of Houston, Texas, at a lumbermen's convention here yesterday, delivered the speech, and his arraignment of the Democratic party and its doings should be blazoned forth in every section of the solid South, so that a proper awakening and realization as to our situation be had. Business generally in this country is crying on bended knee to be let alone and to get back into its normal pre-war activities. Certain it is that it is going to take a long time for industry, trade and barter to get back to normal, under the most favorable conditions, and if our Government will simply confine itself to the enunciation of principles, letting us Americans work out our own destiny within those limitations, then the better the world at large would be. You cannot legislate prosperity any more than you can morality.

New Orleans, La.

S. LOCKE BREAUX.

MEXICO AGAIN

Sir,—The country will not soon forget your able leadership in the fight for a sane and patriotic Mexican policy, in Mr. Wilson's first Administration. The need for such a policy, unhappily, has not passed.

There is this encouragement, however, that the members of the majority in the new Congress evince a disposition to subject our relations with Mexico to a thorough-going inquiry. The frequent mention of Mexico, in the Senate speeches, argues an intention on the part of these Senators, opposed to the League, to thresh out the aspect of our foreign relations.

If you noted Mr. Gould's recital of recent outrages, inserted in the *Congressional Record* of March 15, I am sure you were not unmoved.

You are concerned now with large matters; is it not your duty, as a great patriot, to proclaim anew the principles that should rule in the protection of American lives and property in Mexico?

CHARLES M. WHITCOMB.

Philadelphia, Pa.

THE LEAGUE IN MULE CREEK

Sir,—Recently, while on a trip to Mule Creek and vicinity, in the wilds of Grant County, New Mexico (by the way, you have probably guessed that Mule Creek, from its name and locality, is a Democratic stronghold, some of the older inhabitants thereof having "fit with Mosby and Quantrell" in the war of separation, as Marse Henry calls it), I had occasion to ask a be-whiskered denizen his opinion of the League of Nations. "Well, sir," he said, "when I done heered of that there League of Nations, I says 'My God' to myself and spits. To hell with that there League. What I am aimin' to know is when they is goin' to send my boy back from France. That is what I want to know. I been a Democrat all my life and my paw was before me, but I don't figger on no League of Nations."

FREDERIC WINN.

Silver City, N. M.

A SNARE AND A DELUSION

Sir,—Considering the absolute worthlessness of the League Covenant, except as an instrument devised to show how a thing is to be done by not doing it, and therefore pregnant with future discord, I beg leave to propose, through the medium of your candid publication, a re-amendment of the famous Article X, which, in my humble opinion, would gain in clearness and consistency with the facts, by being worded:

Nothing in this covenant shall be deemed to possess any real meaning or significance, for it is simply a snare and a delusion from beginning to end.

S.

New Haven, Conn.

HISTORY AS LEARNED

Sir,—The following is from a recent school paper:

"Question: State what you know of the following:

George Washington.

"Answer: George Washington is the name of the ship President Wilson sailed to France on."

J. F. D.

New York City.

THE BEST YET.

Sir,—The best yet in mail service: THE WEEKLY for Feb. 15th reached me safely April 5th, way over in Brooklyn. Only seven weeks late. It was interesting as history.

H. J. S.

Brooklyn, N. Y.

HARVEY'S WEEKLY

Four Dollars a Year

Ten Cents a Copy

VOL. 2

WEEK ENDING MAY 3, 1919

No. 18



AN ENGLISH VIEW

PRESIDENT WILSON: "Here's your olive branch. Now get busy."
DOVE OF PEACE: "Of course I want to please everybody; but isn't it a bit thick?"—*Punch*.

The President at His Worst

THE President in his controversy with Italy is at his meddlesome and autocratic worst. Never before in all the tedious haggling over fads, and incidentally over terms of peace with Germany, has he appeared to so great disadvantage or caused so much humiliation and embarrassment to the nation which he egregiously misrepresents. He has committed mischief beyond the most sanguine desires of Hunnish marplots. He has disrupted the Peace Congress. He has created a degree of suspicion, discord and animosity among the Allies such as no German propagandists could have hoped to do. He has brought it to pass that the German plenipotentiaries, coming to Versailles at the call of the Allies to receive the completed Treaty of Peace from a united Congress, find themselves in the presence of a discordant and disrupted Congress and an unfinished Treaty. A more discreditable situation it would be difficult to conceive.

The matter is too serious for ridicule or railing, obvious and strong as is the suggestion of such treatment. It is no exaggeration to say that the honor and peace of nations are at stake, and are seriously jeopardized by the President's extraordinary conduct. Thoughtful Americans will do well, therefore, to keep the essential facts of it clearly and quite dispassionately in mind, partly for their own guidance in action and partly as a most convincing admonition against any further such excursions into internationalism as that in which the President is indulging and into which he has been trying—vainly, thank God!—to drag the American people.

Our relations to Fiume are two-fold. From one point of view we have no interest in the place. We have no claim upon it. Whether it is assigned to Italy or to Jugo-Slavia it will be open to our profitable commerce. The dispute over it obviously belongs to those European matters in which, according to the Monroe Doctrine, it does not comport with our policy to take any part. Moreover, the disposition of Fiume is said to have been agreed upon by the Powers some two years before we entered the war. The case is therefore none of our business. It does not affect our welfare, it is outside of our self-prescribed sphere of influence, and it was settled long before we became one of the Allied and Associated Powers. For these reasons it was simply a piece of gross impertinence for us to meddle in the matter at all.

From another point of view our interest in the case is very great. It is vital and absorbing. We are interested in it because, in the first place, we want the peace which is to be made—some time, please God!—to be founded upon justice, and upon justice to Italy as well as to everybody else. Italy fought the war through, loyally and efficiently and to the great aid of her Allies; and now she demands what she considers her rights.

We are also interested in the case because we want unity in peace-making among all the Powers which have been fighting against the Huns. It was through unity of action that the war was won. We want to see similar unity in the making and the preservation of peace. And so in the second place we are interested in it because we want to see not only peace made but also lasting friendship and confidence among the Allied nations. It would be lamentable and ominous to

make a peace in which Italy would feel that she had been betrayed and sacrificed at the instance of the United States.

The President, we have said, is at his worst. That is partly because he has insisted upon asserting that we have interests where we have none, and in ignoring and sacrificing our vital interests where they do exist. He would have us claim the right to meddle with the pact of 1915, when we have not the slightest title to do so; and he would have us set ourselves up as an arbiter between European peoples in a matter which concerns them exclusively and us not at all. On the other hand he would have us throw upon the scrap-heap all our interests in peace, justice, honor, and enduring friendship between nations.

He is at his worst partly, too, because of his flagrant self-repudiation and self-stultification. He affects to base his opposition to Italy's having Fiume upon the precious Fourteen Commandments which he took ready-made from Mr. Lloyd George. We had thought that he himself had played ducks and drakes with them—beginning with the very first—so much that nobody would now pretend that they were worthy of respect. But if indeed they are sacrosanct, then so much the worse for him, because there is not one of them that supports the position which he has taken toward Fiume, while there are at least two of them of which his present course is flat repudiation. One of them calls for readjustment of Italy's boundaries on racial lines. If that is done, Italy will certainly have Fiume. Another calls for self-determination of peoples. If that is done, Italy will certainly have Fiume, which long ago in a decisive plebiscite declared that to be its desire.

The President is, finally, at his worst because of the manner in which he has done the thing. He would have been wrong had he contented himself with opposing Signor Orlando in the "Holy of Holies," though he would still have been observing diplomatic decencies. But he was not content with that. When he found that he could not persuade or in any way convince Signor Orlando that Italy's right to Fiume—and Fiume's desire, too—should be sacrificed, he issued what was practically and intentionally a manifesto to the Italian people, over the heads of their government, inciting them to repudiate their own government and to adopt and follow the leadership of the chief of an alien state. In taking this step he has grossly misrepresented the principles, the policy, and the present wishes of the American nation.

It is not pleasant, it is painful and humiliating, thus to take sides with a foreign government against our own President; but he has left us no alternative compatible with truth and honor. We cannot subscribe to Decatur's toast when it is applied to our President in his personal capacity instead of to our country. When he is right, we stand by him through thick and thin. If he were wrong and yet acting according to the will of the country, we might not condemn him because the real blame would rest upon the nation. But when he is egregiously wrong and is in opposition to the will of the country, we cannot temporize, we cannot palliate his fault.

Two Telegrams

ON April 20 Senator Frank B. Brandegee was awakened out of a sound sleep to acknowledge receipt of the following "collect" telegram:

New York via New London.

Hon. Frank B. Brandegee:

Press despatches in all Metropolitan newspapers agree that France asks a guarantee that America as well as Britain would regard a German invasion of France as an act of war and a violation of the treaty and would move instantly regardless of the League of Nations machinery. In your opinion would the Senate ratify such an agreement? Please wire answer, collect. Thanking you for a reply.

THE WORLD.

Senator Brandegee paid the charge of \$2.64 and replied as follows:

The World, New York:

Replying to your telegraphic inquiry of the 20th instant, received midnight last night, I have to say:

I do not care, at this time and under present conditions, to express views upon the incoherent and kaleidoscopic statements and rumors which are daily and almost hourly printed in the press reports concerning the processes of open diplomacy now being exemplified at the Peace Conference, somewhere in France.

The entire proceeding is so amazing and, as it seems to me, outrageous, that I feel that it should be dealt with in a more formal and official manner than by the sending of telegrams by individual Senators to various newspapers.

The international situation appears,—from what we are permitted to know,—so grave, and the issues involved are so stupendous, in their present and future bearings and consequences, that it has long been and is now perfectly obvious that it was the plain duty of the President to have called the Senate in special session on the 4th of March last.

The Constitution of this country makes the advice and consent of the Senate, by a two-thirds vote, a necessary condition precedent to the making of any treaty.

The President is apparently engaged, behind closed doors, in an attempt to negotiate, without the advice or even the knowledge of the Senate, an entire series of treaties.

So far as we are allowed to have any information, these proposed treaties provide not alone for the establishment of peace with the Powers with whom this country has been at war, but they contemplate a new "World Constitution"—a sacred "Covenant" for a set of alliances, contracts, mandatory duties, obligations and future international entanglements so interwoven and inextricably intertwined and commingled with the peace treaty or treaties, as that we can not make peace unless we irrevocably commit this country to the entire Presidential program.

If the President desires the advice of the Senate in relation to these momentous questions he has the power to convene that body at any time.

It does not seem to me to be in line with making the world "safe for democracy" that questions which may decide the fate and the destinies of all the nations of the world for all time should be settled or even framed by one President or by individual Senators.

In matters of such universal import and tremendous weight it seems to me that the country is entitled to the benefit of the advice of the Senators from the 48 States of this Republic as was clearly contemplated by the framers of our Constitution and form of government.

Senators can not consult, advise, agree or deliberate unless they can get together.

The President neglects to call us together. He and many of his heads of departments and bureaus are in foreign lands.

The Legislative branch of the government is not permitted to assemble.

The country is out of touch with its government and the President is out of touch with the country!

My views are admirably expressed in the article in the April issue of *The North American Review*, by Dr. David Jayne Hill, entitled, "The Obstruction of Peace."

FRANK B. BRANDEGEE.

The *World* did not publish the reply.

WILSON GIVES THOUGHT TO AFFAIRS IN WASHINGTON.—Headline in *Washington Post*.

Thought or attention? It boots little.

The League for War

THREE features damn the Revised Version of the Covenant of the League of Nations.

We cheerfully concede that in some respects the thing is not as bad as it was before. The President has taken counsel of those Senators whose "pigmy minds" he "loathed" and whom he wanted to hang upon a gibbet; whom his friend the Rev. Dr. van Dyke esteemed as "insects" and "Pagan pessimists."

Strange, that he should have accepted suggestions and advice from such sources. Can any good come out of Nazareth?

But in spite of these improvements, the thing is in three major and salient respects so radically vicious that it is difficult to imagine how any thoughtful and loyal American can regard it otherwise than with unconquerable repugnance, as a gross violation of American principles, an insidious attack upon American sovereignty and independence, and a grave menace to the peace of the world.

It is objectionable because, to take up its chief evils in their numerical order, it would place the military and naval strength of this country subject to the dictation of alien Powers. It is true that Article VIII does not compel reduction of armaments, but leaves it to the will of the nations, under the advice of the League. But—and here is the "nigger in the woodpile"—it does absolutely forbid any increase of force by any nation without the unanimous consent of the Council of the League. That is to say, if after the reestablishment of peace we should place our army and navy on a peace basis, and then a little later a menace of war should arise, or other circumstances which might make some enlargement of our forces desirable, we should not be able, without the unanimous consent of the other nations of the world, to add a single regiment to our army or a single destroyer to our navy. That certainly would seem to be a direct violation of that clause of the Constitution of the United States which vests Congress with the power to raise and maintain armies and a navy and to make rules for their regulation.

There could be no question of its placing this country in an insufferable state of subserviency to other nations, or indeed to any one nation in the world that might wish to restrain us from adequate preparations for self-defence.

The thing is objectionable because it retains virtually unchanged that pernicious Article X which was one of the very worst features of the original Smuts-Cecil draft. That astounding article would bind the United States not merely to respect, which we shall always hope to do, but also "to preserve against external aggression the territorial integrity and existing political independence" of every other member of the League.

Think of it! If British India, for example, should make some territorial or political aggressions upon Siam, we should be compelled to intervene with army and navy for the protection of the Land of the White Elephant! If China should complain that Japan was making aggressions upon her integrity and independence, we should be compelled to "preserve" her therefrom! Of course, it

might be said that we should not in fact be under such compulsion, because a command to us for such intervention would have to be made by unanimous vote, and our own vote could of course veto it. But to argue that would be to make the whole thing an ineffectual mockery, incapable of accomplishing anything. And in what light should we stand before the world if all the other nations in the League wanted us to do a certain act for the peace of the world and we alone refused!

The thing is objectionable because of its inept and injurious characterization of the Monroe Doctrine as a "regional understanding" and its bunching of that instrument with a job-lot of other unnamed "regional understandings." It may be that the foreign statesmen who were the real authors of the scheme have no better conception than that of the Doctrine which has for nearly a century been the foundation of the foreign policy of the United States; but if any American thus slightly regards it, we pity him when he meets, in the Elysian Fields, the shades of James Monroe and John Quincy Adams. Frankly, bad as it was in the original to omit all mention of the Monroe Doctrine, we must regard it as far worse to insert this untruthful, compromising and depreciatory reference to it.

We have said that there are these three salient objections to the Covenant. There are, and any one of them is enough to damn it. But there are also others; perhaps, above all, these two, which appeal not alone to us but to all nations: One is, that by making resounding professions but failing to provide tangible and efficient means for their fulfilment, the whole thing is as delusive as the

. . . juggling fiends . . .
That keep the word of promise to our ears
And break it to our hope.

The other is that while it professes to fulfil the principle of the President's Fourteenth Commandment, and to regard great and small states alike, it in fact provides for perpetually turning over the destinies of all nations to the control of a close corporation of five great Powers—of which, by the way, two are at this moment at loggerheads with at least one another.

The proposed League has been variously called a General Association of Nations, a League of Nations to Prevent War, and a League of Nations for the Enforcement of Peace. If it shall be formed upon the basis of this Covenant, it will in fact be a League of the Big Five to Promote War. And that is a thing in which the fatherland of Washington must take no part.

Certain newspapers of wide circulation have intimated that the President had entered into a secret alliance or treaty with some of the Great Powers.—*Joseph P. Tumulty.*

Oh, no, Joseph, no! Surely there can't be any paper foolish enough to imagine either that the President could actually make a treaty or an alliance for this country, all by his lonesomeness, or that any Great Power would enter into such a compact with him in his purely personal capacity. What was hinted by somebody "over there" was that he had been making some promises in our behalf which the rest of the treaty-making power might not approve.

Why Italy Claims Fiume

PRESIDENT WILSON is responsible for Italy's claim upon Fiume. That is the most striking feature of this whole Adriatic embroilment. If it had not been for him and his insistent urgings, Italy might never have asked for that port, but might generously have conceded it to the Jugo-Slavs. Indeed, we are credibly informed that she meant so to do, when the President intervened with what was in effect not merely a suggestion but an imperative demand for the cession of Fiume to Italy. And now when Italy seeks to act according to his mandate, he demurs and declares that she must not do it!

Here are the facts, categorically stated:

Great Britain, France and Russia on September 5, 1914, entered into the Pact of London—not a secret treaty—engaging the signatories to make no separate peace. Italy on May 23, 1915, entered the conflict by declaring war against Austria-Hungary, and thereupon signified her adherence to the same Pact of London. In that agreement there was no reference whatever to Fiume or to any readjustment of boundaries.

Meanwhile, however, there is said to have been made on April 26, 1915, a month before Italy's entrance into the war, a "secret treaty" between Italy and the other three Allies. In that, according to Mr. Trotzky—who after his treason to the Allies at Brest Litovsk revealed what purported to be the contents of all secret treaties of which the Russian Government had knowledge—it was agreed that the whole coast of Croatia, including Fiume, Nevi and Carlopago, together with portions of Dalmatia, should be granted not to Italy but to the Jugo-Slavs. Italy, we are told, agreed to this notable act of self-abnegation, and on the strength of that "secret treaty" a month later entered the war.

Down to this point, therefore, there was no thought on Italy's part of claiming Fiume, but there is every reason to suppose that if there had been no intervention in those arrangements she would have assented to the cession of Fiume to the Jugo-Slavs.

But there was intervention. On January 8, 1918, President Wilson interfered. He then promulgated the Four-

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teen Commandments with which Mr. Lloyd George had provided him, and in them he practically dictated the abrogation of the "secret treaty" of April 26, 1915, and ordered that Fiume should be turned over to Italy instead of to the Jugo-Slavs.

In the first place he prescribed "open covenants of peace, openly arrived at;" and though he added that there should thereafter be no "private international understandings" and did not specifically demand the abrogation of such understandings formerly made and then existing, he has since made it quite clear that he did contemplate and now insists upon such *ex post facto* application of the First Commandment. Thus the President annulled the provisional cession of Fiume to the Jugo-Slavs.

Next, in the Ninth Commandment, he prescribed "a readjustment of the frontiers of Italy along clearly recognizable lines of nationality." That of course meant that Italy should take Fiume for her own, since there is no question in the world that Italian nationality greatly predominates in that city. A majority of its people are Italian, and its traditions and culture are almost purely Italian.

Finally, in at least two of the Commandments and in numerous other utterances the President prescribed "self-determination" as the fundamental rule upon which disputed territories should be disposed of. That also obviously meant that Italy should take Fiume, since immediately upon the conclusion of the armistice the people of that city unmistakably indicated their desire for annexation to that country.

That completes the record, save for the astounding sequel at the Paris Peace Conference. Italy entered the war and fought it for nearly three years with the purpose and expectation of giving Fiume to the Jugo-Slavs. Then President Wilson suggested and practically directed that Italy should take Fiume for her own. At the Peace Congress Italy undertook to fulfil this prescription of the President's. Thereupon the President repudiated his own Commandments and passionately declared that Italy should not be permitted to do the very thing which he had suggested, incited and urged her to do.

There is no more amazing example of self-reversal, even in the President's strangely inconsistent and tergiversatory career.

The Strategy of Middle Europe

EFFECTIVE measures are being adopted, we are assured, to prevent another Hunnish eruption toward the west. Alsace and Lorraine are being returned to France, the Rhine may be internationalized, and a non-military, unfortified zone will be established along that river from the Alps to the Sea, and the fortifications of Heligoland will be razed. All that is very well. But what of the Eastern front? Is there not equal need of a barrier there? The German campaign cry was "*Drang nach Oesten!*" long before there was a drive at Paris or at the Channel Ports. For a full generation the German scheme has been for expansion eastward. It was indeed in fulfilment of that scheme that the great war was begun with an attempt to make Serbia an Austrian province.

It would be folly to overlook that primary object of the war in our concern over the secondary object.

The strategy of peace requires an effective barrier between Germany and Russia, just as much as between Germany and France. It must be a barrier effective in both directions. There is need of damming back the Bolshevik flood from Western Europe and compelling Russia to solve her domestic problems without involving other lands. It is one of the most ominous features of Bolshevism that it declines to do this, but persists in foreign propaganda. Against it Western Europe needs a strong barrier.

There is need, too, of damming Germany back from the invasion and exploitation of Russia and the East generally which she has long contemplated and which she has in mind to-day as much as ever. Indeed, she has it more in mind than ever, because of her loss of sea power. Thwarted in her marine ambitions, there is left to her expansion by land, and that is what she now intends to seek. If she can have untrammelled access to Russia, to exploit and practically to annex that country and the regions which lie beyond, one of her chief aims in the great war will be attained, to the menace of the rest of the world.

That barrier is to be provided in only one possible way, which happens to be a natural, logical and equitable way, and the very way which is, incidentally, suggested in the President's Fourteen Commandments of Peace. That is, by the erection of the strong independent states of Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Roumania, extending contiguously from the Baltic to the Euxine. Those three nationalities are all non-German, even anti-German, as also non-Russian. All are entitled on every ground of reason and justice to complete self-determination, which will of course mean independent sovereignty. Of course, these considerations are entirely apart from and in addition to the need of a barrier between Germany and Russia. If the three states were not needed as a barrier, they should be created all the same.

But such a barrier to be effective must be complete. It must be an unbroken wall from sea to sea, and it must have within itself sufficient strength for self-sustentation. That is axiomatic. A gap in the centre, or a shortening at either end, would be fatal. That is why Germany has been trying to move heaven and earth to prevent Poland from possessing Dantzic. She wants the barrier to fall short of reaching the Baltic, so that at that end of it there will be direct contact and unrestrained intercourse between herself and Russia. That is why so persistent and desperate an effort is being made by the Ukrainians to deprive the Poles of Lemberg, so as to make a gap in the centre of the wall. That is why, finally, there have even been attempts to drive Roumania out of Bessarabia and Dobrudscha, so as to shorten the barrier at that end and make the Danube Delta a passageway from Bulgaria into Russia, with the possibility, however remote, that Germany and Bulgaria, through Hungary, might some day become again contiguous.

We cannot tell at this moment what the Powers will ultimately do concerning these matters. But whatever they do must be done with a clear realization of what it means and of what the consequences will be. Is Germany to win through the strategy of peace the "*Drang nach Oesten!*" which she failed to win in the war? That is the question.

Teaching Bolshevism

IS Bolshevism to be inculcated, or is the truth about Bolshevism to be taught, in American public schools? The question is timely and pertinent, both in itself and as a part of a much larger problem concerning American patriotism and American education.

It has been disclosed that there are in some of our large cities so-called "Sunday Schools"—because they meet on that day—devoted to the teaching of revolutionary doctrines variously described as Socialist, Bolshevik and Soviet. Children of tender years are being systematically taught that American principles of government are all wrong and are to be opposed and resisted, and that the vagaries of alien agitators are to be preferred and adopted in their place. That is an infamous thing, and it is a serious question to what extent it ought to be permitted.

But there can be no question that the existence and activities of such agencies of disloyalty make it all the more obligatory upon us to see to it not only that the teaching in our public schools is soundly American but also that it is aggressively American. The former assurance ought not to be necessary, but it is. It has become notorious that in New York City, for example, there are not a few public school teachers whose loyalty to American democracy is by no means above question. Some of them are charged with having recommended Bolshevik or other alien principles to their pupils. They have even formed an extensive organization for the purpose of promoting un-American propaganda in American schools.

That is scandalous, and should be radically corrected. But that is not all that should be done. There is no use in casting out devils if the room is left empty and swept and garnished for other devils to enter at will. We need not merely to suppress disloyal teaching but also to promote aggressively loyal teaching; and just now it seems highly desirable to teach the truth about Bolshevism.

Children hear about the thing and wonder what it is. If nobody else tells them the truth about it, they presently hear some soap-box orator, or some half-baked parlor Bolshevik, extolling it as the Beauty of Holiness. So they get the impression that it is a new and improved form of government, which ought to be adopted here in place of our bourgeois democracy. The mischief that may thus be done is incalculable.

It should be met and dealt with not passively but actively. Pains should be taken, no labor should be spared, not merely to avoid giving false impressions of Bolshevism but also to insure the giving of correct impressions. It should be incumbent, compulsory, in every public school to teach children what the thing is, how dishonest it is and how unclean, and how hostile and repugnant to every American principle. Dogberry might say that "reading and writing comes by nature," but in these times, with so much pernicious propaganda extant, it would be folly to trust to nature to make sound citizens of our girls and boys. They need to be taught to love America and American principles, and to such teaching the logical corollary is that they must be taught to hate and to renounce Bolshevism and all its works.

Burleson Must Go

THE country's patience under the Burleson affliction has clearly reached its limit. Burleson must go. There are three ways by which we may be rid of him. One is by his voluntary resignation. Another is by his removal from office by the President. The remaining alternative is impeachment.

That the Politicalmaster General will resign or that the President will remove him is to the last degree improbable. That he will be impeached if he does not resign or if he is not removed by the President is practically a certainty. Even were the incoming Congress reluctant to act, the pressure from the country is already too strong to be ignored, and with every day it is growing in volume. It is confined to no section. It is restricted to no party lines. East and West, North and South, the demand that this crushing incubus be lifted from the business and social communications of the country is all but unanimous. Democrats and Republicans are as united on that as they are divided on many other questions. In fact it is in Burleson's and the President's own party that the revolt against the Politicalmaster General is, if possible, the most determined. To Democrats he is a double burden. Not only do they share with the rest of the country the disastrous consequences of Burleson's utter incapacity, but they face a hot political campaign with the hopeless handicap of Burleson saddled upon their backs. Already one group of Democrats have cabled to the seat of Government in Paris a demand that Burleson be peremptorily ousted. The coming Democratic Conference in Chicago, in all probability, will be heard from along the same lines.

Even a reluctant Congress would hardly venture to resist what is tantamount to a national uprising. But Congress will not be reluctant. On the contrary, it will be as keen for anti-Burleson action as are the constituencies it represents. In fact, were the popular revolt against Mr. Burleson a tithe of what it is, there is no manner of doubt that one of the first acts of the incoming Congress would be an investigation looking towards impeachment proceedings against him. Already the task of accumulating data is under way. The material is absurdly abundant. It comes from all parts of the country and it covers grounds for impeachment specifications ranging all the way from maladministration due to sheer incapacity, to violation of the Constitution by attempts to throttle the freedom of the press. The counts in the Politicalmaster General's indictment might be expanded into a record of inefficiency and arrogant usurpation of authority that would fill a dozen newspaper pages. If they were to contain in condensed form the countless specific complaints which have been streaming through newspaper columns, in every State in the Union, for the past three years, the total would run into hundreds of thousands of words. The mere reading of them and the taking of testimony in support of them would occupy a large portion of the time of a long Congressional Session.

In discussing Mr. Burleson's recent outrageous refusal to transmit over the telegraph wires legitimate newspaper matter offered by the New York *World*, the *Sun* of April

24 assembled in a very effective way a group of legal principles and comments thereon which point the road clearly to a line of procedure against Mr. Burleson calculated to make remote indeed his chances of escaping impeachment when brought to the bar of Congress on charges susceptible of being supported by an overwhelming volume of proof.

First, the *Sun* cites that clause of the Constitution which provides that

Congress shall make no law . . . abridging the freedom . . . of the press.

Under an arbitrary law made, not by Congress but by enactment of Mr. Burleson, the freedom of the press was flagrantly abridged when the *World* was prohibited from transmitting newspaper matter over public telegraph lines.

Again, the *Sun* quotes the following from "Story on the Constitution":

To subject the freedom of the press to the restrictive power of a licenser . . . is to subject all freedom of thought to the prejudices of one man and make him the arbitrary and infallible judge of all controverted points in learning, religion and government.

By excluding from transmission to the press, in the case of the *World*, legitimate matter for newspaper use, Mr. Burleson made himself a self-constituted press licenser within the meaning of the above words from Judge Story, while by arbitrary exclusion of newspapers from the mails, and threats of such exclusion, Mr. Burleson has again approached perilously near to constituting himself such prohibited licenser.

After setting forth the Constitutional provision for the impeachment of the President, the Vice-President and all civic officers of the United States (Mr. Burleson being such civil officer) for high misdemeanors, the *Sun* quotes Blackstone's definition of high misdemeanors as follows:

Misprisions which are merely positive are generally denominated contempts or high misdemeanors, of which the first and principal is maladministration of such high offices as are in public trust and employment. This is usually punished by the method of parliamentary impeachment.

And parliamentary impeachment for maladministration of office is precisely what the people of the United States are demanding in the case of Albert Sidney Burleson, whose record is the most shameful feature of the Wilson Administration.

Postscript

As we go to press, some prospect of relief emerges, and we may before long begin the restoration of the telegraph and telephone services to a state of decent efficiency. That is the promise held out to this long-suffering public by the announcement issued by the Politicalmaster-General. For which, thank God—and the roused wrath of the American people.

What communications and consultations have passed between the President and Mr. Burleson the public cannot of course determine. Cables under government control are confidential means of communication—for the Government. But the essential facts in the case are writ large for all the world to read.

Government control, administered by the Politicalmaster-General, has proved a ghastly failure. All the insolent and brutal arrogance of the Politicalmaster-General cannot palliate nor conceal this fact. The whole communication system touches the daily interests of the people far too closely for

them to be deceived either by deliberate misrepresentation or by fantastic camouflage. They know that they are paying far more for the worst service in the world than they formerly paid for the best service in the world. To such argument there can be no reply.

The announcement made by the Politicalmaster-General is characteristic in its disingenuousness. He announces that he has recommended to the President the return of the lines to their owners, just as though that had always been his plan; when everybody knows that his plan has been permanent government retention of them and that he has been bending every energy to that end. He refers to the passing away of war conditions as making such return possible; when everybody knows that his seizure of the cable lines was effected after the war had been officially proclaimed at an end.

Thus his abandonment of a position in which he has made himself odious, and from which he has in fact been forced by the overwhelmingly hostile sentiment of an outraged nation, is effected with an insincerity and a lack of grace quite in keeping with his boorish and arrogant conduct while in that position. He runs true to form, to the very end.

The promised relief is to come "not yet, but soon." The cable lines, which happily the British Government has prevented Mr. Burleson from altogether demoralizing, are to be restored next week, but the telegraph and telephone lines, which are vastly more important to the general public, must wait action by Congress. Well, since the President seems at last to have been moved, either by regard for the welfare of the nation or by the warning that his Politicalmaster-General was wrecking his party, there is room for hope that he will speedily make it possible for Congress to take the needed action, and thus end what has accurately and temperately been described as "a fiasco without a parallel in the history of the country."

And since the Politicalmaster-General is thus compelled to relinquish his grip upon the electric services for the sake of the public welfare, we commend to the President the consideration whether the same reason does not even more imperatively require the removal of the same unfit functionary from control of a still larger and more important public service which he has demoralized to a still more disastrous degree.

No temporizing!

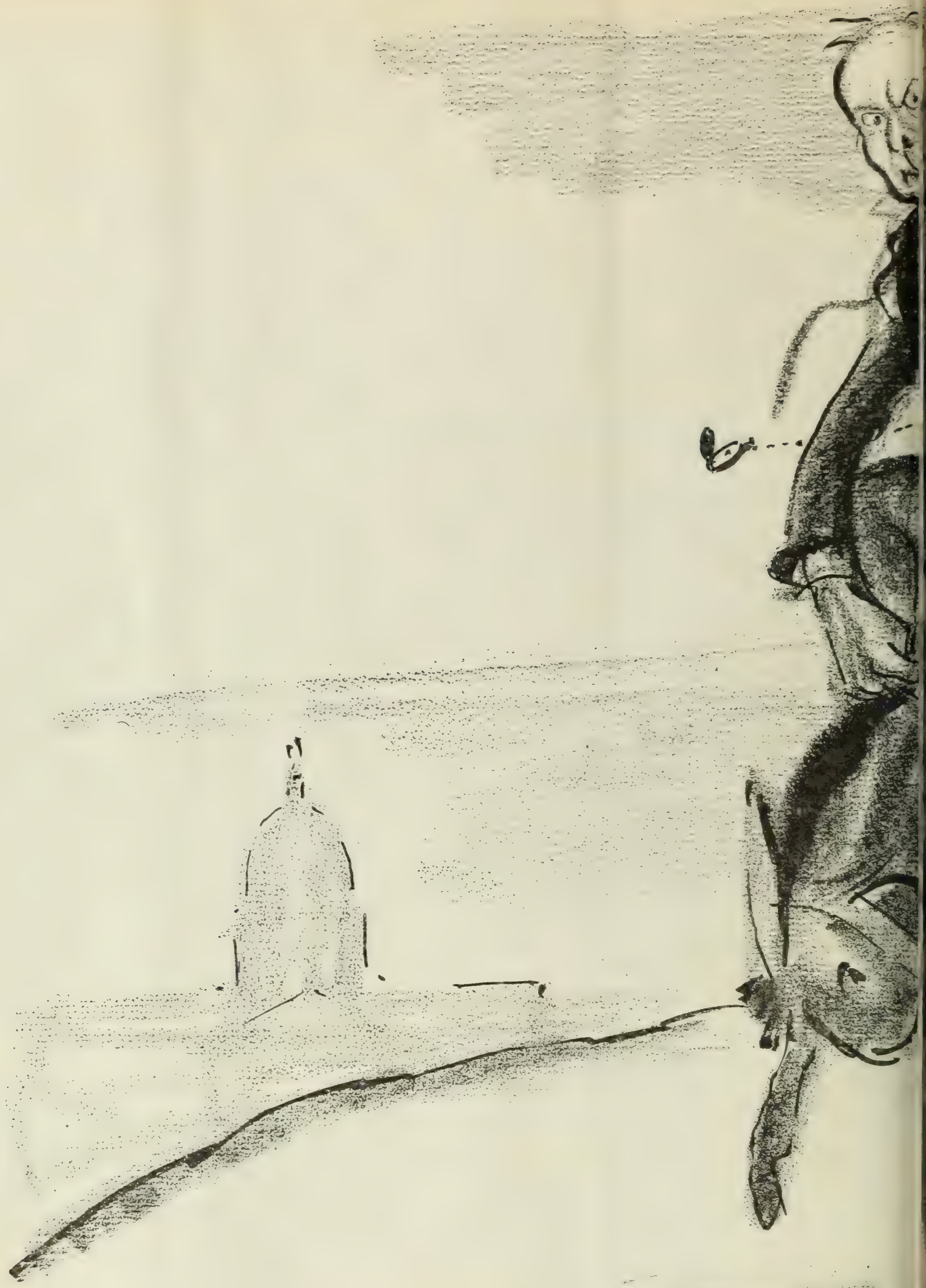
Burleson must go!

Talking on the fourteen points, Mr. Walter Lippmann (former secretary of Colonel House), said they were a good deal of a "political accident"; that they were rushed in at a time when there was a vacuum in policy that should have been filled by allied diplomacy. Colonel Harvey and other critics of the President have said that the fourteen points were borrowed from various sources and patched together, Mr. Lippmann declared. "That is exactly true," he added.—*New York Times*.

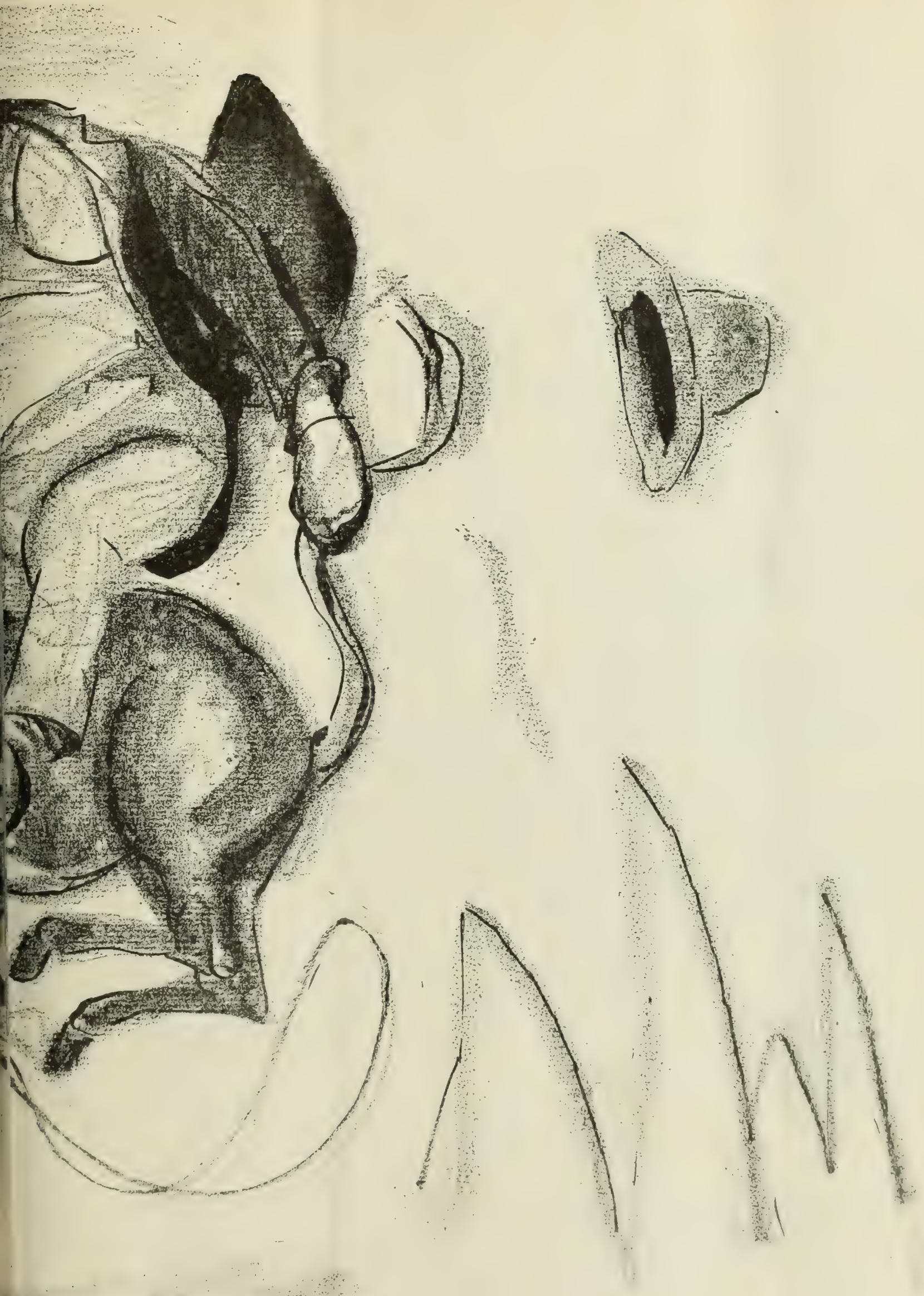
William The Damned

I did not much mind
That he blasphemed,
Saying that he was the Son of God;
But he was never
A sportsman.

—*Stilwell's Te Deum*.



THE
"Massachusetts Democrats Cable Wilson"



ASSES

Burleson Must Be Dropped."—"Sun" Headline

The Week

WASHINGTON, May 1, 1919.

MAY DAY as of old is sacred—or otherwise—to internationalism. It is, however, a different form of internationalism from that which years ago disquieted Europe with visions of the Red Spectre. We know now that the Internationale of Marx and Bakunin was never one half as formidable and menacing as men imagined it to be. In fact it finally faded away, having done no real harm and leaving no enduring and tangible trace behind. The Internationale of to-day is of a different order. It is headed by men—or by a man—of the highest official rank and influence and it is vested with supreme governmental authority. Its apparent purpose is to destroy the independent sovereignty of national governments and to eliminate the bounds of demarcation among them, so that one nation shall look to the heads of other nations for direction and control, and so that the head of one nation may harangue the people of other nations over the heads of their governments.

That is the sort of internationalism which is rampant in the world to-day, and which is, through some strange inertia of other Powers, so far dominant as to have brought the assembled nations to an impasse unprecedented in history.

We have been unable to avoid regarding with a certain degree of skepticism the successive setting of dates for the conclusion of peace. Last week, indeed, we almost overcame our doubts; so strong and explicit were the assurances that the culmination of the Conference had at last been reached. The German envoys were actually summoned to Versailles; and April 25, or 28 at latest, would see the completed draft of the Peace Treaty placed in their hands.

In a measure the programme was fulfilled. The Germans came. But no united and effective Peace Congress was waiting to deal with them. The scene at Paris was "without form and void, and darkness was upon the face of the deep." The only spirit that moved upon the face of the waters was that of the Covenant of the League. There might be no peace for the war-weary world; but at least there would be provision for having the "Big Five" boss the rest of the world, and for having each denatured nation compelled to be a meddler in the affairs of all the rest. And it was nearly six months ago that the President officially and publicly proclaimed the ending of the war!

Cordial commendation will be given to the proposal, which it must be assumed the Peace Congress will adopt, that William Hohenzollern shall be brought to trial before a special international tribunal, though there will be some wonderment at its exemption of that arch-scoundrel from the application of the criminal law. We should certainly not subscribe to the doctrine, which seems to be implied, but which certainly cannot be meant, that "a supreme offence against international morality and the sanctity of treaties" is not criminal. It is recalled that, according to an interview the authenticity of which has been disputed, the former

Kaiser said that he would destroy himself rather than submit to so undignified a performance as arraignment before a tribunal. Well, Webster said: "Suicide is confession."

Berlin and Vienna are almost hysterical in their rejoicings over the schism in the Peace Congress; which is not unnatural, and yet not wise. It is not surprising that they rejoice at the division in the councils of their foes and at the actual animosity which has been aroused among the latter; and it is cause for regret and shame that the American President should have been foremost in thus providing them with reason for exultation. Yet they will make a great mistake if they imagine that thus they are to win the victory over the Allies after all. There is a spirit in the Allies that will ultimately triumph over doctrinaire dilly-dallying, get down to business, and put the Hun where he belongs.

We must commend for thoughtful consideration a remark made by one of the German peace plenipotentiaries at Versailles; though to be sure it was not original with him. It was to this effect, that the Allies are not making peace merely with the present weak, demoralized, discordant Germany, but also with the Germany of the near future, a united nation of 70,000,000 people, with an endowment of industrial efficiency second to none in the world. The questions before the peace-makers are, then, What guarantees, barriers or what not are needed to protect France and the world generally against not the Germany of to-day, but the Germany of to-morrow? and What reparation for her evil deeds can be made and therefore should be exacted not of Germany as she now is but of Germany as she will be a few years hence? The German envoy, Professor W. M. A. Schuecking, gave us that reminder as a sort of warning that we had better let Germany off with easy terms of peace; a view of the case which will not commend itself to thoughtful men. Because a wild beast is about to grow stronger and more savage is no reason for leaving its cage unlocked or weakening the bars.

The German Government reckons that the Allies' blockade, by starving the German people, decreasing the birth rate, etc., inflicted losses of \$14,075,000,000 upon the Empire, for which it would like indemnity, or which it would at least like to have credit for as an offset to our claims against Germany. We shall expect next week to see that ingenious Government file a claim for, say, twenty-five billions indemnity for the loss of the loot and ransom which the Huns expected to get when they invaded America.

The decision, which is said to have been made, to make Dantzig a free city, under the protection of the League of Nations, is regarded as more satisfactory than the former plan of internationalizing it. Perhaps it is. It would be a mighty poor thing if it wasn't. But we should like to know what real power the League of Nations will have to protect the place against German seizure. We should also like to know what the League would do if presently Dantzig should vote to be reannexed to Germany. It is said that Germans form a large majority of its people. Surely the

President does not mean to have his League of Nations deny to anybody that right of self-determination which he esteems as sacred. And yet he could scarcely permit his League to acquiesce in the deprivation of Poland of that free access to the sea which his Commandments prescribe. It looks to us like a puzzling problem.

When the President insisted, against the will of the nation, in going as a self-appointed delegate to the Peace Congress, the first thought was that he would be doing grave injustice to his own country. This he has indeed done; neglecting business here of great importance with the self-contradicting confession that he is too far away to attend to it. But we must conclude that after all the other nations have fared worse at his hands than has our own. There has been no serious disagreement at Paris which has not had him for its storm centre. For the long delay in making a treaty of peace, with all its attendant costs and evils, he has been chiefly responsible. For latest—we dare not even yet say last—disaster to the work of the Congress, he alone is to be blamed. His neglect of American affairs has been costly and regrettable. His meddling with the affairs of other lands has been immeasurably more so. Five months ago his coming was thoughtlessly acclaimed by European peoples as something like the advent of a Messiah, bringing the world good tidings of great joy. To-day his presence is widely and not unjustly regarded as an incubus upon the councils of the nations.

A Franco-American alliance is said to be in process of formation, but "President Wilson is withholding action until he can place the matter before the American Senate for ratification." That is most considerate of him, we are sure. But we thought that all such alliances, concerts, and balances of power were to be abolished forever in favor of a League of Nations.

There really ought not to be all this uncertainty and all these contradictory statements about the President's having or not having shown his pronunciamiento to Signor Orlando before publishing it to the Italian people. The open covenants of peace are, of course, being "openly arrived at" according to the First Commandment, so that there could have been no secrecy about this matter.

Correspondents are still harping upon "the President's firm reiteration of his accepted Fourteen Points and his insistence on a peace based upon them." Meaning, we suppose, a peace made in profound secrecy but based upon the principle of "open covenants of peace, openly arrived at." We must doubt if ever there was a great international conference conducted with less frankness and openness, or with more of furtive secrecy and subterranean intrigue, than this has been under the President's domination. As for the Fourteen Points, they are not "accepted" but repudiated. The first five have been completely scrapped, and there is scarcely one of the remainder that is not damaged beyond repair, or that has not been treated by the President himself as a negligible quantity.

M. Clemenceau tells his friend Signor Luzzatti that in the making of peace "there can be no question of disregarding our reciprocal engagements," since "French policy is not a 'scrap of paper.'" He did not suggest that the policy of any other of the Allied and Associated nations was a "scrap of paper;" but his words suggest the irrepressible wish that the policies of all had been as clear, as consistent and as straightforward and free from subterfuge and hidden purpose, as that of which he has been the chief author and protagonist.

German university professors, of the Haeckel and Eucken type, not only condoned but approved and exulted in the destruction of Louvain, and backed up the Kaiser in all his infamies with their most glib and smug perjuries. But the moment their Hunnish colleagues and propagandists of crime are ordered to quit the French University of Strasbourg, they howl like kicked curs at the "outrageous act." It is time for them to understand that German science and scholarship have forfeited the confidence and respect of the intellectual world, and that it will take some years of repentance and good works for them to regain their standing.

Secretary Baker is tearfully informed that sixteen men whose only offence was that they refused to fight for their country are still confined in "damp, dark cells," without any food but bread and water. Doubtless his humane and pacifist bosom is deeply wrung with anguish at the thought. Yet sixty thousand men who were willing to fight for their country are lying in damp, dark graves, where they have no need of even bread and water.

Major-General Glenn and other officers are quoted as saying, in effect, that the object of military jurisprudence as exercised in courts martial is not so much justice as discipline. We can understand that point of view. But we must gravely doubt the permanent value of any system of discipline that is not based upon justice.

A further reminder of the injury which American interests are suffering through government neglect is afforded in the resolutions of the National Foreign Trade Convention at Chicago the other day. It was made clear that at this crucial time in our foreign trade relations there is urgent need of adjuvant legislation and other government action. Yet such action cannot be taken, because the President is three thousand miles away and will not call Congress to meet during his absence.

Hitches and delays in peacemaking are no reason for slackening on the Victory Loan. On the contrary, they may well serve as an incitement to prompt and liberal subscriptions. If matters are being badly bungled at Paris, where the President is, all the more reason for not bungling them here, where the President is not.

A national policy, or principle, should not be transformed into a "scrap of paper." Neither should a mere scrap of paper be exalted into an immutable international mandate.

Unscrambling the Eggs

LET there be no mistake: the controversy between the Director General of Railroads and the Industrial Board affects the entire economic structure of America. The future holds potentialities of the gravest nature. Unless this controversy is settled wisely and promptly, the country may suffer grievously. None can foretell the results of indecision or delay.

The crying need of America to-day is stabilization of industry pending a return to normal conditions. Industry cannot be stabilized until a barometer is established by which business men may be guided in their immediate commitments. There is no dodging these facts. The method is the only concern of intelligent men. How shall the eggs be unscrambled? Shall our business be reorganized through orderly processes, or shall it be rebuilt on the wreck of a panic?

When the armistice was signed, the President and his advisers were too much engrossed in other matters to consider the welfare of America. Nothing was done to meet the situation. Time passed. Business appealed to Washington for a reconstruction programme, for a demobilization plan, and received many high-sounding promises. But nothing was done.

Finally, William M. Ritter and a group of hard-headed business men in the War Industries Board, realizing that the Government was doing nothing, applied themselves to the problem. A searching investigation showed that it would be absurd to expect the laws of supply and demand to function in the industrial demoralization that had resulted from the war. Markets, prices and supplies had been turned topsy-turvy, so that no single rule could be applied to the general situation. Prices were as variable as the winds. Each industry required special attention.

An artificial—or, if you will, a semi-socialistic—plan of scaffolding prices downward offered the only means of forestalling chaos. It was not agreeable. Any other plan would have been preferable. But it was the only method that could be evolved to meet the situation. Economies and an immediate reduction were desirable, but any sudden cuts would wrench the entire fabric and cause the very demoralization which must be avoided. Labor put the blame for high prices on the profiteers. Capital blamed them on labor. They both demanded everything that they could hope to get. The facts showed that the costs of production had soared first, and that labor had then followed suit as rapidly as its demands could be enforced. An agreement was reached whereby the peaks of production-cost should be lowered, and the entire cost of living be reduced little by little, with wages following on an equal basis.

The plan looked fair. It was surely the most equitable one presented up to date. The Government was invited to support it. The President demurred. Then the Cabinet, with Mr. Hines sitting in, argued that it was essential for such a policy to be put into effect, and the President cabled his approval.

The Industrial Board was created, and its membership approved by the President. The board announced that it would investigate costs and suggest prices that might be

accepted as fair for a given period. It was essential that the Government should give its support to the markets by purchasing at these prices. Such was the agreement made by the Cabinet and approved by the President and Mr. Hines.

The very first prices presented to Mr. Hines for the Railroad Administration were rejected by him as being too high, although they represented a considerable reduction over the last previous prices paid for similar products.

Not content with refusing to assist the stabilization process by buying, he made a general attack upon the Industrial Board. His attack was as gratuitous as it was insulting. He criticised the personnel of the board, denied its authority, and insisted that he would have nothing to do with it or its work. He misused his official position to jeopardize the only plan for the readjustment of business that has been presented to the country, and apprehension supplanted the optimism which business men generally had begun to feel.

We do not know or pretend to know what actuated Mr. Hines in his violent attack. But irrespective of the causes which led to Mr. Hines' strange actions and stranger outbursts, we believe that the President's duty in the circumstances is so clear that he should no longer delay action. He should throw the full force of his authority behind a wise, fair, and judicious administration of the plan worked out by the Industrial Board, and if Mr. Hines or anybody else attempts to block the way, he should be removed without a moment's delay.

Newton D. Baker, the American Secretary of War, enjoyed the curious experience of being lost in the neutral zone in Germany yesterday.—*Associated Press Dispatch.*

Doubtless he enjoyed it, but it wasn't a "curious" experience; not for him. He has been lost in a neutral zone most of the time since the war began.

A Weapon Abandoned

WITH indecent haste and craftiness, Mr. Baker and Gen. March have been hard at work disrupting and disorganizing the United States Army, which is not theirs, but the property of the American people. This they hope to accomplish while most of the army is away, and while Congress has its back turned.

The dismantling of the costly and perfected war machine built by Pershing and his officers is being carried out, if not in violation of an act of Congress, at least in defiance of the plain and specifically expressed wish of Congress. The army appropriation bill which failed of final enactment contains a provision providing that all the specialized services of the army developed by the war, which we did not have when we entered the conflict, shall be continued; Mr. Baker and General March are determined that they shall not be. They have no eyes with which to read the terrible indictment of incompetency and unreadiness written upon the wooden crosses in the fields of northern France.

Chief among these branches is the chemical warfare ser-

vice, which had become splendidly efficient by the time the armistice was signed, after months of shocking neglect, extravagance and failure. In the beginning it was so wretchedly mishandled by "the most efficient public servant Mr. Wilson ever knew" that it had only begun to function by the time the war ended. An investment running into millions is to be abandoned. If the policy of March and Baker is carried out, the next war will find us as deplorably unprepared as the last one did.

In attempting to deny that not a pound of American-made gas in an American shell was ever fired by the American forces overseas—a statement frankly made by a returning officer of the chemical warfare service in France—Gen. William L. Sibert recently admitted the failure of the War Department, albeit the admission is not wholly candid. Gen. Sibert, who took charge of the chemical warfare service last summer when it was in a deplorable state, and who had made it efficient by the time the war ended, asserts that his organization "shipped to Europe 3,662 tons of gas or its equivalent, which was largely loaded into shells and used by American and Allied troops against the enemy."

A pitiable confession of failure! What Gen. Sibert, at the demand of Gen. March, fails to emphasize, is that 3,662 tons of gas amounts to the fractional part of the cargo of one small freighter. This was the sum-total of Mr. Baker's accomplishments with respect to gas after eighteen months of war. Gen. Sibert does not say, as he should have said if he had been permitted to be entirely frank with the American people, that these few tons of American gas had to be loaded into French and British shells, because the ordnance department of the United States had not produced a single American gas shell up to the time the war ended. Yet that is the terrible indictment chargeable against the War Department.

The failure of our chemical warfare work is one of the unforgivable breakdowns of the war. This weapon of modern warfare was deliberately neglected by the pacifist Secretary of War. Mr. Baker, in February, 1918, removed from the head of the gas and flame service a competent engineer, Col. Potter, of the regular army, who had been at the head of the service since its organization, and placed at the head of it a personal friend, Mr. A. H. Marks, rubber man of Cleveland, Ohio, who was also the intimate of Assistant Secretary Crowell. Marks, at the time, was helping to fight the desperate "battle of Washington" in the uniform of a First Lieutenant in the Naval Reserve. With that facility which comes from official "pull" he hopped from blue to khaki—or was he a civilian?—overnight, and took charge of the gas and flame service. For two months and a half this pet of Baker and Crowell neglected his work, and was not at his office half a dozen times, while American soldiers on the Western Front were falling like autumn leaves under the clouds of German gas.

Of the American casualties in the war, thirty per cent. were from gas. Yet the first American gas reached France as the war was ending; not an ounce in an American shell was ever fired at the enemy; and 3,662 tons is the sum total of a product that cost the American people millions. In the gas plant at Edgewood, Md., alone, \$35,000,000 of the taxpayers' money was expended—and Baker sent 3,662 tons of

gas to France. A marvellous achievement! No wonder March ordered Sibert to make a denial. In the War Department some failures, by comparison, wear the aspect of huge successes.

Now Gen. March, as Chief of Staff, orders that the chemical warfare service be wiped out of existence. It has almost vanished, this service that was just ready to function when the Huns threw up their hands and quit. The \$35,000,000 plant at Edgewood, has, with grim irony, been turned over to ordnance. God save the mark!

Not only is the present efficient organization disbanded, but research is at an end. Maj. Gen. Henry Jervoy, Assistant Chief of Staff and Director of Operations, in a special order under date of February 21, stated that "it is not intended to proceed with this kind of work. The research or experimental work that was to be carried on in the future under the Corps of Engineers is to be merely such as may be necessary or desirable in connection with the Engineers School. No funds or special personnel for chemical warfare will be authorized." This high-handed proceeding is in flagrant defiance of the provision of the Khan bill for the preservation of the specialized branches of the army which we did not have when we entered the war, and which were developed long after we entered it.

It cannot be demonstrated that the Peace Conference will abandon gas. France, which had gained a superiority in this weapon as the war ended, is determined to keep her military weapons for her protection in the future. England is proceeding with the development of gas. She learned her lesson at Ypres, and she will never forget it.

Meanwhile Congress has passed out, and the new Congress has yet to be organized. By the time it assembles, Baker and March will so completely have wiped out the chemical warfare service that all the king's horses and all the king's men won't be able to put Humpty Dumpty together again.

In one respect only do we think that Colonel Harvey is wrong, and that is where he says that Dr. Hill knows the Hun soul down to its foulest depths. That is an impossibility. Even Hell itself can scarcely see down to the depth of foulness of the Hun soul. Surely no man on earth has such power. But all else that Colonel Harvey here states is true, and the *Manufacturers Record* has said it many times. A colossal blunder was made when we stayed the march of the armies on to Berlin in order to save Germany from having to see the victorious armies march through the streets of Berlin.—*Manufacturers Record*.

The (American peace) delegation gave its full support to the President's attitude.—*Associated Press Dispatch*.

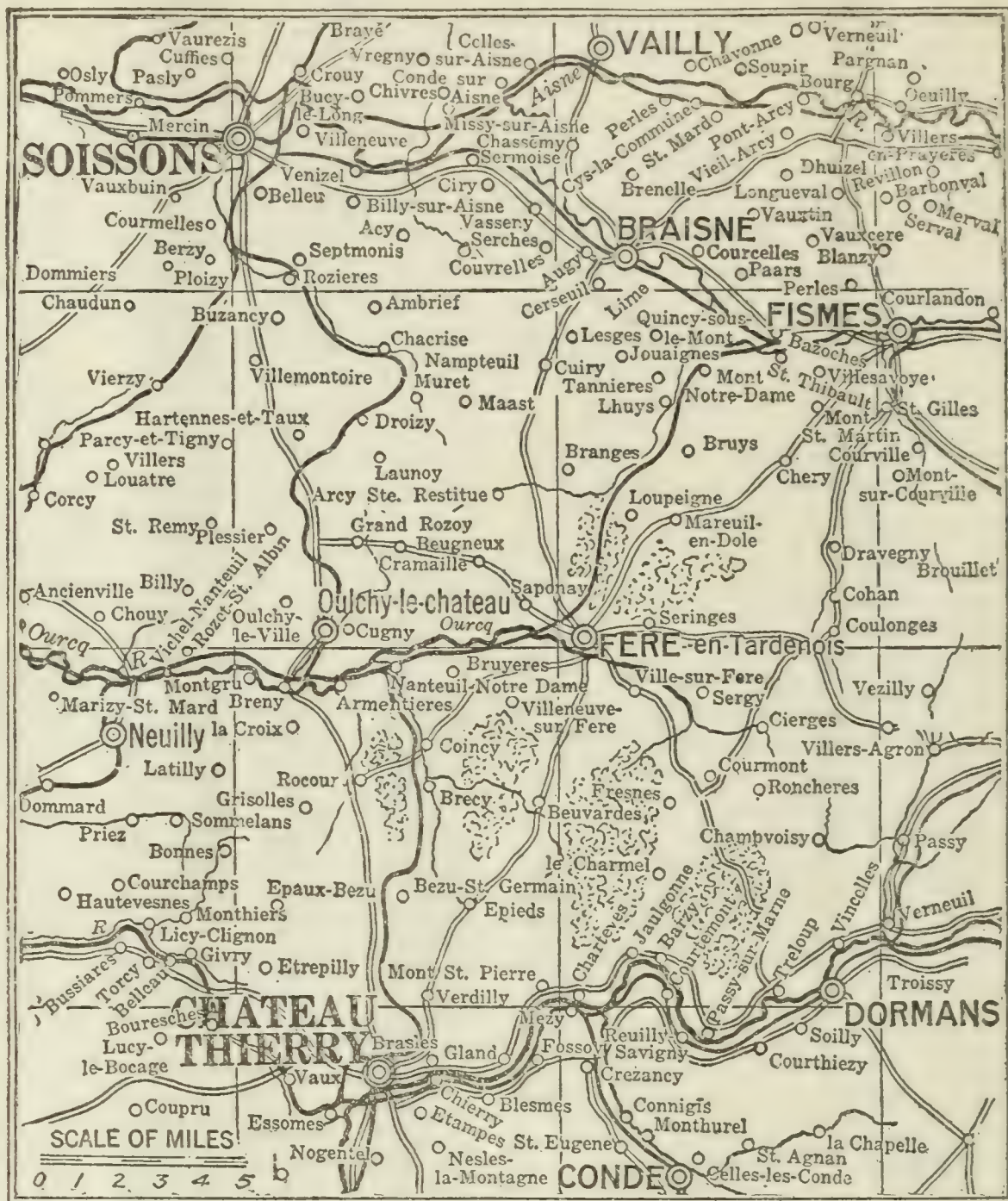
That's what they're there for.

As it Was, Is, And May Be

Five Peace Commissioners behind a close-locked door;
One asked race equality, and then there were but four.
Four Peace Commissioners discussing Adria's Sea;
One demanded Fiume, and then there were but three.
Three Peace Commissioners wondering what to do;
One went home to end a strike, and then there were but two.
Two Peace Commissioners with treaty not half done;
One said "May I not get out?" and then there was but one.
One Peace Commissioner enjoying sweet release,
Read the Huns the riot act, and then the world had peace.

Suggested Sites for the Monument

Scenes of the First American Military Achievements in France



From General Pershing's Report

I. CANTIGNY.—On March 28 I placed at the disposal of Marshal Foch, who had been agreed upon as Commander in Chief of the Allied Armies, all of our forces, to be used as he might decide. At his request the 1st Division was transferred from the Toul sector to a position in reserve at Chaumont en Vexin. . . . On the morning of May 28 this division attacked the commanding German position in its front, taking with splendid dash the town of Cantigny and all other objectives, which were organized and held steadfastly against vicious counterattacks and galling artillery fire. Although local, this brilliant action had an electrical effect, as it demonstrated our fighting qualities under extreme battle conditions, and also that the enemy's troops were not altogether invincible.

II. CHATEAU-THIERRY.—The German Aisne offensive, which begun on May 27, had advanced rapidly toward the River Marne and Paris, and the Allies faced a crisis equally as grave as that of the

Picardy offensive in March. Again every available man was placed at Marshall Foch's disposal, and the 3d Division, which had just come from its preliminary training in the trenches, was hurried to the Marne. Its motorized machine-gun battalion preceded the other units and successfully held the bridge-head at the Marne, opposite Chateau-Thierry. The 2d Division, in reserve near Montdidier, was sent by motor trucks and other available transport to check the progress of the enemy toward Paris. The division attacked and retook the town and railroad station at Boursches and sturdily held its ground against the enemy's best guard divisions.

III. BELLEAU WOOD.—In the battle of Belleau Wood, which followed, our men proved their superiority and gained a strong tactical position, with far greater loss to the enemy than to ourselves. On July 1st, before the 2d was relieved, it captured the village of Vaux with the most splendid precision.

Have You Written to the Weekly?

SIR,—Permit me to compliment you on the thought and suggestion of a replica of the Washington Monument to be erected on the fighting fields of France through subscriptions of American patriots. It is a wonderful thought and I believe will meet the approval of the majority of the American people as a most befitting tribute to the sacrifices of the American soldiers. I would take great pleasure in being one of the number of subscribers to make this monument possible.

Detroit, Mich.

D. W. BURKE.

SIR,—We would consider it an inestimable privilege and honor to be given the opportunity to organize a suitable personnel to solicit funds for Rhode Island's share in a permanent monument to our sons and daughters who have fallen on the battle-fields of France.

This project should be carried out immediately and not relegated to the proverbial pigeonhole.

JOHN G. CAMPBELL.

Providence, Rhode Island.

Are Republics Grateful?

IN RE: C—151952
(From the New York Tribune.)

I

March 13th, 1919.

From: Local Board No. 23,
New York City.
To: War Risk Insurance Bureau,
Washington, D. C.

Subject: EDWARD McLAUGHLIN

1. The above registrant was inducted and sent to camp by this Board September 10th, 1917. After serving in the Personnel Bureau at the camp he was sent to France, became ill, recovered, was sent into the trenches, became ill again, contracted pneumonia, returned home and now has been sent by his friends to the Adirondacks with consumption.

2. His friends advise me that on the 28th day of February, 1919, Edward McLaughlin, the said registrant, sent you a special delivery letter asking for his allowance under his insurance policy to cover his said disability. To this letter he received no reply.

3. I am sure there must be some mistake about this as I see by the newspapers that your new Chief insists that every letter must be answered on the day it is received. Will you kindly investigate and facilitate this application?

4. Although McLaughlin was drafted he volunteered to be one of the first to go and I am sure that you will agree with me that we should do everything possible to make the last months of his life easy.

Respectfully yours,
LOCAL BOARD No. 23.

II

TREASURY DEPARTMENT
Washington, April 9, 1919.

Bureau of War Risk Insurance.

IN RE: C—151952,
Edward McLaughlin,
Sgt. Maj. Hq. 77th Div.

Local Board No. 23, City of New York, N. Y.,
124 Schermerhorn St., Brooklyn, N. Y.
Gentlemen:

We acknowledge receipt of your letter of recent date written in the interest of the above named discharged soldier. We advise you that this discharged soldier has filed with this Bureau a claim for compensation as a result of disability incurred in the service.

We wrote this discharged soldier under date of March 11th and advised him that this case had been called to the attention of our Medical Section, who have communicated with him, instructing him to appear for physical examination before physicians named by them. As soon as this is done action can be taken in this matter.

We also desire to call your attention to the fact that under statement of facts made by him and by yourself insurance is not payable, as insurance is payable only in case of death or total disability of the insured. However, if the facts outlined in your letter are true this discharged soldier will be entitled to compensation which is entirely separate and distinct from insurance, and a payment made by the Government to soldiers who were disabled in the service. He will also be entitled to Medical attention, which will be given him upon receipt of report above mentioned.

In all future correspondence with this Bureau in connection to [sic] this case be sure to mention our file Number C—151952. By authority of the Director,

H. C. HOULIHAN,
Chief, Compensation and Claims.

III

April 17th, 1919.

Bureau of War Risk Insurance, Military and Naval Division,
New National Museum Building, Washington, D. C.

IN RE: C—151952

Gentlemen:

Your favor of April 9th in answer to my letter of about March 4th, 1919, at hand.

This soldier wrote you under date of February 28th. On or about March 3rd he was taken to Saranac Lake, in the Adirondacks, to be cured of consumption. He died on March 6th.

It is now immaterial whether the insurance is paid to him. I notice you state he will be entitled to medical attention. May I respectfully suggest that if the attention you give to these soldiers is as prompt as you gave to this soldier, they will never need any attention except in the next world.

Respectfully yours,
LOCAL BOARD NO. 23.

Letters from Our Readers

BOLSHEVISM AND BUSINESS

SIR,—I have in my possession a letter written on the stationery of the "Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic, Bureau of the Representative in the United States of America," 110 W. 40th St. It bears the further heading, "Commercial Department," and is addressed to a New York manufacturing and exporting house. Its text is brief, as follows:

"We are in the market for a quantity of material of your manufacture for shipment to Russia. Please advise—

"1. Are you prepared to do business with Russia?

"2. What are your facilities for handling large contracts?

"3. What material, if any, have you on hand for immediate delivery?

"Send catalogue and literature describing your products suitable for the Russian market.

"Yours truly,

(Signed)

"A. A. HELLER, Director."

Presumably this is a form letter which is going to hundreds of American concerns. Surely it is a skillful effort of the Bolshevik Ambassadors to buy their way into the good graces of American business men. With one hand they are disseminating propaganda whose realization would mean the destruction of the entire social and commercial structure of this nation; with the other they are now offering the tempting dollar to the very "bourgeois" they would destroy. Likely enough the commercial bribe may meet with some success. It deserves, however, the same measure of publicity and of protest accorded the destructive Bolshevik propaganda of words, of which it is but an off-shoot.

And in the meantime our soldiers fight in Russia and our itinerant statesmen converse in Paris. It is too much to hope, I suppose, that means be found to rid the Republic of such enemies of democracy as these, war or no war.

GEORGE PALMER PUTNAM.

New York City.

OUR "PAPER" NAVY

SIR,—While naval officers are not permitted (no doubt properly) to take any part in politics, we can, I trust, at least be Americans in private, and as such I cannot help expressing appreciation of your fearless and high minded stand on the proposed League of Nations. It is a particular gratification to see an article like "Was the Navy Ready?" in your issue of March 22nd.

You have stated the case exactly, not only regarding the personnel question, but also in your reference in the last paragraph to the building programme.

Not only has all work been suspended on the battle cruisers, but not one of the last four battleships authorized has been started yet.

Only too few people, I fear, realize what a paper navy we really have, and that, while they are being entertained by vague talk of a new programme to be built—or is it to be used as a threat?—if the President so desires—that more than half of the capital ships already authorized in the last programme have not even been started.

The Secretary has been very adroit and has, unfortunately, usually been able to find some naval officer who could be influenced to recommend his plans. Fortunately for the country, Rear Admiral Palmer was not such a man. Just now he has seized upon a difference of opinion among some of his leading advisers as an excuse to stop all work on the battle cruisers while he goes to Europe to "investigate" and determine upon a possible revision of their plans, all involving more delay.

Boston, Mass.

AN AMERICAN NAVAL OFFICER.

"AMERICA FOR AMERICANS"

SIR,—Your address to the Columbia Club of Indianapolis was great. Thank God we have someone able to set us right on the question of the League of Nations.

Why is it that some people, who profess to know all things, fail to realize that it is impossible to get something for nothing?

Every sane man prefers peace to war, but if the cost of peace is to be the loss of our sovereignty, then there is but one thing left to do, and that is hit and hit hard before the other fellow can do the same to you. We must be prepared to protect ourselves. Let us not fail to remember that it took twelve months to prepare ourselves, under the protection of the British Fleet, for this war—a war that was heralded for years. Why fool ourselves into believing that we entered this war for the sake of humanity in general, when it really was because we realized that the Allies were down and taking the count, and that our turn

would come next, unless we entered the *melée* at once? It was not a question of brotherly love; it was simply a question of self-preservation.

Let us face the issue as it stands today.

The United States is now richer and stronger than ever before. All nations enviously appreciate this fact. Great Britain is staggering under the weight of her national debt. She controls the seas, but her armies have been sorely diminished. Her labor situation at home is serious.

France still possesses that wonderful spirit of "Vive la France," but apparently does not realize her weakness. She requires outside assistance for further military operations.

Germany is shaping the policy of Russia. Germany has not been crushed. A spirit of revenge has been branded upon the heart of the German nation and time will not remove it. The German people are abnormally progressive and energetic.

What is to be done?

To kill a snake you break its back. The back of Germany has not been broken. Why not break it now? Rid the world of the reptile while it is possible so to do and then talk peace when a lasting peace can be made. Let us withdraw from the affair when this has been accomplished, and then let us complete the task of making America secure for Americans. The price may come high, but it will be more costly later on.

It is natural to be selfish. It is natural for nations to be selfish. You may be able to camouflage the fact, but it remains a fact nevertheless.

The League of Nations may act as a coat of white paint over rust spots in a ship's side, but it will not stop the corrosion. It is a simple way to make a good showing on the surface, but it will not prevent the internal crumbling away that eventually causes the ship to sink.

Unless Germany is crushed now, she is bound, eventually, to dominate Europe—league or no league. Everything points to this.

Let us clean up the job now. If it is to be done, we must do it. Let us then return and make AMERICA a safe place to live in, and adopt as our working principle, "AMERICA FOR AMERICANS AND AMERICANS FOR AMERICA."

A FELLOW AMERICAN.

New York City.

CHARLES I AND I, W. W.

SIR,—I wish to express my hearty concurrence in your views on the League of Nations in the form in which it has been presented to us, and my deep appreciation of your patriotic and far-reaching utterances. It is well that some can see clearly and speak clearly too.

Must we, after delivering Europe from the bane of autocracy, be insidiously menaced with it here at home? Doubtless you have noted the great similarity of the President's attitude toward Congress, and his evident desire to keep it out of session and conduct the Government without it, with the historic policy of Charles I as to his parliaments. And Congress is using once more the old weapon of defense of parliaments, by refusing to authorize taxation. All this I had never expected to see—in America!

CHARLES KELSEY GAINES.

THE LAND OF THE FREE

SIR,—Should you have occasion to visit, or pass through, the State of Michigan, see that you carry in your suitcase no beer, wine or other alcoholic beverage. Under the wise and liberal laws of that State persons found with liquor in their possession are felons, and *subject to two years imprisonment*.

How happy we should be, dear children, that we live in this favored land—so different from foreign autocracies—where the unalienable liberties of all the people are guaranteed by our national Constitution.

WHIDDEN GRAHAM.

New York City.

"TRULY AMERICAN"

SIR,—Your lectures, your writings in HARVEY'S WEEKLY, your views on important subjects, are splendid, and are put forth in a truly American spirit of independence and far-sightedness. The writer admires all of it beyond expression.

FRED C. CLARKE.

Oklahoma City, Okla.

THANK YOU, M'AM

SIR,—There is one bright spot in the week's offering of news—
HARVEY'S WEEKLY.
Philadelphia, Pa.

GRACE WELSH PIPER.

The Debâcle of Dogmatism

By DAVID JAYNE HILL

IN THE North American Review FOR MAY

Other Important Articles Are:

PEACE WITH VICTORY

EDITORIAL

ENGLAND AND DRINK

SYDNEY BROOKS

A TRIBUTE TO MY FRENCH GENERAL

COLONEL WILLIAM HAYWARD, U. S. A.

THE SOLDIER IN THE CLASSROOM

HAROLD A. LITLEDALE

THE FRENCH PEACE COMMISSIONERS—

II. PRIME MINISTER CLEMENCEAU
AND FOREIGN MINISTER PICHON

MARCEL KNECHT

OUR WELCOME TO THE SOLDIER

JOSEPH S. AUERBACH

THE STRATEGY ON THE WESTERN
FRONT—IV

LT. COL. H. H. SARGENT, U. S. A.

THE PICTURES OF JESUS IN THE LOUVRE

O. W. FIRKINS

IS NATURE WITHOUT DESIGN?

JOHN BURROUGHS

THE ANSWERER—WALT WHITMAN

EDITH FRANKLIN WYATT

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No. 19

Let the American People Decide

WHEN, on the evening of his second departure for Europe, President Wilson declared defiantly that "when that treaty comes back gentlemen on this side will find the covenant not only in it but so many threads of the treaty tied to the covenant that you cannot dissect the covenant from the treaty without destroying the whole vital structure," he spoke in anger; but he meant what he said.

The common impression derived that the League covenant and the Peace treaty are separate entities, to be dealt with accordingly, is false. True, the revised draft of the covenant contains no reference to the treaty and consequently no suggestion of entwining threads, so shrewdly interlaced as to render dissection impossible "without destroying the whole vital structure." But the hope which sprang from this circumstance was a delusion. The President himself, wittingly or otherwise, made the fact clear in his explanatory statement.

"If," he said, "Baron Makino will pardon me for introducing a matter which I absent-mindedly overlooked, it is necessary for me to propose the alteration of several words in the first line of Article 5. Let me say that *in several parts of the treaty, of which this covenant will form a part*, certain duties are assigned to the council of the League of Nations. In some instances it is provided the action they shall take shall be by a majority vote. It is therefore necessary to make the covenant conform with the other portions of the treaty by adding these words."

Thus almost incidentally Mr. Wilson serves notice upon the country that he has achieved his declared purpose of merging the covenant and the treaty to constrain the Senate to accept the League or reject peace.

To say, in the words of the *Sun*, that "in all the record of his various manifestations of au-

torocratic proclivities there is perhaps nothing which surpasses this" is to express but mildly the actuality. It is a direct challenge to a presumably free people and contemptuous defiance of a body endowed with equal constitutional powers from an Executive speaking as a Caesar and a Machiavelli rolled into one. Never before has combined arrogance and cunning such as this been exhibited by an American President. But for this we were not unprepared. We were forewarned in a moment of uncontrollable wrath and "loathing of pigmy minds."

Let that pass. We know where we stand. The situation is a practical one. It is a time for the exercise of wisdom and prudence. Senator Lodge does well to request his colleagues to abstain from forming or expressing final judgment until full information shall be obtainable. To what extent and in how ingenious and devious fashion the covenant and the treaty have been entwined cannot be determined until the treaty itself shall be in evidence. Then and not until then will it be possible to survey "the whole vital structure" and devise ways of disentanglement.

For disentanglement there must be. The revised scheme of jacking the United States into the affairs of all creation is in no essential feature preferable to the original. The two are alike in that they abrogate our sovereignty, our established policies, our most cherished traditions, our personal liberties and our freedom as a Nation.

Even so, we make no objection to the submission of the proposal to the thoughtful consideration of the American people. Surely when a Democratic President, a Republican ex-President and a Mugwump University President, backed financially by our leading German-American banker, who heads the list of contributors to their widespread propaganda, unite in

advocacy of a National project, they are fairly entitled to a hearing.

All we ask is that they get it,—get both hearing and decision straight from the people upon the Thing itself, squarely and solely upon its merits and dissociated absolutely from any other question either of peace or war or reconstruction or of anything else under the sun. We cheerfully accept the President's own dictum:

"The people are in the saddle and the Governments have got to follow the people or be overthrown."

True, his threat was to the Governments of Europe, notably that of disobedient Italy, and he did not stop to say what he would do to the succeeding Government or whether there should be one at all, but the programme is equally applicable to our own or, should we not say, to *his* Government here at home.

By all means let the test be made; but let it be made fairly; let the people demand time for consideration, no less than a clearly defined issue, and let the Senate see that they get it. Only one side is being presented now. The League to Enforce Peace boasts that it has thirty thousand speakers on the stump opposed to the pitifully few voices crying in the wilderness and in some instances even forbidden to be heard in this land of theoretically free expression. Already it has announced plans for great and costly State conventions to be held in fifteen commonwealths between May 19 and June 5. Mr. Taft and Dr. Lowell are to be the stars, of course, and no doubt Mr. Jacob H. Schiff of Kuhn, Loeb & Co can be relied upon to keep his name at the head of the list of contributors to the huge propaganda fund, for the swelling of which half a million dollars additional has recently been called for.

Meanwhile, those who would present the other side—even Senators—are unprovided even with money for travelling expenses, which they personally can ill afford to bear.

Is this fair? Is it right? *Is it wise?*

We ask the American people.

And we implore the United States Senate to justify democracy *and itself* by removing every vestige of reference to the proposed League from the Peace treaty, however difficult that task may be; by promptly approving the treaty itself as thus amended; and by rejecting the covenant of the League upon the sole ground that only the whole people are qualified to pass upon so radical a change in their form of government.

Then let the fight for Americanism begin!

Interpreting America

SO American national policies are hereafter to be interpreted and dictated by aliens. That seems to be the delectable purpose of the League of Nations. Says a British memorandum concerning the Monroe Doctrine: "At first a principle of American foreign policy, it has become an international understanding." Accordingly the Revised Version of the British-made Covenant of the League of Nations speaks of the Doctrine as an international engagement or a regional understanding for securing the maintenance of peace; and the well-informed Paris correspondent of the *New York Sun* writes that "the League of Nations, according to the British view as understood here in the discussions concerning the revised covenant, in the future is to be the interpreter of the Monroe Doctrine. The British once more have recognized the Doctrine, but insist upon the League of Nations sharing the interpretation of the document with the United States, a task which has been undertaken individually and alone by the United States in the past."

We are not surprised. But we should be greatly surprised if the United States Senate, or the Congress, or the nation, should for a single moment regard with acceptance or even with tolerance so utterly inadmissible a proposition. In fact, we should be surprised if the American people were not already becoming weary, and more than weary, of the alien attempts which are being made at interpretations and expositions and applications of the Monroe Doctrine. Such essays may be of some academic interest, of a semi-pathological kind, as revelations of the minds of their authors, but otherwise they are of no serious significance. For the most part they are noteworthy for their apparently incorrigible misapprehension; which we do not wish to suspect of being deliberate and ingenious perversion. We prefer to think that they escape being impertinent by being ignorant.

German authorities, always the most hostile to it, long ago declared with a great showing of indignation that the Doctrine was not international law and could not be so regarded. As a statement of fact that was unimpeachable; but as a mendacious intimation of any American pretensions to the contrary it was intolerable. Less offensive, perhaps, but no less misleading is the reference which we have already quoted from the latest edition of the Smuts-Cecil-Wilson Covenant; which affects to regard the Doctrine as an international engagement or a regional understanding for securing the maintenance of peace. It reminds us of the classic definition of a crab, as "a red fish which swims backward." The Doctrine is, of course, not an international engagement nor a regional understanding—whatever the latter may be—and it is not primarily intended for securing the maintenance of peace. Otherwise the Covenant's account of it is tolerably correct.

We can scarcely say, in the President's own words on another theme, that with the causes of that amazing misrepresentation of the Doctrine we are not concerned; the obscure fountains from which it has burst forth we are not interested to search for or explore. For the disagreeable fact is that, whatever the ultimate origin of it, the thing was inducted

and installed in the Covenant by the President of the United States, and is by him sought to be foisted and imposed upon this nation; the first time in ninety-five years that an American President has thus distorted and repudiated that great principle of American policy. No wonder that for very shame he refrained from saying anything about it in his otherwise wordy address of explanation and comment upon the Revised Version; dismissing it with the remark: "Article XXI is new." He might at least have added, "but not true."

The inadmissibility, to use no stronger word, of alien attempts at interpretation of the Monroe Doctrine should be obvious. A treaty, or a precept of international law, is properly subject to interpretation by any of its makers, however many they may be. But a purely national doctrine, an exclusively national statement of national policy, is to be expounded and applied only by the nation which uttered it. The Monroe Doctrine was enunciated by a President of the United States, not as a treaty, not as international law, not as an international engagement, not as a regional understanding, but purely as a statement of American policy. We know of nothing that has happened in ninety-five years to change its character.

The pretence that internationalizing the Doctrine would strengthen it is so palpably misleading as with difficulty to escape the imputation of being malicious. In the very nature of the case, to admit European nations to participation in the interpretation and application of the Monroe Doctrine would be to destroy its value; since its fundamental principle is that of separation from just such European meddling. It would be as reasonable to say that the abolition of quarantine barriers would prevent the spread of a pestilence or that the best way to keep a secret was to publish it to the world. The validity and value of the Doctrine depend upon its being kept a purely American policy. That other nations do not understand this, or choose for some ulterior purpose to ignore it, is not greatly to be wondered at. That an American President should fail to realize it, or should wish to ignore it, betrays an incomprehensible unfitness for national leadership.

What is desirable, and what we believe the American nation will insist upon, is that other countries shall leave the Monroe Doctrine alone, for the United States to interpret and to apply, as it has been doing with marked success for nearly ninety-five years. We do not ask to have it "strengthened" by being internationalized. We do not need to have other nations tell us what it means. We do not want it equivocally and detrimentally described in any Covenant of any League of Nations. We are content with it as it is, and with our own interpretation and application of it. We know of no reason why European Powers should meddle with it, any more than America should meddle with the Act of Succession or the Salic Law. The only "recognition" we ask for it in any treaty or covenant or other compact or contraption that may be devised is that which has already, on some noteworthy occasions, been secured and which is entirely satisfactory to America and entirely void of possible offence to others.

Nothing contained in this Convention shall be so construed as to require the United States of America to depart from its traditional policy of not intruding upon, interfering with, or entangling itself in the political questions of policy or international administration of any foreign state; nor shall anything contained in said convention be construed to imply a relinquish-

ment by the United States of its traditional attitude toward purely American questions.

It was only ten years ago that that was adopted by the United States Senate, as a part of its act of ratification of the second Hague conventions. The American plenipotentiary at the Peace Congress will do well to consider the appending of the same stipulation to the text of the treaty, covenant or what not which he expects one day to bring home and to submit to the Senate for that ratification which will be essential to its validity. It would be most unfortunate for him to submit an instrument to which such appendage could not be made, for we are quite sure that its chances of ratification without it would be nil.

The country won't stand for it.

Bolshevism at Close Range

THE thing is here. Now, what are we going to do about it? That is the situation, that is the question, of the hour. We are not going to become hysterical or panicky over the wholesale attempts at murderous bomb outrages which have just been disclosed. But neither do we purpose to be so stupid or so insincere as to underrate or to affect to underrate their significance. There is no use in pretending to regard them as merely sporadic, or as the work of some solitary and irresponsible crank. Every intelligent and thoughtful man knows perfectly well that they were the carefully planned work of a numerous organization, amply provided with funds, which is seeking to effect here a Bolshevik revolution like that in Russia, with property stolen and women "nationalized."

The thing, we say, is here. Americans have long been too much inclined to regard this country as exempt from the conditions which affect others. We can still remember the time when men said that Socialism could never gain any considerable following here, since it was a revolt against monarchism and had no quarrel with democracy. But Socialism is stronger in America to-day than in almost any other country. Then, later, men were quite sure that Anarchism, at any rate, could never get a foothold here. But it has done so. Again, some were confident that Bolshevism would never have any number of adherents in this country. But to-day there are Bolshevik clubs and lectures, and journals, and propaganda, among the "high-brows" as well as the "proletariat"; and we have just been treated to an extensive essay at the terrorist methods dear to the Bolshevik heart. Men may say until the cows come home that there can be no Bolshevism in America; but the thing is already here.

We shall not be so vain as to offer any cock-sure panacea. But it does seem to us that the rational and direct way to preserve the country from such un-American devilry is two-fold. We shall not say which is the first and which the second thing to do, for the two should really proceed *pari-passu*.

One of them is, that we shall cease coddling and dilly-dallying with the thing, but shall smite it with lethal stroke

wherever it raises its venomous head. It is a crazy anomaly for us to be fighting Bolsheviks in the north of Russia and seeking friendly negotiations with them in the south; for us to declare, as our State Department did, that Bolshevism is an infamous monstrosity which it is impossible for us to recognize, and at the same time to receive and tolerate a Bolshevik envoy in this country and send such semi-Bolsheviks of our own as Herron, Steffens and Bullitt as American envoys to the Bolsheviks of Russia; for us to spend scores of thousands of lives and billions of money to vindicate democracy in Europe, and to permit a widespread and open propaganda against democracy in America. Seriously and temperately, we doubt if ever before in American history there was a considerable policy quite so illogical, inconsistent and self-stultifying as that which our Government has been pursuing toward Bolshevism.

The other need is, that we shall purge our own Government of the faults which provoke discontent and dissatisfaction and which thus prepare the soil in which the noxious growth of Bolshevism flourishes. Some of these faults are those of an actual leaning toward anti-democratic if not pro-Bolshevik conditions, while others are those of blundering inefficiency which disgusts people with the administration of affairs and tempts them to turn for relief to any new thing that is offered.

Such brutal antics as those of the Politicalmaster-General, for example, in not only demoralizing beyond description the mail service, which was constitutionally in his hands, but also similarly dealing with the telegraphs and telephones, which were only temporarily entrusted to him as a war measure—such conduct has been inestimably mischievous in alienating respect, confidence and affection from the Government.

It is high time for the American Government and the American people to wake up to the facts in the case, to understand what devil's work is proceeding among them, and to realize that we are no more exempt or immune from such things than any other nation. We have said that America is no Bolshevik, and it is true. The great majority of Americans have nothing but loathing for the bomb-making, property-looting, woman-nationalizing business. But then, neither were the majority of Russians Bolshevik. By supinely tolerating the thing the Russians in time became subject to its oligarchic despotism. We do not expect America to do the same. But if it does not, that will be because, before it was too late, we adopted a different method of dealing with Bolshevism.

The thing is here. What are we going to do about it?

The issue of "freedom of teaching" has again been raised, this time at Vanderbilt University, where a member of the faculty has been suspended for Socialist activities, and there is danger of another episode of the Scott Nearing kind. We believe in the freedom of teaching, but not in unlimited license. We would not have American college professors made bond-slaves of the Government, as are those of Germany. But neither would we have American college professors teaching their pupils disloyalty to the American Government.

Effects of Absenteeism

THE Chamber of Commerce of the United States did well in its action on the President's absence from the country. It called for his immediate return, and for the immediate convening of Congress to enact legislation which is needed "to safeguard our social and business structure." In asserting that need there is no exaggeration, and in calling for such action by the President there is no impertinence. It is the right and it is the duty of American citizens thus to exercise vigilance over their interests, and thus to insist upon the fulfilment of their functions by those who have been appointed to serve the state.

It is not surprising that the need of this demand is keenly felt. When first the President announced his purpose of going abroad there were serious apprehensions that our national interests would thus be made to suffer, and there were consequent protests against his going. These protests and fears he wilfully disregarded, or sought to allay with the pretence that he would be gone for only a short time and that while away he would keep in as close and constant touch with Congress and be as ready at all times to participate in government as though he were in Washington. But that pretence is now seen to have been delusive. He himself confesses that he is out of touch with American affairs and unable to participate in them; and his absence has lengthened from weeks to months, and from months to half a year.

Meantime the vital interests of the nation, including some of those most directly and universally touching the masses of the people, are suffering almost to the point of disaster. They are thus suffering because of his absence and his consequent neglect of them. And they are thus being sacrificed without any compensatory gain in other directions.

This latter is, indeed, the bitterest reflection in the whole case. This nation can endure suffering and the sacrifice of interests when there is some great cause to be served and some worthy end to be attained. It did not demur nor complain when it had to endure grievous afflictions in the war, for the sake of defending civilization against the Hun and making the world safe for democracy. But it does object, as it ought strenuously to object, to having its vital

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interests sacrificed for the sake of gratifying personal vanity and ambition, or for the sake of meddling in affairs which are none of our legitimate business.

That they have been and are being thus sacrificed is obvious. The President went abroad and has stayed abroad not in order to transact American business or to safeguard and promote American interests, but chiefly to indulge an insatiable itch for meddling in matters which are quite foreign to us; so foreign that, as Monroe rightly declared, it does not comport with our policy to participate in them. They are matters which we not only have no reason for intruding into, but which we have the strongest of reasons for keeping out of.

To cite a single example: The President's unwarranted, inequitable and utterly illogical and self-stultifying intrusion into the Fiume dispute has done us more damage in international esteem and relationships than we shall be able to repair in as many years as the days in which he did the mischief.

Apart from the gratification of personal vanity, this itch for meddling was—it must have been—the chief motive for the President's extraordinary excursion. It was of course necessary for the United States to be represented at the Peace Conference. There was much American business to be transacted and there were important American interests to be served there. But all the legitimate business which we had at the Congress could have been far better attended to by other plenipotentiaries, appointed and accredited in the usual way, with the President and Congress remaining in Washington, to back them up. A man experienced in practical diplomacy can do better than a doctrinaire novice. An envoy nominated by the President and confirmed by the Senate is invested with greater authority as the representative of the nation than the President himself when self-appointed against the will of Congress and the nation.

It was an unfortunate and costly feature of the war, that the President made of its tragic necessities an opportunity for enforcing upon the nation various fads which in the absence of such necessities he would probably not have ventured to propose, or which, if he had proposed them, would have been summarily rejected. It is no less unfortunate that he has sought in peacemaking an occasion not only for further exploitation of fads but also for meddling and for causing, if possible, this nation to meddle in all the affairs of the world.

This utterance of the representatives of the business and social interests of the nation ought to be an effective reminder to the President of his duty. It ought to remind him that while he is a self-selected foreign envoy, and while he has succeeded in being acclaimed by street throngs as a "god of peace," he is after all primarily President of the United States of America, and that he owes his first and chief duty to the United States of America, whose Constitution he is sworn to uphold and whose laws he is sworn faithfully to execute.

"Who is a Democrat?" Ex-Senator Bailey asks.—*The Washington Post*.

Well, how about Albert Sidney Burleson? Just at the moment we can think of none more prominent, at least in America.

A Snoop's Apology

THE Politicalmaster-General did protest too much. He added insult to injury in his cowardly and disingenuous attempt at self-exculpation. When his underlings refused to let legitimate newspaper matter pass over the government-controlled telegraph lines, he tried to make it appear that the outrage was not at his bidding, but was the work of the telegraph company's officials in pursuance of their old and fixed rule to reject libellous matter.

The characteristically Burlesonian mingling of impudence and imbecility in his pretended explanation will be the more apparent when we bear in mind these three points:

First, that the telegraph company in question is the one which the Politicalmaster-General has most oppressed and bedevilled by arbitrarily removing its most responsible officials, while he subjects the others to a reign of terror so as to make them abjectly compliant with his will.

Second, that the rejected matter was not libellous. Nobody but a fool would think of regarding it as libellous to call the Politicalmaster-General, in his official capacity, of course, "a snoop, troublemaker, disorganizer, autocrat and arch-politician;" unless under a misconstruction of the generally misconstrued principle, the greater the truth, the greater the libel.

Third, that the rejected matter related directly to the Politicalmaster-General, the Czar of the posts and telegraphs, while other matter, reflecting far more severely upon other men who have no control over the lines, goes through every day without challenge or question.

In the face of these facts the Politicalmaster-General's piffing pretences will receive the contempt which they deserve. Following the example of his chief, who sought to gag the Congress of the United States, this petty tyrant sought to suppress all criticism of his own incompetence, all exposure of his mismanagement of the nation's business. It was to out-Hohenzollern the Hohenzollern; for not even the Kaiser regarded it as *lèse majesté* for a paper to comment upon the administration of the imperial posts and telegraphs.

There come to mind the words of one of the great men who gave greatness to the once great party which the Politicalmaster-General and his like are doing their utmost to destroy. Said Marse Henry, not so very long ago:

"That war involves autocracy I understand well enough, but in the field, not in the White House; over the international situation, not over our domestic affairs. . . I reject, loathe and spit upon the plea that, because of the war, the press should abdicate its duty to the people."

Even greater than that must be our detestation of the pretence that now, nearly half a year after the President declared the war was ended, under a dictatorial arrogation of war-powers in time of peace, some whippersnapper nincompoop shall have the right to say that the telegraphs shall not transmit and the free press of a free nation shall not print things which are unpleasant to his insignificance because they tell the truth about him. If any functionary of this Administration is "a snoop, a trouble-maker, a disorganizer, an autocrat and an arch-politician," the press is going to say so and the people are going to know it, in spite of all the Politicalmaster-Generals that ever came out of Texas.

The Sick Man of Mexico

POOOR old Carranza is sick again. He is suffering from his usual Spring attack. Things haven't been going well. His bagmen can't get any money, and they are hungry. He promised that some of his chosen would fetch back large sums from a Wall Street group, and they came home empty-handed with the report that New York bankers do not lend to bankrupts. Then he promised that Alberto Pani would swing the Peace Conference for Mexico, and he could not even get an audience. And so his bagmen threatened to rouse the peons and throw him out in favor of a more agile financier like Louis Cabrera. Carranza needs an issue and needs it at once to save the situation.

The easiest and most plausible scheme is to rouse the anti-American feeling, which has not been capitalized for six months or more. He calls his Secretary for Foreign Affairs and orders him to prepare a blast against the Monroe Doctrine as a violation of Mexico's sacred sovereignty. He goes the limit. Not only will he defy America, but all the world. It is just as easy, so why not make a thorough job of it?

The lickspittle press is all prepared, and the Easter morning crowds are given a sensation—something to take the place of the fiesta they used to have in the old days when Mexico had a Government. The peons forget their hunger and take up the cry, "Viva Carranza and down with the Gringos!" It diverts attention from empty stomachs. It will suffice for another few months, and then we may expect another outburst. So it goes at the Capital.

Out in the country, behind a veil of secrecy, things are different. There we find the inevitable result of the Carranza policy. Americans are murdered in cold blood, and their bodies are subjected to unprintable atrocities by *Carranzistas* temporarily masquerading as bandits. Here is an instance:

WASHINGTON, April 10.—Edward E. Morgan, an American citizen, was murdered at Chivela, forty-seven miles from Salina Cruz, Mexico, on the night of April 8, according to advices to the State Department today.

The State Department has ordered an investigation of the crime, as dispatches thus far received, it is said, fail to reveal whether a rebel band was responsible. Morgan was manager of the Chivela estate of 125,000 acres on the Tehuantepec Railroad, owned by George G. Wright, of Kansas City, Mo.

Others followed immediately. In each case the circumstances are the same, and the State Department makes its usual protests. Nothing has been done to avenge the murder of some 300 Americans during the last few years, and nothing will be done in these cases. We must not expect anything to be done. Did not the President long ago tell Americans to abandon all that they had accumulated through years of labor, quit their homes, and remove themselves across the border as best they could?

Following the murder of Mr. Morgan and three other Americans, the Associated Press carried this despatch:

LAREDO, TEX., April 10.—Two million rounds of seven-millimeter rifle cartridges for the use of the Mexican Government forces were taken across to the Mexican side of the border today by permission of the American authorities.

Even though our Government will not protect its

nationals, even though it will not avenge their deaths, even though it will encourage Carranza in winking at the perpetrators of these murders, even though it will tolerate his methods in rousing the peons against our people, must we continue to see it supplying the bullets used in the slaying of our own brothers?

The Shoe on the Other Foot

THE grossness of the President's impropriety in making appeal to European peoples over the heads of their Governments, and in practically endeavoring to incite them to repudiate their Governments and to give allegiance to him or to his policies instead, will be more apparent to many if we imagine the process reversed in the making of appeals to the American people by Europe rulers over the head of the President and against his policy.

Let us suppose that King Victor Emmanuel, or his Prime Minister, Signor Orlando, should issue an elaborate address intended directly for the citizens of the United States, arguing against the President's League of Nations scheme, warning them that Italy would never assent to it, and practically exhorting them to renounce the leadership of the President and to adopt instead the policies of the Italian Government. It may be difficult to imagine an Italian statesman committing such an offense. It is not difficult to imagine the tempest of wrath which it would arouse in the United States, with the President himself leading the chorus of denunciation.

But why should an American President be privileged to do that which he would deny to an Italian King or Prime Minister; especially if under the League of Nations all nations are to be regarded as equals in rights and privileges?

It has long been forbidden by Federal law for an American citizen to enter into correspondence on political topics with the head of a foreign state, and that prohibition has generally been regarded as salutary. Logic and equity would surely seem to require recognition of the reciprocal obligation, that the head of the American state shall not enter into political communication with the citizens of foreign states, either individually or collectively.

The reluctance of the President to have his policies discussed even by his own fellow citizens has long been conspicuous and notorious. He went to the trouble of cabling from France a prohibition, couched almost in the terms of a decree, against any discussion of his Smuts-Cecil Covenant of the League of Nations, at least until he could get over here and speak first about it, and he and his backers went as far as possible toward making compliance with that demand a test of loyalty. But he did not wait for Signor Orlando and Baron Sonnino to get back to Rome and to let themselves be heard first by the Italian people, before he launched his broadside against them and strove to incite the Italian people to reject their leadership for his own.

We hold no brief for Italy. But we are jealous of the consistency and the honor and the good repute of our own land. John Hay once said that our foreign policy consisted of the Monroe Doctrine and the Golden Rule. Apparently

the present Administration does not agree with him. It did its utmost to abolish the Monroe Doctrine; and now, likely to be thwarted in that design by a mandate of the American people, it seems inclined to vent its chagrin and spite upon the Golden Rule, by doing to Italy what it would never permit Italy to do to us. For ourselves, we prefer the Monroe Doctrine to Smuts-Cecil internationalism; and we prefer the Golden Rule to the Wilsonian principle of "What's yours is mine and what's mine is my own."

Justice to Pershing

IT would be an excellent thing if every man and woman in America would read and memorize the tribute which Admiral Sims paid to General Pershing the other day in the course of a Victory Loan address. It was as typical of Sims as it was fair to Pershing. Here it is:

Now just a word about John Pershing. He has had 2,000,000 men over there. No one of those men has been able to see one one-thousandth part of the operations. They run across a great many disagreeable things. They may have been charged five cents too much in a canteen, or they may have run across a Britisher or an Italian or a Frenchman that they had a row with. They come back with all sorts of small criticisms. For the Lord's sake, don't pay any attention to that and don't pay any attention to the people in this country that are yapping at John Pershing's heels.

No military commander since the world began has had to do the stunt he has had to do. If he should have done that without any mistakes he would be the greatest military commander the world has ever heard of. He will tell you himself he has made mistakes. So have I, but I am not going to tell you about them.

Of course we do not know the precise circumstances that caused Admiral Sims to digress from the subject of his address long enough to make these remarks. We assume, however, that before he had been in New York an hour his ears were filled with some of the monstrous stories that are being assiduously circulated about the commander of the American forces abroad, and he thought it was about time that the public was warned against the scandal-mongers.

For more than a year the gossips have been busy with Pershing's name. Reports that school children would not have credited have been passed around by persons of mature years. General Pershing has been accused of every conceivable blunder and every kind of failure, and of half the crimes on the calendar. The pity of it all is that many of these contemptible slanders originated with returning soldiers. General Pershing has been held personally responsible for every inconvenience experienced by the individual soldier, and for every difficulty which overtook the disgruntled officer.

His position was ideal for the making of enemies. It is doubtless true that the silly attempt made by a portion of our press to place Pershing on a pedestal as one of the great military commanders of the ages, even during the first few months of the war, acted as a boomerang and tended to encourage the slanders. But this is neither here nor there.

The truth of the matter is that General Pershing appears to have done well considering the terrible handicaps he worked under, and that he would have done infinitely better if he had had the right kind of support from the War De-

partment. His principal difficulties arose from lack of trained officers and men, and from delays in getting supplies. If our pacifist Secretary of War had not wasted a year upon the assumption that the war was 3,000 miles away, we have no doubt that many of the complaints against Pershing would never have been uttered.

What of the Wheat?

REMARK has already been made upon the anomaly of the situation in wheat. With a large surplus on hand, and with a crop in prospect about twice as large as the average of a few years ago, farmers are refusing to sell even at the enormous price guaranteed to them by the Government, which is more than twice what they regarded as a bumper price before the war, and the cost of living consequently continues to soar. The circumstances give rise to some pertinent reflections concerning the future.

The stupendous crop now promised is due, obviously, to two major causes. One is the greatly increased acreage, and the other is the exceptionally favorable weather which prevailed during the winter. The former has been the more potent of the two, and is the only one worth considering, seeing that it alone is the work of man and is under his control. The weather may be good again next season, or it may not. We cannot determine it. But it depends upon men to say what the acreage planted shall be, whether large or less than the present.

It is to be assumed that much of the increased acreage is due to the government guarantee of a high price for wheat. It was that which inspired farmers to break up new lands or to discontinue other crops and plant wheat. In that they performed both a selfish and an altruistic act. The increased planting was for their good, since they would get for the extra wheat thus secured a price twice as great as that in which they formerly rejoiced. But the act was also altruistic, because they knew that the world needed more wheat, at no matter what price.

Now, however, the question arises, what acreage will be maintained after the government guarantee is abolished, and prices of wheat depend upon the ordinary laws of trade and consequently fall to about one half the present figure? It will probably still be profitable to grow wheat, though the incentive to do so will be lessened. It remains to be seen whether farmers will generally make the efforts to raise bumper crops which they have been making under the inspiration of government price-fixing. We must hope that they will do so, for there will be need of all that they can grow, but we shall not be surprised if they do not and if there is a considerable reduction of acreage.

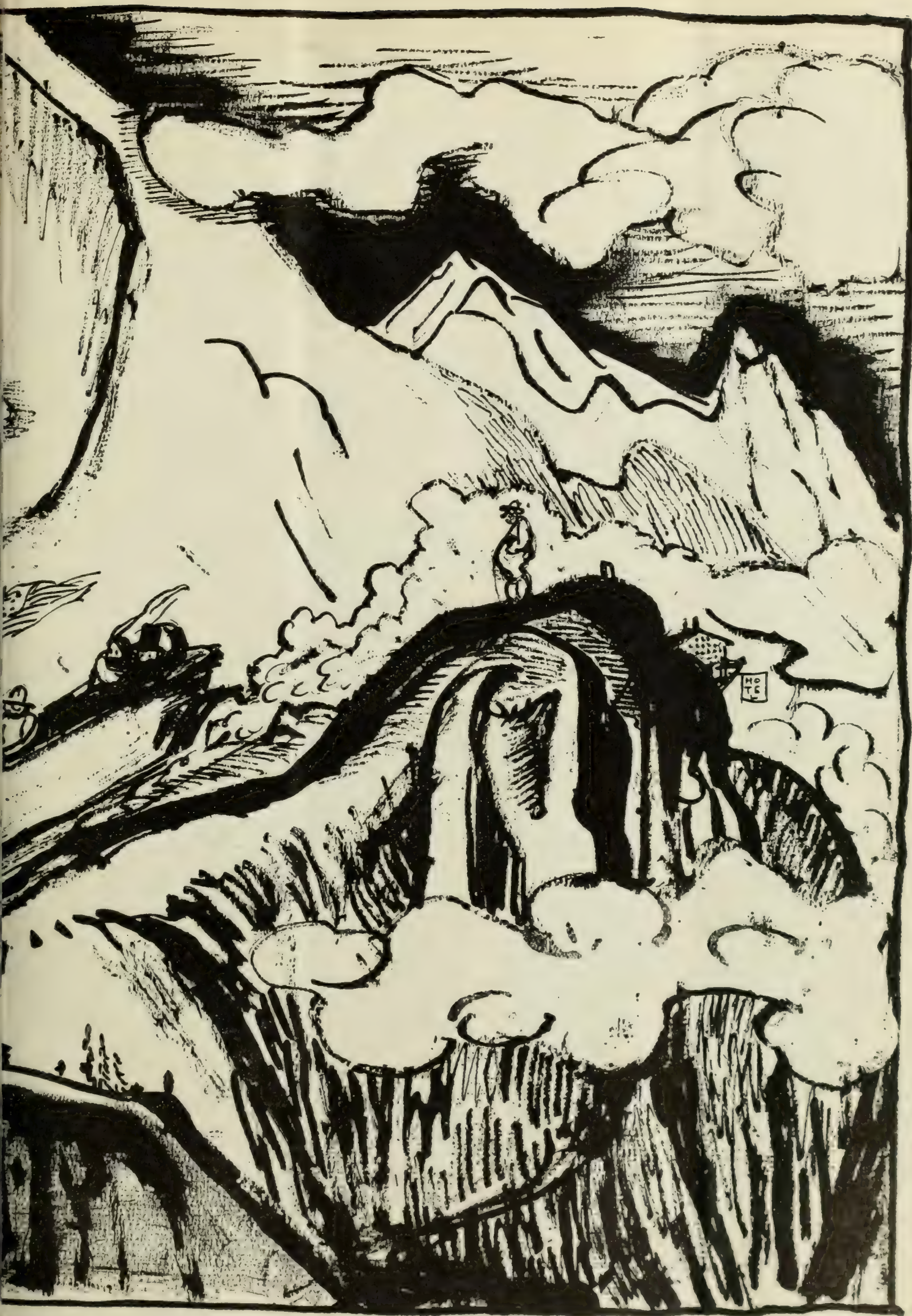
Perhaps it was necessary for the Government thus to fix prices of the chief necessities of life. But it was a regrettable necessity, because the return to normal conditions is certain to be disturbing.

Mr. Burleson is a strong, able and brilliant man, clean, honest and fearless.—*The Washington Post*.

Yes, this refers to Albert Sydney Burleson, the Postmaster-General.



SIR JOSEPHUS "INSI



S" THE SWISS NAVY

The Week

WASHINGTON, MAY 8, 1919.

THE anniversary of the *Lusitania* passes once more with that unmatched crime still unatoned, and with peace still unmade a half year after the President's proclamation that the war was ended. There are, however, compensations for the delay. We are assured that the Revised Version of the Smuts-Cecil-Wilson Covenant is so interwoven, scrambled and copper-fastened in the Treaty of Peace that the two can no more be separated than the Siamese Twins. Also, a varied assortment of benevolent platitudes on the subject of labor have been injected into the treaty. Having no binding force whatever, they are worth no more than the paper on which they are written; and what on earth the contrast in wages between Japan and America has to do with making peace with Germany is quite past finding out. Nevertheless the President personally regards the incorporation of this matter in the twenty-chaptered treaty as "one of the most gratifying achievements of the conference."

Somewhat more to the point is it that the inconsistency already noted between the President's Fourteen Commandments and his attitude toward Fiume has been duplicated in his attitude toward Shan-tung. He issued his Commandments in favor of self-determination for all peoples. Yet he is irrevocably opposed to Italy's having the Italian city of Fiume, because the Jugo-Slavs want it. Also he is unwilling for the Chinese to have the Chinese city of Kiao-Chau, because the Japanese want it. Or perhaps we should say that he is quite willing for the Japanese to have that Chinese city despite the desire of the Chinese for that important portion of China Irredenta. Of course, Japan gives an oral promise to restore the place to China, some time; and the President courteously considers that oral promise sufficient. Let us assume that it is, and the word of Japan is as good as her bond.

Yet in other cases the President has been hot for having the agreements written and signed and sealed; and also for having disposition of disputed territories placed under the mandatory control of his League of Nations. This very important matter he leaves entirely to the spoken word of Japan, for her to settle with China as and when she pleases, without any reference to the League of Nations.

Very good. But suppose that Poland makes an oral promise to give Dantzic back to Prussia, at her own pleasure; and suppose that Italy thus promises to give Fiume to Croatia; would the President say, Let them have those places? If not, why not? We have no doubt that Japan will surrender Kiao-chau to China whenever—if ever—it comports with her interests so to do. We have no doubt, either, that Poland would cede Dantzic to Prussia, and that Italy would give Fiume to Croatia, whenever—if ever—they realized that it would be to their interest so to do. But there is much virtue in a "when" or an "if."

The Politicalmaster-General, having been compelled to get at least partly off his high horse, has surrendered to their

owners the cable lines which he so illogically and inequitably seized; doing so at the very time when, according to his own specious pretense, there was greatest need of the Government's retaining them. This act he has performed with characteristic grouchiness and boorishness. The land lines of telegraphs and telephones he refuses to surrender until Congress can take action upon them; the inference being that he has so manhandled and demoralized them that Congressional relief, at the expense of the taxpayers of the nation, will be necessary before the lines will be in a fit condition for return. Meanwhile he will keep on bedeviling the mails, probably worse than before; venting upon them the spite which he feels at being compelled to loose his grip upon the cables and wires; until the patience of this long-suffering people is quite exhausted, and the fiat is enforced that—

Burleson must go!

Incidentally, the illuminating explanation is made, coincidentally with the return of the cables to their owners, that there is "delay to the Far East via Pacific lines, seven days"; to which is added: "The delay is attributed to the overload of the lines caused by the transmission of the peace treaty from Paris to Washington." From which we gather that the peace treaty is or was being cabled from Paris to Washington via Hong Kong, Manila, Guam and San Francisco. Why not? The Politicalmaster-General is quite capable of such a performance.

"Conventions for popular ratification of the Covenant of the League of Nations," it is announced, are to be held in fifteen States of the Central West and East during the next few weeks. It is assumed that these demonstrations will have influence upon Congress when it assembles. We have no doubt that considerable gatherings for that purpose can and will be got together. We ourselves have seen at Podunk, Four Corners, under the smoky blaze of a naphtha torch, eighty-four citizens held spellbound by the eloquence of Professor Nehemiah J. Skaggs in his exploitation of the surpassing merits of his Marvellous Comanche Corn Cure and Sure Death for Bubonic Plague, and have read in the luminous pages of "Skaggs' Corn and Bubo Almanac" the text of the resolutions of confidence in him which that convention unanimously adopted. Of course it is understood that in these ratification conventions there will be no "insects," "pagans," or "pigmy minds," nobody whom Mr. Taft would not trust overnight, or whom the President would like to hang upon a gibbet fifty cubits high.

We shall expect, also to see the Politicalmaster-General's department working overtime in sending out franked propaganda in favor of the League of Nations; comprising everything from the original Smuts-Cecil text of the Covenant to the last Sunday sermon of the Rev. Dr. Henry van Dyke. The precedent has already been set for such use of the mails by Colonel Wigmore, under authority of the Secretary of War—who is one of the ablest public officials the President has ever known—and with the approval of the Attorney General. While the general public has to pay increased rates for the poorest mail service ever known, tons of propaganda stuff may be sent through the mails gratis, at taxpayers' expense. What would an Administration of Fads be without a Politicalmaster-General?

It now appears to be indisputable that the Bolshevik movement in Hungary, which culminated in the establishment of Bela Kun's Soviet government at Budapest, was not at all spontaneous, or national in its origin. It was artificially conceived and promoted by Lenine, Trotzky and the other Russian Bolsheviks, as a part of their scheme to involve all nations in disorder and to provoke universal class wars. We must remember that those scoundrels have enormous wealth, stolen from the Russian treasury and from the Russian people, which they are using freely to promote their pernicious propaganda in every land to which they have access. Incidentally it is to be remembered that our Government permits them to have an "ambassador" in this country, to serve as a spy and propagandist.

At the same time we are still fighting the Bolsheviks in northern Russia. News of sharp engagements, in which the Allied—and Associated—troops were successful has recently come to hand. That is gratifying, but puzzling. Are we afoot or on horseback? Are we at war or at peace with the Bolsheviks?

Katy Did and Katy Didn't are nothing compared with the pro and contra repartee over the President's alleged assurances to France, by virtue of which he is said to have disarmed French opposition to some of the provisions or lack of provisions of the peace treaty. For ourselves, we are inclined to think that the nays have it, and that the President gave no such assurances at all. For any such assurance, promise, pledge, or what not, whether positive or contingent, would have to be in effect an exclusive and private arrangement between America and France. That is to say, it would provide, in a certain emergency, for a combination between the United States and France. But that is manifestly impossible. The President himself has said so. The United States, he has said, "would join no combination of Powers which is not a combination of all of us." Now a combination of France and America would manifestly not be a combination of all of us, and therefore the United States would not join it, and therefore the President could not have promised France that we would join it. Maybe!

"The American people," says Senator Hitchcock, "are not going to tolerate any political juggling with the League of Nations project." No; and they are not going to tolerate any juggling by the League of Nations project, either. It is the League of Nations, or its propagandists, that would juggle with the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution. We have in the last few weeks repeatedly heard it said, with astounding effrontery, that the Constitution and the Monroe Doctrine are to be harmonized with the Covenant of the League, or are not to be permitted to interfere with the League. That is to say, this Smuts-Cecil-Wilson device is sacrosanct, and our whole system of government and the whole spirit of the American nation must be transmogrified to fit it.

Sir Josephus still suffers from the obsession that the only thing to do with the German naval vessels is to sink them.

It would be, he thinks, "the greatest moral lesson of the war." But what sort of a practical object lesson would it be in economics, in conservation? He admits that the ships are "magnificent craft," but holds that they would not be acceptable for our navy because of the contracted quarters for the crews. We should think that before wasting so many millions of dollars' worth of shipping, it would be advisable to consider the practicability of effecting such alterations as would make them fit for American use. The proposal to sink them is insufferably foolish.

We are not inclined to carp at the reported refusal of our Government to join the Allies in guaranteeing a five billion German loan. It would cause our gorge to rise for this nation thus to lend its credit to the unspeakable Hun. It is well for this nation to maintain unimpaired its fiscal independence. But if, as we are assured, "even the Covenant of the League of Nations is free from financial entanglements," we should certainly keep as free from military entanglements. If we are unwilling to lend our credit to other nations as their financial ally, much less should we be willing to lend them our blood and brawn, our citizens' lives, as their military ally in quarrels which do not concern us.

The Roumanians and Czechs are taking control of Hungary; which will probably be a good thing for that country. The Italians have taken possession of Fiume, and the Jugoslavs are threatening to try to drive them out; which they will probably not be able to do. If the League of Nations were now in effective existence, the United States might be called upon to intervene with force of arms in both of those quarrels.

A special correspondent of the *Christian Science Monitor* informs us that Panama and virtually all of South America might be swung into the dry column if those countries had good roads. He argues that good roads, furnishing good transportation facilities, would cause the peons to raise crops instead of carrying their easily moved distilled wares to the markets. This sounds plausible, and we are for it. We suggest that the Anti-Saloon League investigate the probabilities of successfully operating along the lines indicated. There are now some 15,000 anti-saloon workers out of jobs in this country. We feel sure that transportation might be arranged without cost to the travellers, and we guarantee to raise sufficient funds to supply them with picks, shovels and the other necessary road-building tools.

A midsummer session of Congress will not be physically enjoyable in the sub-tropical city of Washington, and the query arises why it might not be held elsewhere. Of course, Washington is the official capital of the nation, and has been designated by law as the place of business of the Federal Government. But if the head of the Executive department is free to transfer his place of business to Paris for months at a time, why should not the Legislative department be privileged to do the same?

Josephus Abroad

WE must confess that when Josephus sailed away we were a bit disturbed by an official announcement that he was going to London, Paris, and Rome, to match wits with the First Lords of the Allied admiralities, in expectation of improving the type of our future dreadnoughts by fetching home such technical secrets as might have been developed through the experiences of the war. Josephus, we felt, would hardly show at his best in the restrained atmosphere of a European admiralty, or puttering about navy yards, or inspecting foreign fleets. This might better be left to such trained technicians as Admirals Taylor, Griffin and Earle. It was not like Josephus, anyhow, to pry into the secrets of other navies, and we are glad that he has done nothing of the sort, but instead assigned his bureau chiefs to these tasks while he and Mrs. Daniels made a bee line for Germany, there to learn of modern warfare in his own way.

"Secretary Daniels is confining the greater part of his trip to actual sight-seeing," the *Tribune* correspondent at Coblenz cabled in the course of an excellent pen picture of a typical day in the Daniels itinerary. We are grateful for this intelligence, but the correspondent might have added that others besides Josephus were seeing sights.

"On a great plateau near the village of Vallendar," he continued, "overlooking the Rhine, the Secretary and Mrs. Daniels, mounted on a caterpillar tractor, rode across the meadows to the reviewing-stand. Wearing his silk hat and accompanied by Mrs. Daniels, the Secretary seemed a trifle out of place among the thousands of grey green uniforms of America's famous amphibious fighters."

It is a bit difficult to understand the suggestion that Josephus looked a trifle out of place in these circumstances. At this distance, we are disposed to believe that it must have been a typical and splendid sight. Our foremost mariner, smartly groomed in high hat and walking coat, doubtless presented a striking picture astride the caterpillar, with Mrs. Daniels at his side.

The party made a side trip from Coblenz to points on the Rhine. "He also motored to Wiesbaden, the famous inland watering place," the *Tribune* continues, "and after luncheon he returned to Coblenz on the steamer *Elsa*, formerly used by the Kaiser for Rhine excursions. The Daniels party occupied the quarters on the boat built especially for the Kaiser."

What, we wonder, were the emotions of Josephus when he spliced his coat-tails across the Kaiser's favorite chair after resting his solemn high hat on the peg where once rested the helmet of William the Damned? Oh for the creel to picture this historic event! His absence deprives future generations of a valuable chapter of the war, for he would not have limited this occasion to a fugitive paragraph.

Near Coblenz a sham battle, with real cartridges, was arranged for the party.

"The rattle of machine-guns echoed between the hills of the Rhine for the first time yesterday," the correspondent continued. "It was Josephus Daniels's Marine Brigade reenacting some of the scenes of Belleau Woods and demonstrating for the Secretary of the Navy the marine tricks

of fighting with and against these murderous weapons. Secretary Daniels was exceedingly pleased with the battle demonstrations, although he expressed regret at his inability to see the marines in actual action."

In justice to Josephus, we must conclude that this is an exaggeration, if not an actual fabrication. It is hard to believe that this gentle, modest man desired to see blood run as it ran at Belleau Woods. We dismiss the suggestion altogether, and hasten with Josephus from the battleground to the more agreeable atmosphere of the reviewing stand—from which he addressed the brigade.

"The navy is your guardian and I am captain of the ferry-boat, and the navy will certainly see that you get home," said the Secretary, and "cheer after cheer broke forth."

We can hardly assume that the cheers were occasioned by the announcement that a guardian had been appointed for these upstanding marines, nor credit the statement that the navy would take them home, because in truth this was but a part of the original contract.

Can it be that they took his statement literally? What marines or sailors wouldn't cheer at the announcement that Josephus henceforth was to limit his activities to the conning-tower of a ferry-boat, plying (let us say) between Raleigh and Scotland Neck?

Indigestion and the Censor

MR. E. M. SCHEFLOW, an Engineer and Contractor of Elgin, Illinois, writes to ask us if we can explain why a private letter written to his mother by an old lady in Norway was opened and read by the American censor. "Is it possible," asks Mr. Schefflow, "that an old aunt in Norway cannot let me know she has had a bad attack of indigestion without having the fact passed upon by the American censor?"

Certainly not. The Politicalmaster-General's official eyes are keen and his ears are long—very long. The eyes scrutinize every letter and telegram, if the Politicalmaster-General so elects. Even keyholes are not necessarily barred to them. The long and flexible ears are wound about every telephone. Both in the whispered and the written word there might lurk things which do not meet Mr. Burleson's approval.

As to the bad attack of Norwegian indigestion which the Burleson censors investigated in the instance our correspondent cites, we should say that this was peculiarly a case for rigid Burlesonian diagnosis. On its face, any reference to indigestion necessarily would arouse the censor's suspicion. It might conceal a disparaging comment on our mail service, or in its symptomatic suggestion it might cover a flippantly flatulent appraisal of the Politicalmaster-General himself.

We are surprised, not that the letter in question was opened and read by the censor, but that the censor passed it at all. And, added to that prodigy, is the miracle that it got to the person to whom it was addressed. On the whole, the entire transaction appears to be rather an improvement on established Burlesonian standards of tolerance and of administrative efficiency. Not only was the censor uncommonly liberal in his supervision of the correspondence of the two old ladies, but the letter itself got through the mail

service malestrom and was finally cast up, mutilated and battered to be sure, but at least actually cast up, at the door of the person for whom it was intended! It went over the top and survived the barrage.

Considering the Burlesonian epoch in which we live, when the intrusion of the Government's nose into the private correspondence of old ladies is a recognized branch of Administration statesmanship, we are inclined to congratulate Mr. Schefflow rather than to condole with him.

No Prohibition Referendum

THERE is no occasion for surprise at the Oregon decision against a referendum on the Prohibition amendment. Of course there ought to be, or rather there ought to have been, such a referendum, and the Prohibition amendment ought not to have been ratified. But the proper time to lock the stable door is before, not after, the horse is stolen.

In Oregon there is a requirement that certain acts of the legislature must be approved by referendum before they become law, and it was argued that the act of the legislature in ratifying the Prohibition amendment must thus be submitted to the people.

But the Supreme Court of the State holds otherwise. It holds that the acceptance of a Constitutional amendment is not a legislative act requiring popular ratification.

That decision, we regret to say, seems logical, and there is reason to expect that it will be repeated in the other referendum States, if the question is raised in them. If so, that hope of undoing an accomplished fact will be destroyed.

At that, as we have said, there is no cause for surprise. Neither is there much cause for regret. We may and do regret that the people of the nation were so unspeakably foolish as to let the amendment in question be ratified; but now, having walked into the trap with open eyes, they must not expect to extricate themselves by means of a technicality.

The whole matter is characteristic of one of the gravest faults in our system of popular government, namely, the vast over-exaggeration of the principle of checks and balances.

We enact laws, and then form organizations for the enforcement of them. We elect men to office, and then appoint other men to watch them and guard against malfeasance. We do things hastily, and then clamor for ways and means of undoing them. We answer the question "*Quis custodiet ipsos custodes?*" by appointing guards, and then appointing guards to guard the guards, and then appointing guards to guard the guards who guard the guards, and so on after the manner of the House that Jack Built.

What we need is more circumspection in the first place in the making of laws and the electing of officers. Then there will not be so much regret and so many efforts to reconsider and to undo that which has been done. The advantage of forethought over afterthought is an old lesson, but it is one which we have not yet fully learned.

Was it for Shame?

WELL, if we cannot know the American plan for a League of Nations, we may at least know the German plan. And perhaps this latter knowledge will explain why the former is withheld from us. It may be that the contrast between the two was so great that when the German plan was disclosed the President determined that for very shame the American must be withheld from publicity. For here is the logic of the case: The suppressed American plan must have been, in the President's opinion, inferior to the British; which was why he accepted the latter and discarded the former. But the German plan was much better than the British. Therefore the American plan was still more inferior to the German; so much inferior that it would have been shameful to disclose it.

Whether that was or was not the reason for the suppression of the American plan, the fact of the superiority of the German plan is not to be disputed. We hold no brief for Germany. We have never been convinced of the superiority of German efficiency and discipline, upon which many have admiringly dwelt. We would not for a moment have our country enter such a League as that proposed by Germany. But we have no hesitation in saying that for orderliness, perspicuity, reasonableness, and statesmanlike adaptation to the end desired, the German plan for a League of Nations is vastly better not only than the original Smuts-Cecil-Wilson abortion, but also than the Revised Version of the latter.

We have not the space for a detailed comparison, in parallel columns, of the two instruments; but a few citations will perhaps serve the purpose. Read the vague, verbose and unconvincing preamble to the Wilsonvelian Covenant, and then read the crisp and unequivocal first article of the German plan, which runs thus:

"The object of the League of Nations is to secure a lasting peace, based on the moral power of right and the independence and inviolability of all states, and to promote the welfare of the peoples by common work."

There is a similar contrast all the way through. There is not an article in the German plan of the precise meaning and effect of which there is room for reasonable doubt, while in the Smuts-Cecil-Wilson Covenant there is scarcely one which is not pervaded with doubt and uncertainty and which does not contain the fecund seeds of endless controversy.

The German plan has the courage of its convictions. It makes the League open to all states with established constitutions. It insists that every constitution shall vest the war-making power in Parliament. Instead of regarding the waging of war as a function and duty of a league of peace, it regards it as altogether incompatible with the league and as a violation of the principles upon which it is founded. It gives a definite mathematical prescription for limitation of armaments. It opens to all nations all canals and straits connecting the seas. It recognizes the equality of all races of men. It says plainly what it means, and convinces the reader that it means what it says.

We do not like the thing. We certainly would not have America adopt it. But we do consider it a far more woman-like composition than that one which the President is now trying to foist upon us.

Authorities on Independence

WE have heard profuse protestations that the proposed Covenant of the League of Nations does not or will not impair our nationality, our sovereignty, our independence. We are told that it specifically and scrupulously refrains from meddling with domestic or internal matters, and is addressed solely to external relationships. That is notoriously not true. But if it were, it would not prove that our independence was unimpaired by the Covenant. Many years ago a great authority graphically described independence as implying "full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and do all other acts and things which Independent States may of right do."

Now, as the world has been permitted humbly to understand it, the Covenant of the League of Nations will considerably impair if it does not entirely destroy the power of this nation, on its own initiative and volition, to do the first three of the four things thus named as attributes or functions of independent states. It seems logical, therefore, to argue that if an independent state can do these things, a state which cannot do them is not independent.

There is another and later authority who is pertinently to be quoted to the same effect, and who says: "A state to possess full nationality must have complete external sovereignty and complete internal sovereignty exclusively within itself, that is, possessed by its sovereign. If it lacks either, it falls short of a perfect national character. . . . There can be no actual independence of a state unless the real sovereignty is held within the state."

Therefore if under the Covenant we have not "complete external sovereignty" and the real sovereignty is not "held within the state"—that is to say, if some external league controls our power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, etc.—we shall not possess full nationality, we shall fall short of a perfect national character, and shall have no actual independence.

Such are the manifest teachings of two great authorities, the first American Secretary of State, Thomas Jefferson, and the latest American Secretary of State, Robert Lansing.

Wilson and a Hot Scotch

(From the Aberdeen Daily Journal.)

It now appears, from the President's Boston speech, that the Entente had no ideals until he, in the name of the United States, formulated them; the Entente, converted from its heathenism, adopted these ideals, "and the war was won by that inspiration." This is exceedingly interesting news. We had no idea we were so degenerate. Then we are informed that the American soldiers were animated by "religious fervor. They were not like any of the other soldiers. They had a vision, they had a dream, and they were fighting in a dream. They turned the whole tide of battle, and it never came back." Now there are still alive those who have a recollection that British soldiers, who were not "in a dream," smashed the Hindenburg Line; and that French poilus who had not "had a vision" broke the center of the German defense at St. Gobain. And in both these cases "the whole tide of battle never came back."

Then President Wilson cites the fact that "every interest, first of all, when it reaches Paris, seeks out our representatives of the United States." This he attributes to the honesty of America. The real reason is that the United States delegates are the most gullible people on earth, as the Germans know. But enough has been said to show that President Wilson's words mean nothing. He is excited over the success of his trip. No surprise may be occasioned if some Senator characterizes his speech as "hogwash."

The League of Nations

So history repeats itself!

Men lay again a corner stone,
The League of Nations, now it's called,
To build the Tower of Babel on.

That ancient, bold, ambitious scheme
Raised ructions, just as this will do;
Brought double trouble to men's tongues
And left them wondering, it is true.

And we've been wondering ever since.
Just now, we wonder how we'll gag
These men who dream their dreams out loud,
And play the merry game of tag.

Too bad those ancient people split
And balled things up and started strafe
Because an idealist had hit
Upon a plan to make them safe.

Too bad that man can't see before,
The landmarks he has left behind;
He'd save his shins and head some cracks,
If he would only use his mind. . . .

Oh, won't some valiant David rise
And place a brickbat in his sling,
A verbal brickbat understand,
And smite this League of Nations thing?

If we could only muzzle fools
And set those fools to till the soil,
The world would wax full fed and fat
And never know another broil.

But this is talk, it can't be done!
I'm growing idealistic too;
In this respect, like mighty folk
Who tell their fellows what to do.

Nebuchadnezzar, you'll recall,
Stopped ruling folk and fed on grass;
This seems a most portentous thing—
Might suit a number, in his class.

But let us never press that point,
Or ever hope to see the day
When ruling men spurn festive boards
And kindly take to eating hay.

Still, history repeats itself—
This certainly is a wondrous day!
No telling what will happen now,
Since Babel's Tower is on the way.

And if we cannot head it off,
When plans are drawn and contracts signed,
We'll have to, each one, do our bit,
Else sit around and be resigned.

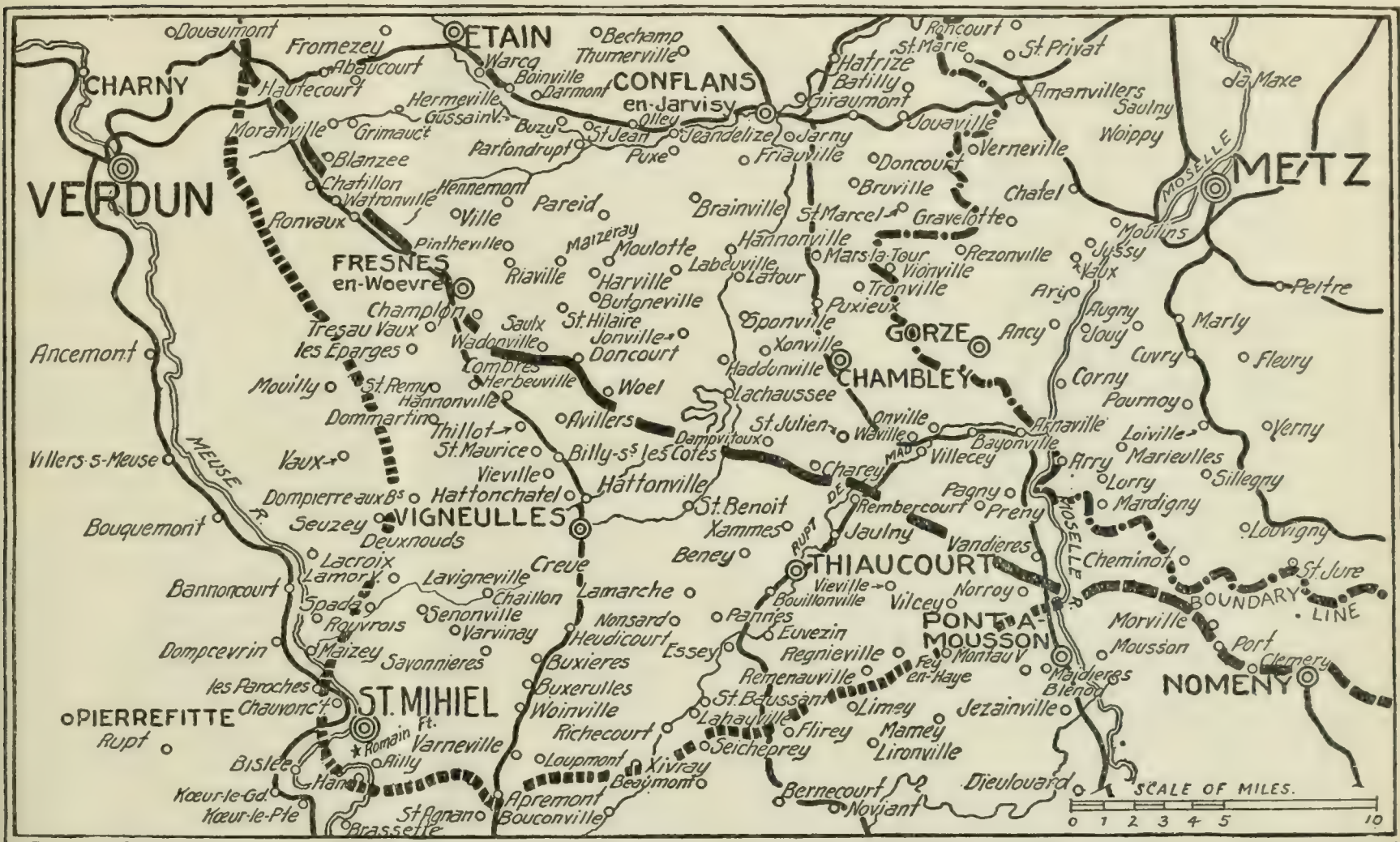
When building operations start,
And snakes are brought instead of bricks,
Well, I won't be here many years
To get the everlasting kicks.

But you, young friends, look out for squalls!
The men in power take bites, it's true,
But who will chew the Devil's cud?
Now think this out, it's up to you.

—JANE MAULIN FEIGL in *The Morning Telegraph*.

Suggested Sites for the Monument

II.—ST. MIHIEL



THE MAP SHOWS THE SCENE OF THE ST. MIHIEL FIGHTING

From General Pershing's Official Report

THE ST. MIHIEL SALIENT—After four hours' artillery preparation, the seven American divisions in the front line advanced at 5 a. m., Sept. 12, assisted by a limited number of tanks, manned partly by Americans and partly by French. These divisions, accompanied by groups of wire cutters and others armed with bangalore torpedoes, went through the successive bands of barbed wire that protected the enemy's front line and support trenches in irresistible waves on schedule time, breaking down all defense of an enemy demoralized by the great volume of our artillery fire and our sudden approach out of the fog. Our 1st Corps advanced to Triaucourt, while our 4th Corps curved back to the southwest through Nonsard. The 2d Colonial French Corps made the slight advance

required of it on very difficult ground, and the 5th Corps took its three ridges and repulsed a counter-attack. A rapid march brought reserve regiments of a division of the 5th Corps into Vignuelles and beyond Fresnes-en-Woevre. At the cost of only 7,000 casualties, mostly light, we had taken 16,000 prisoners and 443 guns, a great quantity of material, released the inhabitants of many villages from enemy domination, and established our lines in a position to threaten Metz. This signal success of the American First Army in its first offensive was of prime importance. The Allies found they had a formidable army to aid them, and the enemy learned finally that he had one to reckon with.

NOTHING MORE BEAUTIFUL

SIR,—I am very anxious to express my opinion in favor of the reproduction of the Washington Monument in France. I do not know of any more fitting memorial than this monument. Certainly nothing is more beautiful, and nothing more expressive of the feeling of the American people in behalf of those who died in France. Whenever the matter is decided and contributions are called for, I will gladly contribute and assist in securing contributions from others.

Rochester, N. Y.

G. T. AMSDEN.

ACCEPTABLE TO THE FRENCH

SIR,—Nothing could be more impressive, more suitable or more indicative of the spirit and feeling of Americans than a replica of the Washington Monument on a chosen site in France. Nothing that we could do would be more acceptable to the French people, and I shall certainly claim the privilege of contributing to its erection.

New York City.

C. B. ROBINSON.

ONE OF THE PLAIN PEOPLE

SIR,—I fall in as one more of the countless minority—the plain people—to back your suggestion of a Washington Monument for those of our defenders who died in France. When you are ready

to make up your list of subscribers to finance the project, let us know through HARVEY'S WEEKLY when and where to send our contributions. I am only a poor writer, but pray consider me good for five dollars.

Concord, N. H.

ERWIN F. KEENE.

EAGER TO SHARE

SIR,—I cordially and enthusiastically endorse your suggestion in regard to erecting a replica of the Washington Monument in France as a memorial to our soldiers who fought and died there, and am eager to share in the cost involved.

New York City.

HENRY E. TAYLOR.

NOTHING MORE APPROPRIATE

SIR,—Your idea is magnificent. Nothing could be more appropriate to tower above our dead than a replica of the monument which honors Washington.

San Francisco.

ISABEL D. McHILL.

FROM ALL OVER THE COUNTRY

SIR,—I want to add my voice to the flood of approval that is rolling up from all over the United States in favor of your splendid suggestion for a Washington Monument in France.

Baltimore.

HOWARD B. CROSS.

Letters From Our Readers

AN EXCEPTION TAKEN

Sir,—While I am usually in thorough accord with your criticisms of the present Administration, I must really take exception to the inclusion of the price control of food commodities *during* the war with government control of public utilities *subsequent* to the war. I refer to the article "Weighed and Found Wanting" in your issue of April 12. In it you inveigh against the President's socialistic dreams and state that the American people are practical and judge things by their results, and when these results directly concern the popular welfare, in both cost and efficiency of service, they (the American people) will not be ignored. You cite the food supply as a case in point, but I am afraid that in your deductions you allow your good judgment to be somewhat warped by a partisan spirit and fail to discriminate between good service and bad. The U. S. Food Administration was purely a war agency and control of prices has been surrendered by it as rapidly as was economically safe. Unfortunately neither you nor Mr. Hoover could forecast the termination of the war, and as food was literally a vital necessity in its prosecution, the price of wheat of the 1919 crop was guaranteed, sufficiently ahead of the planting season, to insure a sufficient acreage for the world's needs. This surely was sound policy. That the war closed before what promises to be a record yield of wheat was harvested, must be counted to the good, and if the public is now required to pay more for its flour than you approve, the fact must be laid to a resumption of the much vaunted law of supply and demand which the Food Administration, during the war, was so bitterly criticized for upsetting. The very conditions you now complain of are produced by the unwillingness of this governmental agency to continue price control. The price of flour was stabilized during the war, and that it and the price of wheat now promise to re-act to speculative influences seems to be a refutation of your contention. Certainly your apparent effort to stir your readers to resentment over the Government's failure to restrict the present price of food is an appeal to socialism of the most direct nature. Your further statement, that "under the government food trust the more plentiful food is the more costly it is," is willfully misleading, as no one of the crudest information could fail to be advised that the Food Administration—if that is what you mean by "the government food trust"—no longer, to any appreciable extent, exercises food control, and that in many cases food prices advanced immediately on such control being relinquished. The work accomplished by your paper has been too consistently good to be marred by the assumption of a manifestly false position in regard to a war service that was conspicuously well administered.

H. C. GROOME.

[We realized and conceded, of course, the need of extraordinary war measures, and also the practical certainty that in the process of readjustment there would be some inequalities. Our point was that on the whole our experience had shown government control to be undesirable and unprofitable to the people. The fatal weakness of an official price-fixing system is in the impossibility of forecasting conditions. If government control of food were now continued, with the price fixed in advance for this year's wheat, one of two things would happen: either the price of bread would be high, in proportion to the wheat price, or the Government—that is, the people—would have to pay as a bonus to the farmers a large sum as the difference between the two. And that would be likely to happen in any year of government price-fixing.

—EDITOR.]

AN ENGLISH VIEW

SIR,—I read your REVIEW and WEEKLY with great interest. Nothing can exceed your service to the world in breaking down Prussianism and we are all grateful for what you have done.

To-day's papers have a cable reporting a speech of yours in which you are made to describe our diplomacy as "infamous." Just now as diplomacy is secret it is impossible to say whether it is infamous or not, but it is certain that one infamy, if any, consists in supporting and giving shape to certain proposals re-invented by Mr. W. H. Taft and his friends and taken up with an irrational obstinacy by your President, an obstinacy which threatens to revive either the war or universal revolution.

The crime your President is committing in holding up the Peace Treaty is the real infamy. He is playing upon the fact that he has now so unsettled Europe that unless you persuade the working class that there is to be no more war they will sweep away all existing Governments. I am afraid that the situation cannot be saved unless some sort of League Treaty is signed. But it will be of no use whatever.

The real argument against it does not seem to be much, if at all, used in America. It is that all through history Leagues of Nations have followed every really great war, and never in history has one lasted fifty years. That is because they stereotyped the status quo.

I enclose two articles from the *Morning Post* which represent all we say in this City which after all is some city. We shall be glad to see your President back in Washington. Nothing like him has ever been seen in Europe.

London, England.

J. J. BISGOOD.

IT SEEMS HOPELESS

SIR,—I was handed a copy of your WEEKLY and enjoyed it very much. While there might be some of it I could not entirely agree with, still as a whole I am heartily in accord. I have some information which might be of use to you. My son went overseas in June, and the Government gave him a card to sign and send us, giving the following address: "Private Wm. B. Lellis, Trench Mortar Battery, 3rd Artillery Brigade, A. E. F., Via New York." We immediately got busy writing him, as this same Government said, "Write the soldiers," and of course we were writing for our own sake, too. We sent him a letter every day from June until Nov. 11, when the Armistice was signed. *He never received a letter from us until October*, meaning our September letters. All of our June, July, and August letters were returned to us. Some of them even endorsed in red ink, "3rd Division," which was his division. It seems strange that they would get across the water and be marked for his division and then could not be delivered. But to add insult to injury, two letters written to him, one postmarked "Duluth, Dec. 26," and the other one "Dec. 28," never went overseas at all but were sent to Delaware City, Md., and only yesterday were returned to me. I have heard from him overseas Feb. 13; so what is the reason that these two were not sent over also? In the letter dated Feb. 13 he says: "No mail received since December." Yet we have been writing regularly to him. It shows a terrible state of affairs somewhere in our mail service.

B. E. LELLIS.

Duluth, Minnesota.

MYSTERIOUS EGOTISM

SIR,—I want to congratulate you on your splendid article. The Indianapolis speech was magnificent. Do you not think it wrong for the United States to be as patient as she is? We all speak of the egotism, greatly developed ego, and the ambition, etc., of President Wilson. One of the Senators, after having spoken to him about the League of Nations, said that he felt as if he had been in Alice of Wonderland and expected the white rabbit to come to him in the morning at breakfast, everything was so confused and mad at the dinner given by the President. But does it seem that after all it is madness and egotism? Or is there not some unknown force behind it, always consistent and always going towards the same end?—something that the President always meant to do from the beginning. Is he using this seeming inconsistency as a camouflage to fool the public? If there is this power behind the President, it is time we were told what it is; he should be forced to explain it. We want no secret treaties or secret covenants secretly arrived at.

RITA LAURENCE.

New York City.

THE "WEEKLY" AT THE FRONT

SIR,—Your unadulterated Americanism (whether I always agreed with you or not) gave me so much pleasure that your WEEKLY was forwarded to one of our soldiers in France.

He has recently arrived home with his French War Cross (yes, both cheeks, darn him!) and says that of all the periodicals received, the WEEKLY was the most appreciated. "As soldiers," he says, "of course we could not express our opinions, but if I happened to be away when the mail arrived, my bunkie invariably tore open the packages to get it, and I found him engrossed in its contents."

Keep up the good work! It is badly needed.

Kansas City, Missouri.

H. E. W.

HARVEY'S WEEKLY

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WEEK ENDING MAY 17, 1919

No. 20

The President's Opportunity

ADVOCATES of a League of Nations profess entire confidence that the American people favor the creation of the ruling power constituted by the proposed Treaty of Peace. The President informs the world that his endeavor to "speak the mind, the impulse and the principles" of this country has been crowned with success. The proof, "the only proof," he finds in his own assertion that "the spirit of America has responded without stint or limit" to his call. When or in what way the people have manifested this overwhelming approval he does not say.

It does not matter. He knows. So does Mr. Taft. So does Senator Hitchcock. So does Dr. Van Dyke. So does Rabbi Wise. So does the *Times*. So does the *World*. There is not a vestige of doubt in any one of their diversified minds.

They may be right. Who can tell? Who but the people themselves? Then why not let them answer? The *World* alone professes to be willing. "It is greatly to be regretted," it declares, "that this grave question cannot be submitted to the American people."

We rejoin that it can be. The way is clear—as clear as it was for Lloyd George, Clemenceau or Orlando, each of whom sought and obtained a popular mandate. President Wilson can do the same. He can resign, go to the country as a candidate for re-election with the League as his platform and obtain a verdict which would be irresistible.

The Constitution makes full provision for such a test. "In case of his [the President's] resignation" the Vice-President shall act "until a President shall be elected" . . . "The Congress may determine the time of choosing the electors and the day on which they shall give their votes, which day shall be uniform throughout the United States."

It is all quite simple and easy. No difficulty would be experienced in fixing a date. The Congress would designate any day suggested by the President. "The campaign," as the *World* truly says, "would be of inestimable educational benefit to the country," and the decision "ought to come from the American people themselves."

Precious time would be gained, not lost. However one may gauge the ultimate outcome in the Senate, all agree that the debate will continue for weeks, running into months. A comparatively brief period would be required to present both sides of the question to the country. There would be but one issue. And the result would be conclusive.

If the President should be upheld by a majority of the people, the Senate would accept immediately the League as recommended; it would not dare otherwise.

If his project should be rejected and another be chosen in his place, the League would be no less promptly eliminated and the Treaty of Peace ratified.

The President and his adherents would be taking no risk. Knowing that the people are with them, they would have nothing to lose and everything to gain. Whatever of prestige the President may have lost in his remaking of Europe would be restored in a flash. He would stand before mankind as undeniably the authorized spokesman of America, the most distinguished figure and the most powerful statesman in the world,—not as a self-appointed autocrat but as a true democrat always ready and willing to submit his cause to the people.

Can anyone question the propriety, the practicability or the desirability of this suggestion? Can anyone doubt that it will win instant favor and secure prompt adoption?

The suspicion is incredible.

The Responsibility

THE mandate has gone forth. The Senate must confirm the Peace treaty, including the League covenant, without dotting an i or crossing a t, or the President will keep the country at war with Germany. That is the threat which is oozing daily with increasing emphasis out of Paris. Mr. Wilson has stamped his heel into the ground. He must have his own way in every particular. His interpretation of the voices in the air transcends the collective wisdom of all other American statesmen. Whoever may venture to doubt his omniscience or oppose his determination shall be crushed. He will go to the people. He is firm.

To which we say, Shucks! We have heard that kind of talk before. We heard it on the eve of the Congressional election last Fall. Orlando and Sonnino heard it only a fortnight ago. And the American people heard it in the first instance and the Italian people in the second, with consequences to the would-be dictator strikingly similar to those experienced by the traditional lad invited to the woodshed by a resolute sire with a shingle in his hand.

But it is the province of schoolmasters to teach, not to learn. So we are to have it all over again. Undoubtedly the inspired *World* speaks by the card when it declares that "this is a treaty that cannot be made over by the Senate," that "anything less than out-and-out ratification is equivalent to rejection" and that if the whole thing is not approved "as it stands," the United States will be "excluded from the peace" and a state of war will continue indefinitely. Consequently the Senate must waive its constitutional prerogatives, ignore its responsibilities and refuse to perform the duty imposed and accepted by the oath of office, at the behest of an individual, simply because for the time being he happens to be President.

It is all buncombe, of course. Probably, though far from surely, not even the *World* would maintain that the Senate would have been endowed with the right to amend proposed treaties if it had not been expected to exercise that right. And there is nothing peculiar in the existing situation in a technical sense. The Senate can amend and ratify at the same time. It has done so over and over again, notably in 1890 and in 1906, when having "Resolved, further, that the Senate, as part of this ratification," it made certain reservations. In each of these cases, the other parties accepted the amendments and no further action by our Government was required.

The same thing can be done again—done in forty-eight hours after the treaty is received if the terms of peace with Germany only be brought under consideration. Not a single Senator would vote or speak a word against those terms pronounced satisfactory by the European Allies. But that, we are duly informed, Mr. Wilson will not have. It is not Peace that he wants; it is his precious League. He will have that or nothing.

There is no occasion for wonder. Mr. Wilson's position is quite understandable. He has given up everything in his possession worth keeping for his country to get it. To achieve his ambition to remake America, he betrayed China and tried to betray Italy, to say nothing of scrapping the

Commandments to which he had pledged his inviolate faith and of transforming the wild huzzas of European multitudes into the savagest execrations.

None can deny the magnitude of Mr. Wilson's sacrifice; it is stupendous. Naturally he wants his reward, his coveted prize; and the only way he can get it is by browbeating the Senate; hence the prospective appeal to the people to rise *en masse* and forbid the dotting of an i or the crossing of a t.

Well, however deeply we may and ordinarily do sympathize with one who strives but vainly with all his might and main, it can't be done. Whatever form the changes may take, whether of complete excision of all references to the League or of amendments designed to safeguard the traditional policies of the country, the present Senate will never accept the odious covenant, "as it stands."

And if peace settlement shall fail or be delayed in consequence of Mr. Wilson's refusal to let the people themselves determine the way of the destiny of their own Republic, the responsibility for that failure or delay will rest squarely upon him and him alone.

Lusitania Day! Day of submission of peace terms to the Germans! Coincidence is sometimes dramatic.—*The World*.

A mere coincidence, it is true, after four tragic years of "strict accountability."

A Gold Brick for France

PROPOS of press reports from Paris to the effect that Great Britain and the United States had promised to go immediately to the assistance of France in case France should be attacked by Germany, Secretary Tumulty gave out the following statement on April 24:

In view of the fact that certain newspapers of wide circulation throughout the country have intimated that the President had entered into a secret alliance or treaty with some of the great Powers, I conveyed this information to the President and am today in receipt of a cablegram from him giving positive and unqualified denial to this story.

Consequently we were not particularly surprised when, on May 9, Secretary Tumulty announced that, in response to a second inquiry from himself, he had received the following cablegram from President Wilson:

Happily there is no mystery or privacy about what I have promised the Government here. I have promised to propose to the Senate a supplement in which we shall agree, subject to the approval of the council of the League of Nations, to come immediately to the assistance of France in case of unprovoked attack by Germany, thus merely hastening the action to which we should be bound by the covenant of the League of Nations.

So the "positive and unqualified denial" of April 24 became an equally positive and unqualified acknowledgment fifteen days later. "Happily," however, there was "no mystery or privacy" about the commitment, which thereupon took its allotted place among the other "open covenants openly arrived at."

So much for that!

Now what precisely is this "supplement" or pledge,

"in which," he comfortably assumes, himself and the Senate "shall agree," the President proposes to commit the United States to for an undefined period of time? "Subject," of course and always, "to the approval of the Council of the League of Nations," which hereafter must be obtained for whatever this country may see fit to undertake, "to come immediately to the assistance of France in case of unprovoked attack by Germany, thus merely hastening the action to which we should be bound by the covenant of the League of Nations."

That seems simple, but it does not happen to be a statement of fact. There is nothing in the covenant which obligates this country to go immediately to the assistance of France in the event of attack, provoked or unprovoked, by Germany. "In the event of a dispute" between a member and a non-member, the non-member "shall be invited to assume the obligations of membership for the purposes of such dispute" and "upon such invitation being given, the Council shall immediately institute an inquiry into the circumstances of such dispute and *recommend* such action as may seem best and most effectual." No provision is made for what might happen in the meantime. The German army might be marching into Paris while the "inquiry" was in progress, without opposition, so far as the League is concerned.

But whether the non-member accepts or refuses the kind invitation, "the provisions of Article XVI shall be applicable as against" it. That is to say: Should Germany "resort to war" upon France, it "shall *ipso facto* be deemed to have committed an act of war against all other members of the League," who agree thereupon to sever trade and financial relations and prohibit "financial, commercial or personal intercourse" between their respective nationals—just that and nothing more. Obviously the obligation would have been vastly greater if it had not been limited by definition.

"It shall," however, in addition, "be the duty of the Council in such case to *recommend* to the several governments concerned what effective military or naval forces the members of the League shall severally contribute to the armaments of forces to be used to *protect the covenants of the League*."

How a non-member can be held to have violated the covenants of a League to which it has not subscribed is not quite as clear as the noonday sun, but let that pass.

The main point lies in the wide gulf between these nebulous implied agreements to consider mere recommendations and a definite pledge to go "immediately to the assistance of France." The President's inability to perceive so marked a difference is equalled only by his feigned surprise at his own stupidity in not realizing that there can be no neutrals in the approaching millennium of peace or war or what not.

But assume that the President is right in interpreting the covenant as a definite pledge to go to war when required by the League to do so. Why, then, the need of a specific pledge to France, with none to Belgium or Serbia or Poland or any other nation on the firing line? And what becomes of the excusatory argument that there is nothing in the covenant compelling the United States to engage in actual

warfare except at its own volition, conformably to its traditions, its Constitutional inhibitions and preservation of its sovereignty?

If the League affords all the guarantees that the President says it does, then what is the use of this "supplement" to the other entangling alliances which he is determined to foist upon us?

There cannot be imagined a more illogical or more un-American proposal than this. There is no way under heaven that it can be made binding. The whole proceeding is only part and parcel of the disgraceful bartering in which the President is engaged. The only difference between this and other like transactions lies in the fact that, while hitherto he has placed upon the altar things of real value, he is now handing France a gold brick snugly ensconced in a cocked hat which even Mr. Bryan could not fail to recognize as designed for April fools.

Wilson is saving Italy from herself. He is saving her from making another war inevitable. He is appealing from Orlando, drunk, to Italy, sober. He is serving Italy as really as he served Germany, and the time is coming when both Italy and Germany will concede it.—*Rabbi Wise*.

Germany may; she certainly should; but some time, we suspect, will elapse before Mr. Wilson goes to Italy fishing for plaudits of appreciation. "Long live America, down with Wilson," is the latest popular voice from all Italian cities, marking a nice distinction which falls not irreconcilably upon many perturbed understandings.

Alice Also Speaks

"AN Address full of Epigrams" is the phrase used by the press reports in depicting President Wilson's speech to the Academy of Moral and Political science in Paris last Saturday,—and we would not deny the accuracy of the portrayal. In any case, it was quite refreshingly reminiscent of the good old days of the New Freedom, when an occasional laconicism was wont to gleam unexpectedly through the ethereal blue of hazy expression. It is, moreover, a circumstance worthy of commemoration that the address did not bear a single threat at anybody. Obviously Mr. Wilson felt at peace with all the world and gave full swing to his softened, if not wholly chastened, spirit. We gladly chronicle a few of the more appealing thoughts, to wit:

When a great body of people is present one can assume a pose which is impossible when there is so small a number of critical eyes looking directly at you.

It is hard to be just to those with whom you are intimate.

You cannot in human experience rush into the light. You have to go through the twilight into the broadening day before the noon comes and the full sun is on the landscape.

You cannot throw off the habits of society immediately any more than you can throw off the habits of the individual immediately. They must be slowly got rid of, or, rather, they must be slowly altered. They must be slowly adapted, they must be slowly shaped to the new ends for which we would use them.

It is a great privilege if we can do that kind of thinking for mankind; human thinking, thinking that is made up of comprehension of the needs of mankind. And when I think of mankind I must say I do not always think of well dressed persons. Most persons are not well dressed.

The heart of the world is under very plain jackets. The heart of the world is at very simple firesides. The heart of the world is in very humble circumstances, and unless you know the pres-

sure of life of the humbler classes you know nothing of life whatsoever. . . .

To hold on where there is no glee in life is the hard thing. Those of us who can sit sometimes at leisure and read pleasant books and think of the past, the long past, that we have no part in and project the long future, we are not specimens of mankind.

In a sense, the old enterprise of national law is played out. I mean the future of mankind depends more upon the relations of nations to one another, more upon the realization of the common brotherhood of mankind, than upon the separate and selfish development of national systems of law, so that the men who can, if I may express it so, think without language—think the common thoughts of humanity—are the men who will be most serviceable in the immediate future.

The Mad Hatter brought a Sunday paper from the Wonderland hotel and read aloud to the company.

"Where," asked Alice abruptly after rousing from her trance, "is my book? Ah, here it is"—*Effective Speaking*, by Woodrow Wilson. And she read:

My father was a man of great intellectual energy. My best training came from him. He was intolerant of vagueness, and from the time I began to write until his death in 1903, when he was eighty-one years old, I carried everything I wrote to him. He would make me read it aloud, which was always painful to me. Every now and then he would stop me. "What do you mean by that?" I would tell him, and, of course, in doing so would express myself more simply than I had on paper. "Why didn't you say so?" he would go on. "Don't shoot at your meaning with birdshot and hit the whole countryside; shoot with a rifle at the thing you have to say."

"What a pity," quoth Alice meditatively, and with a suspicion of a sigh, "what a pity the old gentleman did not live to be a hundred!"

And they all said she must be crazy.

The Taftites and Elihu Root

WE hear from many sources that the Taftites, headed by Brother Henry W. and Partner George Woodward (not Washington, praise be!) Wickersham, are circulating the report that Mr. Elihu Root considers that his objections to the original League covenant have been met substantially in the revised version and that in due time he will set the potent seal of his approval upon the document as it now appears.

Let us consider the probabilities.

Mr. Root, by request of the State Department, submitted six amendments, the adoption of which would, in his view, justify the United States in entering into the agreement.

The first amendment embodied an agreement by the contracting Powers to submit all justiciable questions to an Arbitral Tribunal and to accept the award of that Tribunal, vesting in the Tribunal itself the authority to determine what questions do and what do not fall within that category. The covenant makes no provision for the creation of such a Tribunal and only vaguely binds the members to submit to arbitration such questions as they themselves shall "recognize to be suitable for submission." That is to say, arbitration is made permissive, not compulsory, and is rendered futile.

The second amendment called for meetings of the Powers at stated intervals to review the condition of international

law and to state authoritatively "the principles and rules thereof." The covenant, instead, reserves to the Council the privilege of being a law unto itself, thus substituting a political authority for the Court of Justice recommended by Mr. Root.

The third amendment made in clear and unequivocal language the reservation invariably demanded hitherto with respect to the Monroe Doctrine as an established National policy, which under no circumstances the United States should be required to submit "to the decision or recommendation of other Powers." The covenant falsely pronounces the Monroe Doctrine a "regional understanding" and provides merely that "nothing shall be deemed to affect the validity of regional understandings like the Monroe Doctrine for securing the maintenance of peace." If the question should, as inevitably it would, arise as to whether such "regional understanding" or the Monroe Doctrine itself really existed "for securing the maintenance of peace," why, in the words of Lord Robert Cecil, "the League is there to settle it." The power to interpret and enforce or not enforce our greatest National policy is thus transferred from the United States to the League.

Mr. Root also included in this amendment a reservation on the part of the United States of the right to control its own immigration. The covenant contains no reference to this matter.

The fourth amendment empowered any member, after five years, to terminate its obligation under Article X to guarantee the territorial integrity and political independence of all members of the League. The covenant wholly ignores this suggestion which would enable a member to determine its own obligation as a world guarantor, after five years, and still remain a member of the League.

The fifth amendment authorized the League's Commission to inspect and verify reports of members respecting armaments, production of munitions, etc. The covenant withholds all such authority.

The sixth amendment called for a general conference of all members, not less than five nor more than ten years hence, to revise the covenant, and accorded any mem-

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BY GEORGE HARVEY

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ber the privilege of withdrawing from the League upon one year's notice. The covenant makes no provision for such a conference and grants privilege of withdrawal, upon two years' notice, to only such members as shall have fulfilled "all its international obligations and all of its obligations under this covenant,"—the League itself or its Executive Council being, of course, the judge.

These comprise the sum total of Mr. Root's suggestions. Each and every one of his proposals was rejected.

Upon what theory the Taftites base the assumption that our greatest living statesman will stultify himself by advocating the acceptance of a scheme whose promoter has contemptuously brushed aside amendments which he holds to be essential to National security passes comprehension. Our own judgment is that their joyous anticipation rests upon nothing more substantial than their own murky hope.

Elihu Root is no William H. Taft, hurrying like mad, in his own phrase, to "get on the band wagon." He is American to the core and in every fibre of his being. None other now living is so well equipped with ability, knowledge, experience and resolution to slash the bonds with which Mr. Wilson would enmesh our Uncle Sam. To suspect him of quailing or pussyfooting in this hour of his country's peril is to impugn unsurpassed sagacity and unfaltering courage.

The Taftites need not flatter themselves that Elihu Root will turn to them, as Father Abraham turned to the Hittites, for a tomb. Rather would he, as he should and will, live in the hearts of his countrymen as a man true to the faith that is in him.

For more than a year the gossips have been busy with Pershing's name. Reports that school children would not have credited have been passed around by persons of mature years.—HARVEY'S WEEKLY.

Reports that school children would not credit have likewise been passed around in regard to the President of the United States, and one of the most active agents in passing them around has been HARVEY'S WEEKLY.—*The World*.

We politely challenge the *World* to cite a single instance. Our files from the first number are open to inspection by Mr. Cobb or by anybody whom he may designate to act in his stead.

A Fourteen Point-less Treaty

“THE Fourteen Points so disgracefully abandoned by President Wilson.” It is the *Zeitung am Mittag* of Berlin which so refers to the Commandments. The phrase which it uses is not a pretty one, though it is what might be expected of a Hun speaking in bitterness of spirit. We do not like to think of any President of the United States doing anything “disgracefully.” Yet, divested of the opprobrious adverb, who shall say that this outburst of Hunnish spleen does not express what Mr. Balfour once characterized as the concrete, cubical, congealed truth? Indeed, we are not sure that any feature of the whole treaty, in manner and in matter, is more conspicuous and unmistakable than its half insouciant and half cynical repudiation of “the only possible programme.”

First, “Open covenants of peace, openly arrived at.”

That has long been the veriest joke, and the joke runs true to form to the very end. For “open” and “openly,” read “secret” and “secretly.”

Second, absolute freedom of the seas. If there has been a single step taken toward making the seas more free than they were, or toward making British preponderance on them less overwhelming, we shall give a big red apple to anyone who will point it out to us.

Third, removal of economic barriers and establishment of equal trade conditions. Germany is indeed required to equalize her trade conditions, but otherwise the Commandment is null and void.

Fourth, adequate guarantees of reduction of armaments. Again, Germany has to do it, but nobody else in all the wide, wide world.

Fifth, “absolutely impartial adjustment of all colonial claims.” It is a most extraordinary circumstance that such an adjustment should exactly coincide with the disposition of the colonies which would have been made under the old system of right of conquest.

Sixth, evacuation of Russian territory. It hasn't been done, and no assurance is given that it will be done. Even the treaty does not effectively require it to be done.

Seventh, Belgium evacuated and restored. That has been and is being done. But even there the Commandment is not strictly followed, for Belgium is receiving a small addition of territory which the Commandment did not contemplate.

Eighth, French territory evacuated and restored and Alsace Lorraine surrendered. As in the case of Belgium, the act goes further than the Commandment.

Ninth, Italy's frontiers to be readjusted on lines of nationality. That will probably be done, but it will be against the implacable opposition of the putative author of the Commandment.

Tenth, autonomy for the subject peoples of the Dual Realm. This is being achieved, but the Commandment was practically abrogated by the President some months ago.

Eleventh, Roumania, Serbia and Montenegro to be evacuated and restored. This will doubtless be done, but it is not provided for in the German peace treaty.

Twelfth, disposition of the Turkish empire. This may be fulfilled. It has not yet been, but awaits some future treaty.

Thirteenth, independent Poland. Thirteen being a proverbially unlucky number, and things working by contraries, it happens that this is the only one of the whole fourteen that is being fulfilled just as the President or his mentor apparently meant it to be.

Fourteenth, a “general association of nations.” Instead, an attempt at the formation of a special league of nations, completely dominated by a “Big Five.”

To recapitulate: Six of the Commandments have been repudiated, some because they were found to be impossible and some for the sake of bargaining. Four have been indefinitely deferred. Two have been fulfilled with some additions not contemplated by their promulgator. One has been taken up and practically executed after its abandonment. One, *just one*, has been fulfilled substantially according to the original intent.

A Funereal Fourth

SIR JOSEPHUS DANIELS, N. C. B., is on the sea, homeward bound. The gifted Baker is back with us once more. Thus, to and fro between the seat of our Government on the banks of the Seine and its subsidiary branch on the banks of the Potomac do the various Administration Departments joyously flit as the impulse of the wanderlust moves their wayward fancies. The international joy-riding season is still on, the tax-payers foot the bills, and all is well.

There are even more and greater events ahead on the touring programme. The royal progresses are to be resumed. For reasons of state, Italy, presumably, will not be revisited. But there is to be a brilliant procession into Belgium. Colonel House and all the glittering suite will be in attendance with Admiral Doctor Grayson as Surgeon-in-Chief to look after the physical health of the cortege, while its spiritual welfare possibly may be under the direction of that exemplar of pious chastity, the Rather Reverend Herron, as Chaplain, provided, of course, the Belgian laws regulative of public morals permit his crossing the frontier. There will be more hobnobbing with Royalty, more sleeping in Royal bedchambers, more dining off such Royal plate as the Hun nobility, perchance, may not have stolen.

But again the real feature of the progress will be the speechmaking. In fact, we already are informed, through inspired Public Information sources, that there is to be at least one "great speech." Very likely it is to be a Message to Humanity from Humanity's presiding officer. It may or may not precede the promulgation of orders as to legislation which the summoned American Congress is to get, Presidential touring engagements permitting, some time in the near future. Just when our Government at Large may drop in on us here at home for another brief call is undetermined. There is now some talk of a little visit along about the last of June, in which case it would probably stay over the Fourth with us. But the matter is still too uncertain to permit us to make any plans for entertaining the distinguished visitors.

Probably we shall have to celebrate the Fourth all by ourselves. This is regrettable. Not only would it be pleasing to have our Government with us on the occasion, but its presence at this particular Fourth of July, 1919, would lend a peculiarly fitting distinction to what may prove to be a solemn and sacredly memorable event in our country's history. It may, indeed, prove to be the last time we shall ever be able to celebrate the natal day of that American independence which, for well on towards a hundred and fifty years, has been the priceless heritage of the American people, and under which the country's rise to wealth, prestige and power has been one of the marvels of human history.

It is now proposed that we surrender that independence and place ourselves in the hands of a foreign Super-Government in the counsels of which we shall have, comparatively, but a feeble voice. The surrender has been proposed and ardently pressed by an American President. In the event of its consummation, this coming Fourth of July might

well be the last one signifying the old glorious meaning and traditions which we shall ever celebrate. It would then commemorate not only the birth but the death of American Independence. Its demonstrations would have the solemnity of funeral services. It would be a burial of the dead. How unfortunate indeed would it be if social and rhetorical engagements in foreign lands should prevent the Government of the United States from being present at obsequies of such melancholy significance to this country of ours which we all so dearly love, and for which so many of our brave men have but recently laid down lives radiant with the promise of youth and hope!

The unhappy *Sun* still hopes that the Senate may discover "a way to dissect," but evidently has grave doubts about the success of any such operation. Perhaps the eminent surgeon, Dr. George Harvey, will invent a new method of sticking the knife in.—*Evening Post*.

We should worry! It affords us much gratification to be able to inform our sprightly neighbor that unless, in common with the regular run of lying reports that come out of Paris, the published summary is an utter misrepresentation of the full Treaty, the operation can be performed with neatness and dispatch and without endangering to the slightest degree the life of the patient. What is more, it probably will be.

It is well enough for the *World* to resent the determination of our foreign policies by "a small group of Senators, most of whom were elected before we entered the war"; but what has it to say of the qualifications of an Executive who also was elected before we entered the war, upon his implied pledge to keep us out of it?

Thank You!

"TAKE it; it will be an interesting souvenir," said Bismarck cynically, when Alexander of Battenberg consulted him about accepting the Bulgarian crown.

Let us at least remember the Monroe Doctrine, as an interesting souvenir of the earlier and better days of the Republic, if now, at the behest of the President, in fulfilling the Smuts-Cecil denationalization scheme, it is to be thrown into the discard.

Let us especially remember—let us have at the present time clearly in mind—the way in which it is proposed to get rid of that Doctrine.

The British authors of the Covenant of the League of Nations say of the Doctrine:

"At first a principle of American foreign policy, it has become an international understanding."

Has it? When? By what authority? With what consent of the United States? Monroe enunciated the Doctrine. Polk reaffirmed and amplified it. Roosevelt expounded it and enforced it up to the hilt. The Senate of the United States has passed resolutions concerning it. But we have heard of none of these or of any such authorities declaring it to be transformed from an American principle into an

"international understanding;" and we know of no authority outside of America competent to perform such a transmogrification.

Then these same British authorities, who thus play skittles with American principles, continue with this cheerful assurance:

"Should any dispute as to the meaning of the latter [the Doctrine] ever arise between the American and European Powers, the League is there to settle it."

Thank you!

This "principle of American foreign policy" is hereafter to be interpreted and applied by an alien tribunal in whose Assembly the United States has one vote to six British votes, and in whose Council the United States has one vote out of nine.

It is interesting to speculate upon what, with such an arrangement, would have happened at the time Grover Cleveland so manfully enforced the Monroe Doctrine against Great Britain in Venezuela; or when Theodore Roosevelt so successfully read the riot act to William Hohenzollern in that same troubled region.

If President Wilson regards the Monroe Doctrine as an "international engagement" or "regional understanding," which is to be interpreted and applied for us by alien Powers, the American people most emphatically disagree with him.

"Dictated by Hate"

"THE Treaty," howls Herr Fehrenbach, President of the German National Assembly, "was dictated by hate."

It was. For once a Hun speaks truth. But he spoke it unintentionally, meaning it to be a lie. He meant that the treaty was dictated by hate which the Allies have in their heart toward Germany. That is not true. If it were, if the treaty had been framed according to the hatred of the Huns which all civilized men would be justified in cherishing, it would have been a far different instrument from what it is.

The hate which inspired this treaty was Germany's own. It was the spirit which breathed through that "Hymn of Hate" which four years ago was the most popular ode in Germany. It was the spirit which made the whole Hunnish people adopt, as a morning greeting, "*Gott strafe England!*" and later, "*Gott strafe Amerika!*" German scholars have long prided themselves upon their metaphysics and their psychology. Surely they should be able to discern and to understand how that hellish spirit of hatred which they themselves conceived in wantonness and cherished in malignity has reacted upon themselves with deadly force.

It was because of Germany's hatred of her neighbors that those neighbor nations were compelled to take up arms in self defense and crush the hating and hateful Thing. It was because of the German people's hatred of other peoples, that those other peoples now take means to prevent them from ever again making that hatred effective for harm.

Yes, the Treaty had its origin in hate. But it was Hunnish hate.

No Room for German

THE Pennsylvania Legislature, it is to be hoped, will speedily pass, over Governor Sproul's veto, the bill forbidding the teaching of German in the public schools of the State.

There is no room for German in the public schools of Pennsylvania or of any other State of the Union. The one language recognized in our public schools and the one language taught should be English. If scholars, or the parents of scholars, wish school instruction in German, let them seek it at their own and not the public expense.

One of Governor Sproul's arguments in justification of his veto is the great number of persons in the country to whom German is the mother tongue. Which is precisely one of the strongest arguments against public school instruction in German that could be advanced. The public school should be a place for the eradication, not for the accentuation, of racial lines. Bi-lingual instruction in the public schools is the mother of bifurcated allegiance. It is a promotor of hyphenism and a breeder of hyphenates. Carried to its extreme, as in the case of Nebraska, where the scholar who spoke English in some of the schools did so at the risk of physical punishment at the hands of some unnaturalized Hun teacher of long American residence and Hun allegiance, this teaching of German has resulted in the existence of large farming communities in the State where English is all but an unknown tongue, and where pro-Hun disloyalty was rampant during the recent war.

We want no more of this. We want an end of it, whether it be in Nebraska, Pennsylvania or any other State or territory over which the Stars and Stripes fly.

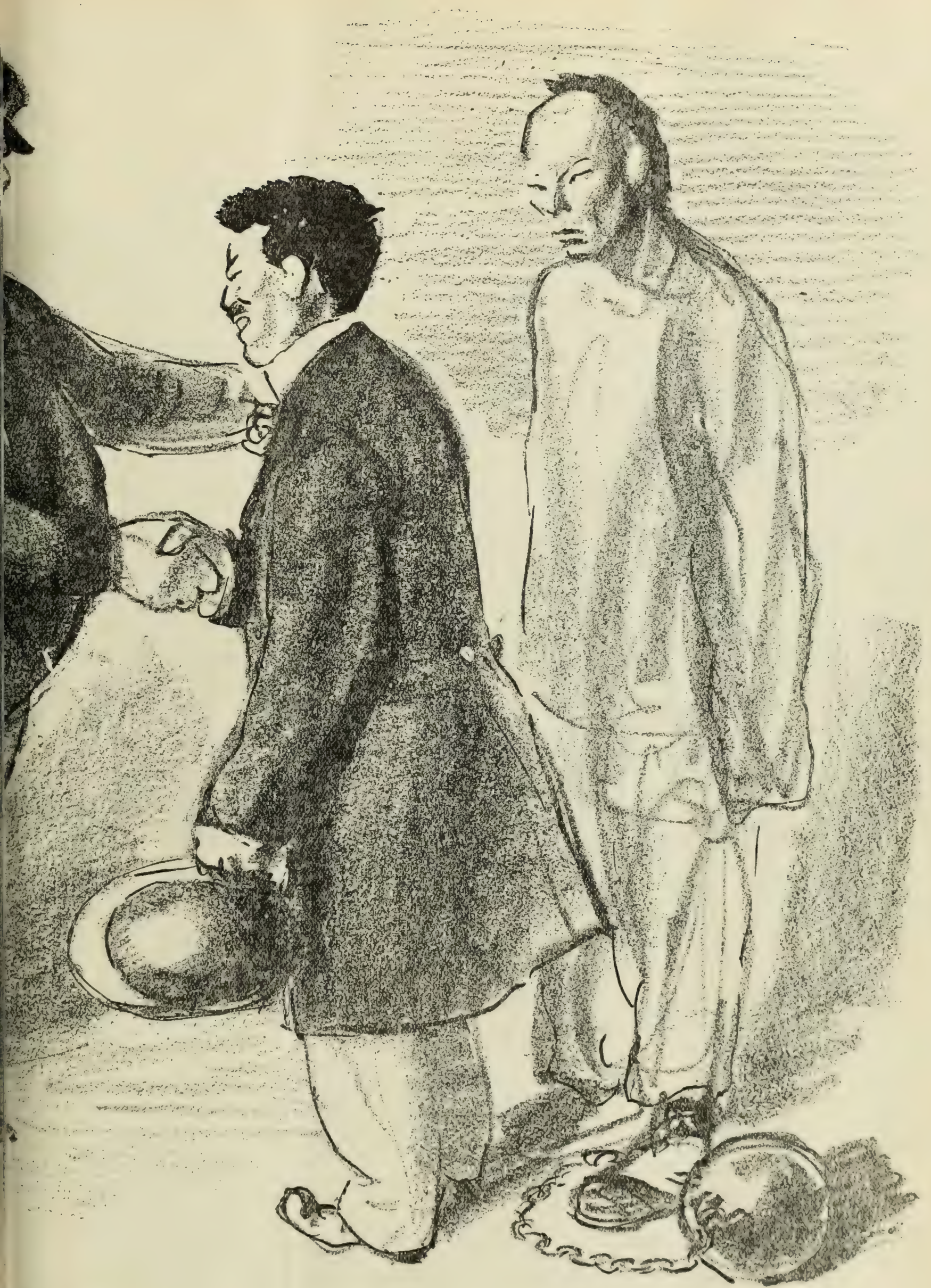
Through the cowardice of local politicians, shrinking in dread of the "German vote," the German language was forced down the throats of our American public school students in scores of our largest cities and in hundreds of smaller municipalities all over the country. We were to be Germanized in thought and in language, and the broad highway to that end, the highway constantly pointed out by that pestiferous German-American Alliance, later deprived of its charter because of its treasonable aims and efforts, was through the class-rooms of our public schools.

We are rid of that national danger now. That particular part of the Hun conspiracy of infiltration is smashed. German has been kicked out of our public schools in nearly every city in the country. Let it stay out. Let it be forbidden to cross the threshold of an American public school anywhere. That was the spirit of sound Americanism which animated Representative Davis, of Indiana County, Pennsylvania, when he introduced the bill which Governor Sproul has been so badly advised as to veto. It was the spirit which animated the Pennsylvania House when it passed that bill by a vote of 180 to 7, and which animated the Pennsylvania Senate when it passed it by a vote of 43 to 3. The combined vote in both Houses in favor of forbidding the teaching of German in the Pennsylvania public schools was 223. The combined vote in opposition was 10.

The joint vote overriding the Governor's veto ought to be unanimous.



The



iners

The Week

WASHINGTON, May 15, 1919.

THE reception of the Peace Treaty by the Germans was precisely what might have been expected. Brockdorff-Rantzau might have been incapacitated by physical infirmity from standing up when he made his false and insulting reply to M. Clemenceau's courteous and moderate address; though it seems strange that he could not stand if he was able to walk into and out of the hall, as he did. But at any rate the matter of his speech confirmed the worst possible estimates of the Huns which had hitherto been formed. It was not merely, as we have said, false and insulting—in a word, Hun-like—but it was also clearly indicative of the ominous fact that the Germans are thoroughly unrepentant of their crimes, and unrecognizant of the fact that they were defeated in the war. Their whole attitude and spirit is that of a people who regard themselves as at least as much sinned against as sinning, and as having ended an indeterminate war as a drawn game, the issues of which are to be disposed of by compromise in negotiations between equals. That is ominous, not because there is danger of immediate renewal of the war, but because of the practical certainty that Germany will not accept the dictated peace in good faith. If she does accept it, she will intrigue against it, try to play it false, and make it necessary for the civilized Powers to keep uncommonly close watch over her for an indefinite time to come. In other words, the Germany of 1919 is at heart the Germany of 1914, and for a half century to come, is likely to be as malignant a plotter against the welfare of the world as she has been in the half-century that is past.

Two of the best brief comments upon the Peace Treaty are to be found in the British press. The London *Daily Mail* regards it as "good on the military and naval side, but dangerously full of loopholes on the financial side." The London *Morning Post* makes the perfectly obvious (yet of course supremely significant) observation that the value of the treaty depends upon the power to enforce it. That it will need some strenuous enforcement goes without saying. The Germans have already given us ample warning of that. The question is, who will do the work? If the Powers which have dictated the treaty stand together for its enforcement, it will be enforced; be sure of that. But if the job is entrusted to the Smuts-Cecil League of Nations, the treaty will be the veriest "scrap of paper."

It is well that Austria—and, we suppose, Hungary—will be required to pay a few odd billions of war indemnity. The Dual Realm was not responsible for the war, but it consented to being made the tool of Germany in bringing on the war. Moreover, it had for many years been playing into the hands of the German war party, by tearing up the Berlin Treaty of 1878, stealing Serbian provinces, and in general fomenting trouble in the Balkans with the direct purpose of preparing the way for war. It has danced; now let it pay the piper.

Apparently it is the purpose of the Treaty of Peace to prevent what is left of Austria from being annexed to Ger-

many, since Germany is to be required to recognize its independence. We shall be glad to see the two countries remain separate; but if they really want to unite, what becomes of the President's doctrine of national self-determination?

Seeing that the Treaty of Peace expressly debars Germany from making pecuniary claims against the Allies on account of the war, the detailed bill of damages which innumerable German experts have so laboriously prepared may be dismissed as *pour rire*. Still, it will be an amusing recollection that Germany seriously thought of asking seven and a quarter billion dollars indemnity for babies which were never born but which might, could, would or should have been born if Germany had not gone into a war of her own making. The more we think of it, the more we feel that we were not exaggerating when we suggested that Germany might demand indemnity for the loot which she didn't get through not being able to plunder New York.

No hostile critic of Germany has ever been more severe than some of the Germans themselves. The disingenuous and preposterous pretensions of Count von Brockdorff-Rantzau, that the German people were innocent of the crime of the war, were authoritatively denied in advance by Dr. Muelhon and others, who declared that the rank and file of the German people were just as hot for the war as were the Kaiser and his military entourage. They wanted war, an unprovoked and aggressive war, for the sake of the loot which they expected to get out of it; and they made other professions only when they found that they were getting beaten. Now comes Maximilian Harden, the foremost journalist of Germany, and declares that Germany is to-day unrepentant and incorrigible. Here are his assertions:

The Germans have not given very convincing mental guarantees during the six months since the revolution that they have changed their system. On the contrary, the present Government and the press have used the same methods of incitement, the same tricks of bluff as under the old rule of the petty nobility.

The Government's proclamations and speeches are only bad copies of the Kaiser's time. . . . The only way to rescue the country is by openness and honesty. The revolution has been a great disappointment.

We commend Herr Harden's very plain talk to those maudlin sentimentalists who are pleading that we ought to be kind to poor dear Germany now that she has seen the error of her ways and become truly good.

Additional evidence of Hunnish thievery comes almost daily to hand. Americans report that they find Germany filled with stolen French and Belgian goods. Factories are equipped with stolen machinery. Storehouses are filled with stolen materials. Farms and gardens are stocked with stolen implements. Houses are furnished with stolen furniture. German women are wearing stolen dresses. And all this systematic looting was done under the direction of a Bureau of the German Ministry of War, a Bureau that was formed and conducted solely for the purpose of facilitating loot. And now Germany is soliciting the resumption of trade with the Allies, and wants France and Belgium to buy from her goods made from materials which she stole from them,

made on machines which she stole from them! And some mollicoddles are hysterically deprecating the inhumanity of discriminating against Germany in trade and commerce.

Now that William Hohenzollern has been informed of the terrible blow to his ex-imperial dignity that the Allies have in contemplation, not to mention other things which to any one but a Hohenzollern would be of still greater importance, there are renewed intimations of impending suicide. We do not expect to see any such threat executed. The Blond Beast has not the courage. But if such a thing should happen, the dictum of Webster would stand approved: "Suicide is confession."

"I do not wish to hurry the Congress of the United States," remarked the President on a memorable occasion. Certainly he has not hurried it in the matter of getting together for a special session. Now that the session is actually called, however, the question arises to what extent Congress may be hurried if it is to pass the necessary appropriation bills before the end of the fiscal year. It will be recalled that the President's late rubber-stamp Congress left a number of very important supply bills unpassed. These include the Army bill, the Navy bill, the Shipping Board bill, and a bill for covering the losses sustained through the Government's attempt to run the railroads. It will require quick work to dispose of all these matters satisfactorily before the end of June. We would not, of course, credit the suggestion that the President deliberately postponed calling Congress together until so late a date, in order that it would not have time to frame new bills or even radically to revise the old ones, but would be compelled to take the unpassed bills of its predecessor and swallow them at a gulp, hook, line and sinker. He does not wish to hurry Congress, and of course he wants Congress to do its work very carefully and thoughtfully. Still, he really might have asked Congress to get together a month or more ago, to dispose of the appropriation bills and other business and so clear the decks for the Peace Treaty when he came home with that portentous instrument.

Satisfaction over the result of the fifth war loan cannot be too deep and earnest, though extravagant exultation would be somewhat of a reflection upon ourselves. There never should have been—there never was—any doubt that the loan would be over-subscribed, and the realization of that end is therefore to be regarded as a matter of course. The really gratifying feature is its reminder of the immense fiscal potency of this country. It is reassuring to know that here is a nation whose yearly income is greater than the aggregate of all the national debts of all the world.

Our wealth and prosperity should not blind us, however, to the imperative need of our own fiscal reform. We must doubt if ever the financial interests of any civilized nation were so egregiously mismanaged as our own. Here, for example, is the Politicalmaster-General admitting that he is running the telegraph and telephone systems of the country at a heavy loss, and telling us that he must be permitted to in-

crease the charges to the public for a service which he has demoralized almost to the degree of worthlessness, or else must give it up as a bad job, return the lines to their owners, and pay out of the pockets of the taxpayers an enormous indemnity to those owners for the damage which he has done to their properties. What sort of financiering his has been, will be appreciated when we remember that, before he grabbed the lines, those properties were paying well. They were giving the public the best service in the world, at a low cost, and yet were profitable. He has made them give us the worst service in the world at high cost, and yet they are unprofitable.

We would not insult the Federal railroad administration by comparing it with the Politicalmaster-General's bedevilment of the wires. But the fact is that it, too, has proved a lamentable failure. The Director-General reports a loss on operation, a deficit, for the first three months of this year, amounting to \$192,000,000. That is at the rate of more than three-quarters of a billion dollars a year. And that, too, as in the case of the wires, is a sequel to greatly increased costs to the public, and greatly impaired service. It will not do to say that the Government has been operating the roads in unfavorable circumstances. The former Director-General, Mr. McAdoo, is reported to have said that, on the contrary, the conditions were exceptionally favorable. Yet in such favorable circumstances the character of the service to the public was greatly impaired, the cost of it was greatly increased, and yet the roads were run at a loss that would bankrupt any but a very rich country.

With such facts confronting us, there is a bitter irony in the announcement that the Administration will probably lay before Congress a plan under which American capital and enterprise shall be utilized for the fiscal and economic reconstruction of Europe. Will our Politicalmaster-General, we wonder, be put in charge of the telegraphs and telephones of Europe? Will our Director-General take charge of European railroads? If so, unhappy Europe! And unhappy America, if we are to meet the deficits which thus would be created.

Three proposals will doubtless commend themselves to the Congress which is about meet. One is, to make an end of this ruinous fiddling at government control of business operations. The second is, to scrutinize rigorously the supply bills which the late incompetent Congress left unpassed, and to recast them to whatever extent common sense may dictate. The third is, to adopt a rational national budget system, such as other civilized Governments have, and try no longer to run the biggest governmental business in the world on a system or lack of system that would discredit the corner grocery at Jaytown, Ohio.

Colombia and Venezuela are having some little difficulties, with actual fighting on the border. What a pity that the Smuts-Cecil League is not yet in working order! If it were, the Swiss navy and the army of San Marino might be dispatched to the Sierra Nevada de Santa Maria to keep the peace between the combatants.

Army Legislation

UNLESS all signs fail, there will be more discussion of army legislation at the session of Congress following the war than there was at any session preceeding the war. This was to be expected. It is in line with our methods of handling national affairs.

Secretary Baker, we are told, during the next week or so will make his bow as an advocate of universal military training. He has prepared a lengthy discussion of the subject to be published in a weekly of unlimited circulation. The President read the proofs the other day and cabled his approval, and unless he changes his mind, this contribution to the world's store of military information should be on every breakfast table in the land in about ten days. We haven't seen the article, and therefore cannot comment on it at this time. We promise to read it carefully when it comes out, and shall probably have something to say about it. Just at present we shrewdly suspect that it is no more nor less than a discussion of the principles rather than an appeal for the practices of universal training, prepared in large measure for political purposes. Maybe this is not fair to the Secretary of War, and, if we are mistaken, we shall retract with great pleasure.

Representative Kahn, who is returning shortly from a trip through the theatres of war, is reported to have decided upon the major portions of a bill that he intends to introduce as chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs. We are informed that he favors a small regular army, coupled with universal training. This offers the basis of a wise policy, and let us hope that it is true. We are also informed that he favors a plan to cut the West Point course to one year. The plan as reported is to admit candidates who have completed college courses of various kinds, and to give them a one-year finishing course devoted altogether to military affairs.

We trust that he will neither propose nor support any such scheme. The West Point course needs to be broadened, not narrowed. The general complaint against West Point graduates (and we regret to say that it is too frequently justified) is that they have become narrowed because their entire training has been strictly military. We are fully cognizant of the fact that many West Pointers have caused a very keen resentment to be engendered against themselves by their stupid treatment of officers and men from civil life. But the cure for this narrowness is not the destruction of the only school we have for the preservation and dissemination of military knowledge. There is too much Prussianism and too little Americanism about the present curriculum, but that can be remedied without destroying its really valuable features.

Incidentally, we suggest that if any changes are made at the Point, a chair of etiquette be established.

Lieut. Colonel Clark announced last week that the "regulars must be smashed." Secretary Baker feigned surprise at the announcement that any considerable men in the national guard and drafted armies held this view. We say "feigned," because we do not believe that even Mr. Baker with his defective knowledge of military affairs was uninformed on this subject. The importance of the statement

is not that it emanated from a son of the former Speaker, but that it is on the lips of hundreds of thousands who are going to have a great deal to say in politics during the next generation.

We realize thoroughly that the regular establishment is not ideal, but what it needs is perfecting, not smashing. It represents the only really efficient military organization we have or are likely to have, and, with all its faults, it deserves the credit for our success in the war. Without the regular officers, the war would have gone less well.

It is extremely unfortunate that many of the regular officers have lacked the training that would make them realize that their tendency to be martinets, their unfair treatment of civilians, and their extraordinary ignorance on many matters with which they are presumed to be familiar, coupled with their clannishness and their tendency to play petty politics, constitute a serious handicap to them, to their profession, to the army and to the country.

For the present, we are inclined to view the situation with equanimity. There is ample time ahead, and we believe that prejudices and animosities will give way to reason and judgment before army legislation is enacted.

BAKER URGES SOLDIERS TO WRITE HOME ON MOTHERS' DAY.—*The Tribune.*

He might better have made it "Grandmothers' Day," to assure delivery by Burleson.

Far be it from us to object to the *World's* bludgeoning of Burleson; but, would you mind, Mr. Cobb—

Who planted him there; who keeps him there; and is your tremendous assault the real thing or only a spasmodic sham?

Don't answer; whistle.

Congratulations, General!

HUNDREDS of men were utterly astonished, when, on the afternoon of September 27, they saw General Kuhn walking up through Montfaucon on foot only a few hours after the place had been taken. Shells were bursting all around, and the place was hardly cleared of snipers, but this did not stop the General from going up and taking a first-hand look at the doughboys.

Many of the men under him would be surprised to know that for three days and nights prior to this he had not closed his eyes in sleep. Throughout the whole drive he kept his post of command close behind the advanced troops, in many places less than a mile.

General Kuhn frequently showed his profound respect for the soldier who had paid the supreme sacrifice. On one occasion he was passing by a graveyard of the Seventy-ninth near Montfaucon. He stopped and formally saluted every grave. Another time, as he was riding forward in the East-of-the-Meuse sector, he came to the body of a doughboy lying across the rim of a shell-hole. The soldier had been drilled through the forehead by a bullet. The death grip of his fingers had discharged the magazine of the Browning automatic on which he was lying.

General Kuhn got down from his horse and, coming to attention, saluted the dead man. He then disengaged the Browning rifle from the cramped fingers and handed it to the driver of a truck with orders to keep it for him. He then covered the body with an overcoat and, after saluting again, rode away.—Special to *The Baltimore Sun*.

It would be interesting to know why General Kuhn has received no decoration. He will be home in a few days, and after the people of the Middle Atlantic States honor the officer who lead and watched over their boys, perhaps the War Department will give him the decoration he so richly deserves.

A Pitiabie Plight

BUT for the insufferable mulish arrogance of the man, there would be something to awaken sympathy for poor puzzleheaded Mr. Burleson in his perplexed umblings at the hopeless snarl in which his absurd unfitness for his job has enmeshed him. With every sprawling flounder he gets himself tangled up more and more in the mess he has made, and with every fresh entanglement his brags of defiance become louder and more reverberant.

Were it not for his preposterous arrogance in the face of failure so humiliating, he might come in for some measure of sympathy in his plight—sympathy even from that easy-going, tolerant American public which has suffered so outrageously from his incapacity and which even laughed at the chaotic confusion that he wrought until the thing became too serious for humor and too intolerable to be borne. And when this seemingly inexhaustible good nature at last gave out, and when appeals to our Government in Paris began to come in terms announcing that either Mr. Burleson must be jettisoned or the Democratic Party wrecked, then even August Quarters felt constrained to act. Mr. Burleson heard his master's voice, and the country heard from Mr. Burleson in a forced pronouncement which brought a sigh of relief from the Atlantic to the Pacific.

Whether the telegraph and telephone lines are in such a plight from Mr. Burleson's blundering ineptitudes that they cannot be restored without Congressional action is problematical. Probably they are not. Probably if they were restored tomorrow their owners could soon put them on their feet without any legislative help. But it is of small consequence one way or the other. When Congress assembles, one of its first acts will be to get every public utility out of Mr. Burleson's hands, and another of its first acts should be to impeach Mr. Burleson himself. He will never resign voluntarily. That the President will remove him is equally improbable. And yet Mr. Burleson must go. His field for the exercise of his amazing fatuousness will be only partially circumscribed when the cables and the land wires are out of his hands. The opportunity for his deadliest work of all still remains, as long as he has the mail service under his control. That must be taken away from him completely, or we are still at his mercy. He must be impeached and forcibly ousted from power. The business interests of the country demand it. An overwhelming majority of the 100,000,000 people of the country, irrespective of party or section, demand it. In the pitiabie plight in which his pathetic incapacity has landed him, merciful consideration for Mr. Burleson himself, for his family and for his friends demands it. It was cruelty to load upon him in the first place a burden so grotesquely disproportionate to his competence. It is a double cruelty to keep him staggering and stumbling under it.

Should that happen [the Senate refuse to ratify] responsible government will have broken down in the United States, and a Nation bedevilled by partisan politics and made ridiculous and impotent before the world will have to deal with the situation as best it can.—*The World*.

We guess it will. But it is not "responsible government" that is going to break down pretty soon; it is autocratic, secretive and irresponsible government that will get

a crick in its back on May 19. Unquestionably a nation is "bedevilled by partisan politics" when an Envoy-Premier-President wirelessly at government expense congratulations from mid-ocean to a successful partisan candidate, but to picture a country rendered more "ridiculous" than ours has been made to appear during the past six months requires a vivid imagination.

As To Humiliation

THE *Sun's* Washington correspondent quotes "Administration circles" as holding "that with the United States pledged in the view of the world to accept the treaty as it stands, the Senate will hesitate about giving the unfavorable appearance which would inevitably result from dishonoring the work of the American representatives in Paris."

If in "the view of the world" the United States is pledged to accept the treaty as it stands, then the vision of the world is sadly in need of such readjustment as will enable it to read the plain print of the Constitution of the United States. The United States, of course, is pledged to accept no treaty that has not been made by and with the advice and consent of the Senate. In the making of the treaty of Paris the advice of the Senate, so far from being sought, was pointedly excluded. When it was offered it was contemptuously spurned. Senators who ventured suggestions and modifications were made the target for contemptuous epithets. They were referred to as the possessors of "pygmy minds." The wish was expressed that they might be hanged heads down as high as Heaven. This was the attitude of the sole, self-selected American representative at the Paris Conference. For we had but one representative there. The rest were automatons selected by Mr. Wilson merely as his personal suite, ornamental and clerical.

With the advice of the Senate thus peremptorily excluded from the framing of the treaty, there remains only its consent. And now we are informed by "Administration circles" quoted by the *Sun* correspondent, that the Senate will hesitate about withholding that consent because it would have an "unfavorable appearance" and might "dishonor" the work of the American representative in Paris.

We venture to hope and believe that the United States Senate will hesitate at nothing where the independence and complete freedom of action, now and hereafter, of the American people are at stake. As between dishonoring their own sworn pledge to safeguard the best interests of the country and compromising the arrogant personal vanity of a self-appointed spokesman for the American Republic, Senators will do mighty little hesitating. As between its own dishonor and that of a self-chosen representative who has spurned its every suggestion and covered its most honored members with vituperation, the margin of choice is negligible. If Mr. Wilson, voluntarily or involuntarily, has permitted himself to appear "in the view of the world" as the sole formulator of decisions binding upon the American people, the humiliation of a revealed false position certainly will not fall upon the representatives of the American people in the Senate of the United States.

Imaginary Interviews

I. Albert Sidney Burleson

IT was with trepidation that I followed Mr. Burleson's private secretary to the door marked *Private*, the door that led to the most important interview of my newspaper career. All my carefully prepared questions had vanished. But my fear vanished as soon as the door opened and I looked into the eyes of one entrusted with tremendous responsibility. He rose and held out his hand, and while my fingers were still tingling from his warm handclasp, he opened the conversation.

"Ah, Mr. Titter," he said suavely, "I have your card fixing the appointment. We may be interrupted from time to time by business, but you won't mind that, I'm sure."

"Mr. Secretary," I began, "I'm going to take the liberty of asking leading questions because of the wide circulation which will be given to this interview. Publicity of a pitiless nature is what this Administration has always courted. I hope you'll pardon me if I try to make this interview a little unconventional, because it will give it so much more force."

"Those are precisely my views, young man," he answered, offering me a cigar.

"In the first place," I began, "I wanted to ask you to give to the public through me a terse summary of what government ownership means, of what it will mean in the future."

"Part of what you ask," he answered as he stroked his strong chin, "is easy to give—it is current history, being made before our eyes."

He paused, because at that moment there came an apologetic knock at the door; Mr. Burleson rose and opened the door, and for some seconds I heard the buzz of a whispered conversation. As it ended, he turned to me, his face beaming with the joy of service.

"This comes very opportunely, Mr. Titter," he remarked. "You have just asked me what government ownership means. These gentlemen," he continued, as he ushered three men into his office, "are a delegation from the telegraph and telephone operatives. They have come to lay their case directly before their chief, and I'm going to ask you to stay and witness the operation of government ownership in detail." He turned to that member of the delegation who was apparently authorized to speak. "State your case," he demanded, his whole attitude changing to that of the stern but impartial government official.

"Mr. Secretary," the spokesman began, "I speak as representative of the telegraph and telephone operatives of the country. We have considered your order calling upon us to strike for higher wages and shorter hours, and we wish to protest against it. Sir, the people I speak for are growing restless; they have nothing to do in the afternoon. In the name of thousands of employees, I demand more work and less pay." The figure of this simple workman took on a new dignity as he clashed with his chief. Mr. Burleson turned to me after a moment's thought.

"For the benefit of the press," he said, "I will state the circumstances of the case briefly. These men have now a four-hour day, at five dollars an hour, with a bonus each month. A month ago they struck for longer hours. In my capacity as Postmaster-General, I immediately called a strike for higher wages. The matter is up for arbitration now."

"I'm afraid I'm awfully stupid," I ventured, "but it's not quite clear to me. There has been no interruption of the service, and if they struck, I should think—"

"Pardon me," he interrupted with a forgiving smile, "naturally you would think so. I had an inspiration, if you will allow me to call it that. I hired these operatives who had gone on strike as strikebreakers of their own strike." He waved aside my involuntary astonishment at this revolutionary step. "At advanced wages, of course. I won my point there. But we come to the heart of the matter now. Technically, these operatives were still on strike, and were entitled to three-quarters of their pay as regular employees, according to the regulations of the Post-Office Department which call for that allowance in the case of strikes deemed justifiable by the Postmaster-General. You follow me, I trust."

"Perfectly," I murmured.

He turned once more to the spokesman. "Now we come to the agreement. It is necessary, of course, to compromise; the history of all labor troubles shows that. I have determined, therefore, to lengthen your working day to five hours; I will revoke my order which called the last strike. On your side you must revoke the order which called the original strike and you must accept the wage-increase of ninety-five per cent that was recently proposed by me."

"Agreed," said the spokesman of the operatives. Before my eyes one of the greatest labor problems of the century had been settled by a few words from this quiet man with the determined chin. He pressed a button by his desk, and in answer to a responsive buzz in the outer room, his secretary appeared.

"Mr. Softleigh," said Mr. Burleson, "show these gentlemen out—and you may publish a bulletin increasing telephone and telegraph rates by sixty per cent." The secretary nodded and passed out after the delegates. Mr. Burleson sank into his chair with a smile of satisfaction playing on his lips. "It is a great satisfaction to me," he went on, "to have that settled with satisfaction to all concerned. I was afraid that I would have to hire these same operatives as strike-breakers a second time—and that would involve compensation for the second strike, of course. That would have made it more complicated, and my great passion is for simplicity."

"I can see that," I replied earnestly, "but will this make a difference in finances, will this increase the deficit?"

"Naturally," he admitted, "such a result is inevitable. But such a deficit will be met by taxation, of course."

I attempted another question. "What will be the scope of the Post-Office Department in the future?"

The Postmaster-General was drumming with his finger-tips on his desk and his eyes had taken on a far-off wistfulness; I feared he had not heard my question, but he turned to me in a moment, his eyes quickened with feeling.

"I am no prophet, nor the son of a prophet," he answered, "but I have my dreams. . . . You have touched me on my hobbies—education and communication. The Post-Office of the future is to be the cultural center of the town, the spiritual fount of the city. With a government-owned alphabet, with government-owned primers and readers, with official and standardized schools, we shall come to the millennium of education. Every person in this great land of ours will be officially taught what is good for him to know—and the rest shall gradually be forgotten." With the last word, he was again deep in meditation. I mused a moment over this proposal, so vast and so far-reaching, so radical and yet so simple.

"But what of books—novels—essays," I proposed, "surely people will continue to get ideas from them that will interfere with this plan?"

"I have anticipated such an objection," he replied. "This is no half-way affair; I propose to make equality a fact rather than a theory. All books—not text-books alone—but *all* books, will be under government control. The Postmaster-General is, of course, the logical man for the position of Censor."

"But authors will still write," I objected.

"Pardon me," he interrupted, his eyes glowing with enthusiasm, "the next generation will know of authors, but know of them solely as government officials. The youth whose literary talent is now corrupted by commercialism will become in the future an Official Author." A knock came at the door.

"What is it?" he inquired of Mr. Softleigh, as his secretary appeared in the open doorway. I could not help hearing the answer. "Mr. Secretary, I have here a petition from The Business Men's Association of New York City requesting better mail service and calling attention to certain so-called delinquencies of mail and telegraph service." Mr. Burleson's eyes snapped as he looked at his secretary, burned as they noticed the paper that Softleigh had in his hand.

"Enough," he said sharply. "I do not need to see the paper to know that the accusations are groundless. These people must learn not to interfere with the affairs of an over-burdened department. It is treason—or little less." His mouth closed to a thin line. The dreamer of a few moments had gone; a stern man, face to face with realities had come in its place. "You will announce in a bulletin, Mr. Softleigh," he said in a voice from which rancor had not disappeared, "that dating from tomorrow, mail deliveries will be made once daily in Greater New York. Discipline—that must be secured at all costs." He glanced at his watch. "I am sorry, Mr. Titter," he said in a gentler tone, "your time is nearly up."

"One more question," I pleaded; and, as he nodded acquiescence, I added: "What of your plans for your own future?"

He smiled deprecatingly. "Of what use is it to make plans?" he murmured. "A man in my position is not his own master; he is the servant of the people. If he is, through no special merit of his own, the possessor of administrative ability and zeal in the public service, who knows what the people may not call upon him to do? My life is devoted to the public service; for this devotion I have even been assailed by my enemies as a politician." A note of bitterness crept into his voice, and he sighed. "I am human, I have my ambitions—there are other offices, offices even higher than the one I fill now . . . and who can predict what the people may call upon me to do?" He turned toward me in a manner that told me the interview was at an end.

—A. C. A.

Four Sites for Your Monument

WHAT more fitting memorial to the gallant sons of America who fought and died abroad could be devised than an exact reproduction of the Washington Monument, to be erected through voluntary contributions by our whole people, upon the famous battlefield of France?

The Washington Monument is our one great distinctive, National creation. It is, moreover, our most notable work of art and it is unique. Its replica, rising high from the historic ground where the blood of the Sons of the Sister Republic mingled in the death struggle for freedom and civilization, would strengthen the ever-living ties that bind securely the two great liberty-loving peoples and would be for all time an inspiration to both.—HARVEY'S WEEKLY, Feb. 22, 1919.

- I. CANTIGNY.
- II. CHATEAU-THIERRY.
- III. BELLEAU WOOD.
- IV. ST. MIHIEL SALIENT.

The heart-stirring deeds on the battlefields of these four suggested sites for the Monument were recorded in the words of General Pershing's official report, in the WEEKLY for May 3 and May 10. Other sites may be equally worthy of consideration. What site do you prefer? The WEEKLY will be glad to print your choice—and your reason for it.

Responses from Many States

AN EVERLASTING MONUMENT

SIR,—That the American people should and will erect a monument in France in memory of her brave sons who sacrificed their lives goes without saying. What more fitting monument could we devise than a replica of the Washington Monument, that beautiful shaft that stands as an everlasting monument of our love and veneration for the father of his country?

GEORGE L. BURKE.

Sapulpa, Oklahoma.

EVERY MAN OF THE 109TH FIELD ARTILLERY

SIR,—I heartily approve of the plan and also believe that the men who have served in the Army, or others for them, will certainly contribute. So sure am I of this that I know I am justified in saying that when subscriptions are called for you can count upon one dollar for each officer and enlisted man of the 109th Field Artillery, my old regiment. When the money is furnished the regiment would request the honor of placing in the Monument a tablet of stone or bronze inscribed with the names of its noble dead now buried in Brittany, on the Vesle, in the Argonne and in Belgium.

ASHER MINER,
Colonel, Field Artillery.

Wilkes-Barre, Penn.

THE "WIDOW'S MITE"

SIR,—I wish to say that I am heartily in favor of the plan and will gladly contribute the "widow's mite" toward the erection of the Monument.

HELEN GORDON TODD,
(Mrs. Albert Todd).

Washington, D. C.

AN INSPIRATION

SIR,—The conception of a replica of the Washington Monument "over there" had its source in an inspiration rather than a thought. I should be unwilling, before its completion, to consider the advice of any artist about anything relating to the

Monument, other than its exact location, and a change in its dimensions made for the purpose of preserving in that location the sublimity and majesty of its original. Were any man in its presence to hear another man murmur the words: "Thank God I, I also, am an American!" and be himself unconscious of the presence of a force which compelled the utterance of the words, he would be confessing a deep defect in his own nature.

FRANCIS L. MINTON.

New York City.

AROUSES THE HEART

SIR,—The suggestion has greatly impressed me and aroused the hearts of many people whom I have consulted. The wonderful memorial would not only animate the souls of the American people but those of the Allied countries who sacrificed their boys for the great cause.

P. M. SCHAFF.

Wilkesburg, Penn.

A READY ECHO

SIR,—Your mention of a replica of the Washington monument as a memorial on some famous American battle ground in France found a ready echo in my heart. My sons were—and still are—in France, and I should like very much to see a real beginning made by the organization with yourself as the directing head.

CLARENCE D. WELLS, M. D.

Quincy, Illinois.

EVERY MEMBER OF THE FAMILY

SIR,—In the absence of an official treasurer I am sending my check for \$6, representing \$1 for each member of my family, wife, son, daughter-in-law and two grandchildren. I would gladly send more, but feel that one dollar each from 3,000,000 souls would be much more desirable than a larger sum from a smaller number.

SAMUEL S. WHITE, JR.

Philadelphia.

Comments from the Press

FOR ALL FUTURE YEARS.

This Washington Monument—never to be forgotten by any eye which has looked upon its simple magnificence—typifies the spirit of America which we all recognize as the "spirit of America" regardless of any cross-currents that have ever set in. What a thrill of patriotic devotion an exact replica of this monument would give to visitors to France from this country in all future years! What a reminder—indeed what a warning—it would be to all the peoples of Europe of the power for righteousness which lives in this land! And especially what a fitting tribute to our soldiers who died upon the country-side of France in the defense of America and in the partial discharge of our traditional debt to the land of Lafayette.

This is not idle sentiment. These memorials—if they are true memorials—serve a constant, inspirational purpose which spells an advantage beyond computation in mere money.—*Grand Rapids (Mich.) Herald*.

CHILDREN ARE WELCOME!

HARVEY'S WEEKLY has started out on a suggestion for the erection of a Washington Monument on the battlefield in France to commemorate the sacrifices made by our boys over there. It will stand as a constant reminder of the undying gratitude of America to France and of the freshly stirred appreciation by France of the service now rendered in return by America. HARVEY'S thinks the monument should be erected by popular subscription from the people of the United States. Nothing could be more fitting and beautiful. In the suggestion *The News* heartily joins. It would like to see the schools of Grand Junction be the first in the United States to take up a voluntary collection amongst the children, the giving of a penny or a nickel, to bring about this wonderful result.—*Grand Junction (Colo.) Daily News*.

A NOBLE CONCEPTION.

This is a feasible project and the suggestion should meet with the unanimous approval of all Americans. We earnestly hope that form and direction will be given this enterprise so as to bring its noble conception to an early fruition.—*Vanceburg (Ky.) Sun*.

Letters from Our Readers

AN ARMY VIEW OF THE LEAGUE

SIR,—I am enclosing extracts from a letter written by an American officer with the A. E. F. To me his opinions are of great significance, knowing as I do that politically he is a radical of the type that in this country would not only devote his energies on behalf of a League of Nations but would contribute liberally to the furtherance of the "cause." Obviously, there is a difference between idealistic theories and grim practicabilities.

GEORGE MAXWELL.

New York City.

[ENCLOSURE]

I imagine that you are interested to know the Army opinion on the League, Peace and so on. There is very little faith in the League of Nations. Most of us have been too near grim realities to have much confidence in it. But most soldiers I believe want to give it a chance. But what we do want to see is a strong peace FIRST—then the League. The Germans haven't changed their ideas in the slightest. They must be so weakened that they cannot start another war. Reparations must be made to those who have borne the brunt of the war. The small reborn nations must be reconstituted according to the rule of nationality, but with frontiers economic and military so that they may have a chance to work out their own destiny. . . . In short, now that the war is won, we don't want it lost by a weak peace. Of course I can't presume to speak for the Army, but that is the consensus of opinion of the thinking officers and men that I have talked with. I think it is typical of the Army.

There is a tremendous harvest waiting us over here, but it will not fall into our lap while we wait. We must use salesmanship of the highest order. And to date the American has not been a good salesman.

A great part of the means of production of France and Belgium has been destroyed. Will we get the job of restoration or will our competitors? Aside from the purely military side, the civilian populations of these two countries have been sadly disillusioned since 1917. This may seem a little vague, but it is impossible to be very definite in a letter. The conclusion is that we have failed to show ourselves to the Europeans as human beings. We are still liked, but not nearly so much as at first.

DR. JOHNSON AND THE LEAGUE

SIR,—Apropos the League of Nations squabble I submit this passage from the Works of Dr. Samuel Johnson. Dr. Johnson was contending, in what follows, against England being made the Goat. Now England wishes to pass the buck to us. The italics are mine.

"I hope our ministers will in time think it no advantage to their fellow-subjects to be doomed to fight the battles of other nations, and to be called out into every field, where they shall happen to hear that blood is to be shed. I hope they will be taught that the only business of Britain is commerce, and that while our ships pass unmolested we may sit at ease, whatever be the designs or actions of the potentates on the continent; that none but naval power can endanger our safety, and that it is not necessary for us to enquire how foreign territories are distributed, what family approaches to its extinction, or where a successor will be found to any other crown than that of Britain. . . . Had these principles been received by our forefathers, we might now have given laws to the world; and perhaps our posterity will with equal reason say, How happy, how great and formidable they should have been, had not we attempted to fix and hold the balance of power and neglected the interest of our country for the preservation of the House of Austria."

Sawtelle, Cal.

MATT A. WOLFSKILL.

FROM LECTURER CROWL

SIR,—I have finished a series of articles published each Saturday in the Toledo Blade, and as a climax to the last one I quoted that American of Americans, George Harvey, in his Chicago speech.

"May I not" say to you at this time that the inspiration for these articles and for my first plunge into journalism has been the WEEKLY?

I want to say to you that I consider you the greatest leader for Americanism we have at the present time, and that I have gained more good out of your work than all others put together. I am heartily endorsing the WEEKLY from Coast to Coast in my work. I never deliver a lecture that I do not tell the people to secure your WEEKLY, and that if they are not satisfied I shall pay the bill. I have not received the presentment of one of these bills yet, and it has been over a year now since I have been doing it.

Metamora, Ohio.

DENTON C. CROWL.

FALSEHOOD AND "MORAL REFORM"

SIR,—Can any good come out of a lie? Can a "moral reform" that is based on falsehood be of any benefit to mankind?

The prohibition sentiment in this country that has coerced self-seeking politicians into forcing upon the people the narrow views of the Anti-Saloon League, is very largely the product of a widespread campaign of systematic lying in regard to the alleged injurious effects of the use of alcoholic beverages. Manufactured statistics, invented "facts," and the unfounded assertions of shallow thinkers calling themselves "scientists," have deceived many well-meaning persons into believing that they were the truth.

Ignorance of the real causes of poverty, crime, insanity and disease has led the unthinking into accepting the assertion, made with no proof, that they are due to the use of liquor. The fact that these same evils exist, in even greater degree, in Mohammedan countries where all liquor is prohibited, would seem to be of itself sufficient answer to the claims of the prohibitionists.

When the scheme of making men good by law has been tried long enough to expose its falsity, on what will the "good people" put the blame for the physical, social and moral evils which they fondly believe can be abolished by the magic words, "Be it enacted"?

New York City.

W. G.

CO-INCIDENCE?

SIR,—I do not imagine you are in need of any food for thought these days, but here are two items which may interest you.

First: Is it a mere co-incidence that the impossible Burleson recommends return of the cables to their owners just at the time that the League of Nations has been adopted in Paris, or is it because there is no further need of deceiving the public of America and of Europe?

Second: Suppose Italy takes Fiume and the counsel of the League of Nations says she must give it up and she won't do it. The League would then put on its economic screws and food would be prohibited from America and coal from Great Britain, etc. I do not understand that war would be declared against Italy. Under such circumstances, could decent self-respecting American merchants send goods to Italy, or decent British send coal?

Not being at war with Italy, I do not know under what authority our wonderful representatives at Washington or Paris could prohibit such trade.

New York City.

CHAS. B. HOBBS.

THE ANCESTRY OF MR. BAKER.

SIR,—Is not Newton Diehl (clear German) Baker (originally Becker or Bäcker or Baecker) a German Jew by descent?

Chicago.

H. L. STEVENS.

[We neither know nor care. The United States contains millions of Germans and of Jews by descent who are as true and loyal Americans as scions of the English, Scotch, Irish and Dutch. All races and religions look alike to us. Mr. Baker concerns us only as an unfit Secretary of War.—EDITOR.]

"STRUCTURAL WEAKNESS"

SIR,—Permit me to express my great satisfaction with both of your publications. Your attitude toward the President who is so conspicuously misrepresenting the American people and toward his various schemes is quite in harmony with my views. My long personal acquaintance with him has made me fully aware of the structural weakness in his character and leads me to the confident opinion that he is a most dangerous man. I am pleased that your two publications are rendering such noble service to the country.

Auburn, N. Y.

GEO. B. STEWART.

A ROLL CALL OF REAL AMERICANS

SIR,—It is hard to write this letter of approval to you. Hard because I have read so many on your back page which said what I would like to say in so much more thorough and polished manner than my ability allows.

However, that back page seems to me almost a roll-call for real Americans and I would like to answer to my name.

With the single exception of prohibition, what you have said goes for me.

Luning, Nev.

E. C. WATSON.

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Republican Leaders, Take Notice!

IS the Republican party willing to make effective the President's proposal to incorporate the United States in a World League if Mr. Wilson will refuse to accept the Democratic nomination for a third term?

That is the question propounded by the New York *World* in its Washington correspondence of May 15 with a definiteness and emphasis clearly designed to imply inspired inquiry. A careless reading of the *World's* statement would, indeed, convey the impression that the matter has already been determined and that whatever hope may linger in the hearts of the people of Mr. Wilson's continuance in power may as well be abandoned.

"When," we read in large, black type in the first paragraph, "he returns to America President Wilson plans to make a definite public announcement that under no circumstances will he be a candidate for re-election."

It seems, however, from further perusal, that the President will put his "plan" into execution only upon the endorsement of his pet project by the controlling Republicans. "If," the *World* continues, "he has to go on to the people over the heads of Congress he may be forced to accept the issue, even if it involves his championing the idea of the League through the campaign of 1920." But if he shall be spared this necessity, he will stand aside and present to the Republican party a virtual certainty of winning the Presidency from a deserted, denatured and demoralized Democracy. He is impelled to this resolve by "the same mental processes that sent him to Paris despite the domestic problems and political exigencies here at home" and by his recognized disinclination to "do his fighting by proxy."

However the proposition may be regarded, whether as fair and reasonable or the contrary, it possesses at least the rare merit of straightforwardness and, as such, deserves thoughtful consideration. Assuming, as Mr. Wilson does assume complacently, and we have no doubt quite sincerely, that no opposing candidate could withstand at the polls his widespread popularity with "men everywhere," and that no other Democrat would have a chance, the strength of the appeal to Republican partisanship can hardly be overestimated. Indeed, it was promptly recognized by the former Republican Chairman, Mr. Charles D. Hilles, under whose management it will be recalled Mr. Taft carried both Utah and Vermont, in a firm declaration for the League before the New York Republican Club.

Undoubtedly, moreover, Mr. Taft's own views coincide with those of his former lieutenant. While we would not dream of imputing personal ambitions to our former President, nothing could be plainer than that acceptance of the trade proposed by Mr. Wilson would leave his most ardent supporter and most valuable asset, Mr. Taft, as the one logical, if not inevitable, Republican candidate. Thus, simultaneously with the complete disruption of the Democratic party, would be effected the heartful union of Republicans and Progressives—maybe.

Nor would we if we could, and we know that we could not, underrate the magnitude of the boon which Mr. Wilson would thus magnanimously confer upon his country. No other conceivable act could more conclusively evidence his own true greatness; no other could fix him so securely in the hearts of his fellow

men or win so surely their undying gratitude. Not alone because of his own self-abnegation in their behalf, no indeed; think of the bunch of Bakers, Danielses, Houses, Redfields, Burlesons, Hurleys, Kitchins, Herrons, and the multitude of other second, third and fourth raters who would accompany him involuntarily into everlasting political retirement! Truly, after all these years of trial and tribulation, so gratifying an outcome seems too good *ever* to become true.

And yet is it, after all, worth selling out our country for? We can understand why the Taftites and even some Republicans who are neither Taftites nor Schiffites may think so; but there are others who, in the words of Senator Borah, would accept defeat in preference to betrayal and who, as Senator Knox would say, regard National honor more highly than National suicide. For those of us who place country above any and all parties there is, of course, but one choice.

And we happen to be in the majority. Make no mistake about that! Mr. Wilson may retire himself and his crowd or not as he pleases. If not, the people will do it for him and, while they are about it, they will make a clearly defined separation of the sheep from the goats in both political parties.

Republican leaders, take notice!

This is no tea party; it is a fight to a finish for the preservation of American independence.

A Good Beginning

GREAT must be the disappointment of those who hoped that the attempt of the Republicans to effect a strong and generally satisfactory organization of Congress would result in failure.

So far from "breaking up in a row," the party has installed as its presiding officers the two men most admirably equipped for their respective positions—Senator Cummins and Representative Gillett—and the Committee Chairmanships bid fair to be equally commendable. "Harmony," as we remarked weeks ago, was the word and, thanks chiefly to the tactful and courageous leadership of Senator Lodge, the unswerving patriotism of Senator Borah, the unflagging endeavors of Senator Brandegee, and, last but far from least, the self-abnegation of Senator Wadsworth, harmony prevailed and complete unity has been attained.

All of which is good for the party and better yet for the country. The test imposed by the aftermath of six years of blatant incompetence is a severe one and can be met successfully only by a rare combination of intelligence and determination. A better beginning could not be desired. There is no partisanship in the wish that the public confidence already inspired may be retained in full measure throughout the trying months to come.

Profit and Loss in Peacemaking

IT is now possible to compute with substantial accuracy the profit and loss of the diplomacy in which the President has been unjustifiably engaged for the last six months. The balance sheet runs substantially as follows:

GREAT BRITAIN WINS:

Guaranteed and undiminished control of the seas;
Virtual control of the League of Nations, with six votes to the one of the United States or any other Power;
The major part of the former German colonies;
Confirmed possession of Egypt;
Greatly increased influence in the East;
Reparation for injuries and losses to civilians.

FRANCE WINS:

Alsace Lorraine;
The Sarre Valley;
A barrier all along the Rhine against another German attack;
Reparation for injuries and losses to civilians.

BELGIUM WINS:

Additional territory;
Restored independence;
Reparation for her injuries and losses in the war.

ITALY WINS:

Restoration of Italia Irredenta;
Security for her Alpine frontier;
Control of the Adriatic Sea;
Reparation for injuries and losses in the war.

JAPAN WINS:

Former German islands in the Pacific;
Control of China;
Increased influence in Asiatic Russia.

WOODROW WILSON WINS:

A place in history as the Founder of the League of Nations which threatens his country with undoing.

THE UNITED STATES LOSES:

Her independence and sovereignty;
The friendship of Italy, Japan, and China;
The power of self-defense;
Self-determination of the size of her army and navy.
The right to make treaties at will;
The right to mind only her own business.

WAS IT WORTH WHILE?

Americans Obeyed Orders

THE *World's* Washington correspondent reports that "the new Senate Committee on Military Affairs is planning a thorough investigation to determine, if possible, why so many American casualties occurred after the armistice with Germany was announced," and adds that many complaints have been made of the great number of casualties sustained to no purpose during the forenoon of November 11.

Nearly three months ago, we directed attention to these disquieting rumors and appealed, in an open letter, to Senator Chamberlain, to search out the truth. Mr. Chamberlain promptly called upon the Chief of Staff for the requisite information and General March readily pledged his best endeavors. His report now lies before us. It reads as follows:

Hon. Geo. E. Chamberlain,
United States Senate,
Washington, D. C.

My dear Senator:

With further reference to your letter of February 13th and my letter of February 17th, in which I advised you that General Pershing would be requested to furnish information you desired, I beg to give you his replies to your inquiry:

After a full statement of the many reports called for from the Commanding Generals of the various armies and divisions, the inquiries addressed to the French and British Missions, and the search of records at his own headquarters, General Pershing reaches the following conclusions:

"(a) Were any U. S. soldiers killed in fighting in France after order to cease firing at 11 o'clock, Nov. 11, when armistice went into effect?

Conclusions: No cases are known of any U. S. soldiers who were killed in fighting in France after order to cease firing at 11 A. M., Nov. 11, when armistice went into effect. Probably there were no such casualties. In any event they could have occurred in very isolated cases only.

"(b) Was there any firing at any place along the American line in France after 11 o'clock, Nov. 11th?

Conclusions: Firing was generally stopped on the American front in France at 11 A. M., Nov. 11th. In the case of an isolated organization which did not receive notification until 11:10 A. M., Nov. 11, 1918, firing was continued until 11:30 A. M., Nov. 11, 1918.

"(c) Did the firing along the American line continue in full force up to 11 o'clock, Nov. 11th?

Conclusions: Firing along the American line continued in full force up to 11 o'clock, Nov. 11th. In the case of the two American divisions serving with the French Army in Belgium different conditions existed and the firing was not continued in full force due to the fact that no opposition was encountered to the continued advance.

"(d) Is the report true that officers in command of British and French forces ordered firing stopped as soon as they learned that the armistice was to go into effect at 11 o'clock, Nov. 11, 1918, that is several hours before 11 o'clock on this date?

Conclusions: There was no authorization for officers in command of French and British forces to order firing stopped as soon as they learned that the armistice was to go into effect. There is a possibility that such orders were given without authority by French Commanders of small isolated bodies. No definite cases of the issuance of such unauthorized orders are however known.

"(e) Were there military reasons for continuing the firing up to the very hour the armistice went into effect?

Conclusions: There were military reasons for continuing the firing up to the very hour the armistice went into effect, and orders were issued from these headquarters to insure such action. These orders were dictated by the necessity for taking every opportunity to render certain the complete acceptance by the enemy of the armistice, and were, undoubtedly, concurred in by the Allied Commander-in-Chief, who, himself, issued orders to the same effect."

With reference to question (e), General Pershing's reply includes a quotation of the orders of Marshal Foch, directing that the pressure be maintained along the whole front up the last moment.

Yours very truly,

P. C. MARCH,
General, Chief of Staff.

This seems to be conclusive and should, we think, be accepted as affording complete exoneration of the American commanders. It was their duty to carry out the orders of General Foch to the letter and they did so. Whether or not some of the other Allied commanders complied as strictly can hardly, as General Pershing quite properly intimates, be regarded as an affair of ours. Thanks to Senator Chamberlain, General March and General Pershing, the matter is cleared up so far as American troops are concerned and further investigation could result only in harm.

The new Chairman will do well to put his heel upon the proposition.

The country is indebted to Senator Knox for the tersest and truest definition of the League yet presented:

"NATIONAL SUICIDE."

It is hardly susceptible of improvement.

The Bonfires in the Rear

A CONCLAVE of the Taftites, the Schiffites and the McAdoodles was held at a Wall Street club on Thursday to make final arrangements for a grand speaking tour on behalf of the proposed League. Mr. Jacob H. Schiff himself, the famous international banker of Frankfurt and New York, presided, and "addresses favoring the campaign were made by Mr. McAdoo and Mr. Wickersham. "Their avowed purpose, according to the *Herald*, is to induce the people "in the States represented by doubting Senators" to bring "the proper pressure" to bear upon those timorous and susceptible representatives and thus secure their votes for the revised covenant.

The back fires thus to be started at the instigation of the President are to be lighted by Mr. Taft and fanned into roaring flames by a galaxy of illustrious orators headed by President Lowell of Harvard, Rabbi Wise and Dr. Anna Howard Shaw. "Big rallies are to be arranged in advance in each town" and a private car, provided by Chairman Schiff and associates, will bear the speakers in suitable state and comfort from place to place. By way of differentiation from the famous Women's Special which came so near electing Mr. Hughes, the rolling palace will be known as the Mixed Exclusive and the associations to be formed in its wake, if Senator Knox's apposite suggestion be heeded, will be known as National Suicide clubs.

The itinerary inadvertently reveals the names of the Senators whose knees are supposed to be so weak as to yield under the heavy pressure to be applied, to wit:

May 21.—Burlington, Vt. Page. Dillingham.
May 22.—Manchester, N. H. Keyes. Moses.
May 23.—Portland, Me. Hale. Fernald.
May 24.—New Haven, Conn. Brandegee. McLean.
May 26.—Charleston, W. Va. Sutherland. Elkins.
May 27.—Columbus, Ohio. Harding.
May 28.—Indianapolis, Ind. New. Watson.
May 29.—Springfield, Ill. Sherman. McCormick.
May 30.—Kansas City, Mo. Reed. Spencer.
May 31.—Omaha, Neb. Norris.
June 2.—Des Moines, Ia. Cummins. Kenyon.
June 3.—Grand Rapids, Mich. Townsend. Newberry.
June 4.—Pittsburg, Pa. Knox. Penrose.
June 6.—Trenton, N. J. Frelinghuysen. Edge.
June 7.—Albany, N. Y. Wadsworth. Calder.

All of these except Norris, Kenyon and Elkins (absent)

signed the famous Round Robin and all are committed against the revised covenant except Page, Hale, Spencer, Norris, Kenyon and Edge. It is in the rear of these Senators that the real bonfires are to be lit and blazed. We shall note the results with absorbing interest.

The Duties of Congress

CONGRESS has met at last. By the belated grace of our absentee President, the session which should have begun two months ago and been ready now to close, has this week been opened. It is probably, all things considered, the most important session of Congress in our history. It will not be charged with the duty of declaring war, as was the former Congress; but it will be, it is, charged with the duties of settling up the issues of that war and of reestablishing the conditions of peace. It was a foregone conclusion that the former Congress would go through the form of declaring our entry into the war that the President did not keep us out of. But there is no such certain forecast of the solution of the many, varied, complex, and inestimably momentous problems of returning peace which that war has entailed upon the present Congress.

Another radical difference is in the relationship between the Congress and the President. The former Congress was subject to the President's will. For two years it realized pretty closely Mr. Wilson's ideal of a Congress which recognizes the Presidential chair as the "real throne of administration" and contents itself with supine obedience to his dictation. We all know how earnestly the President desired the present Congress to be of like character, and how he asked the nation to elect for him such a body. But the nation wisely and patriotically refused. It elected a Congress which should not be subservient to the President. That does not, of course, mean that it is necessarily to oppose him. It does mean that, while Congress will courteously listen to and consider the President's recommendations, it will act upon them and upon all other matters as an independent, coördinate branch of the national Government, according to its own judgment and the wishes of the people, whether that judgment and those wishes coincide with the President's policy or not.

Seeing that the President purposes wilfully to withhold the Treaty of Peace from consideration until at his convenience he can return to the country which he never should have left, and can himself lay it before the Senate and appeal to the people to coerce the Senate into accepting it as it stands, it will be necessary for Congress to busy itself at first with other matters. Of these there are plenty, of the greatest possible importance; as set forth with excellent discrimination in the agenda which the majority party has framed. And it is interesting and gratifying to observe that among the topics at the head of the list are those which the President himself has designed as demanding prompt attention—more prompt than he himself would permit in his refusal to call an earlier session.

Among the very first things to be taken up are, of course, the supply bills, which the former Congress should have passed. They need to be passed before the end of June.

Inasmuch as the President's Congress found three months too little time in which to dispose of them, it is a good deal to ask the present Congress to do so in less than half that time. It is of course inconceivable that the President expects the new Congress to pass those bills just as they were left by its predecessor, and that he postponed calling the session until so late a date in order to make such action necessary.

He himself has graciously said that he has no wish to hurry Congress. But it is to be hoped that, brief as the time is, Congress will be able searchingly and most thoroughly to revise those measures and redraft them to whatever extent it may deem desirable for the sake of economy and equity.

At the head of the list must be placed the return of the telephone, telegraph, and cable lines to their owners, the woman suffrage amendment, and railroad legislation. Three of the other items on the list, though they are not named first in order, are scarcely second to any in urgent importance.

The first of these is tariff legislation. This, it is intimated, will be shaped so as to increase national revenues from tariff duties and thus, we may assume, to lessen the burden of taxation in other directions; and also so as to afford adequate protection to American labor and industries in the phase of economic reorganization upon which the world is now entering. For example, during the period of non-intercourse with Germany, we have developed here great industries for the production of goods which we formerly got from Germany. It would be imbecile now to let those industries be destroyed through lack of protection against the German competition which is certain to arise the moment commerce with that country is resumed.

The second is a radical revision of our domestic tax laws, in order to simplify them, abolish oppressive imposts, and, we may hope, to distribute more equitably the burdens which it may still be necessary for the nation to bear. Never, we suppose, were our national tax laws so unjustly sectional as they are to-day—not only unjustly but also insultingly; for there could be no greater affront to any section of the country than to suggest, through discriminatory legislation, that it wishes to avoid its just share of taxation. Whatever

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some men in the late Congress may have thought, we are glad to believe that all parts of this Union are alike patriotic and are alike ready to make whatever sacrifices may be needed for the nation's welfare.

The third proposal, an investigation of the fiscal and other conduct of the war, will probably meet with bitter opposition, though we sincerely hope that the President will not permit any misguided friend of his to make any such opposition in his name or behalf. We may concede that a standing committee on the conduct of the war, during the war, might have been a source of embarrassment and of mischief. But it would certainly be a strange anomaly if the nation were content to let transactions which engaged the activities of millions of men and the expenditure of many billions of dollars pass into history without so much as an auditing of the books. There can be no good reason against such an investigation; and there are the strongest of reasons in favor of it.

In course of time, it is to be assumed, the Senate will have the Treaty of Peace laid before it. We may confidently assume that without partisan fear or personal favor it will remember that it is coördinately with the President a part of the treaty-making power of the nation; that it is under no obligation whatever to approve a treaty just because he negotiated it; and that it has every whit as good a right to reject, alter, or amend a treaty as the President has to draft and negotiate one. It may be added that never in all our history was there a treaty more urgently requiring, for the sake of the nation, such independent, thoughtful and courageous action by the Senate than that which settles the issues of the great war and establishes our relations anew with the rehabilitated world.

We have no doubt that Congress soberly and patriotically realizes its duties. It needs no instruction, no admonition. What is needed is that the nation shall realize what the duties of its representatives are, and shall give them in the performance of them an intelligent and heartening support.

Unless Mr. Burleson himself can be restored to the State of Texas without unnecessary delay, the people's education and his education will be far from complete.—*The World*.

Why pick on Texas?

"Slim"

GENERAL SMUTS, we are sure, is familiar with the word; though far be it from us to suggest its applicability to him. That singularly efficient soldier-statesman from South Africa has ever been frank and outspoken, openly standing for his own side and striving for its interests without any pretence of international altruism. When he drafted the Constitution (later known as the Covenant of the League of Nations) for President Wilson to adopt as his own, he had no ulterior designs. His purposes were made quite clear; and they were, of course, the designs of a loyal Britisher, primarily for the advantage of his own empire. It may be that the President did not understand them. He may have been too busy

catching the voices of humanity which he imagined to be in the air, to realize what the thing meant. But the "pygmy minds" and "insects" understood it, and said so; which perhaps was their chief offense.

It sometimes happens, thus, that a perfectly frank and open proposition, taken in hand by somebody who either voluntarily or involuntarily fails to appreciate its purport, becomes no longer frank and open, but, in the expressive South African word to which we have referred, exceedingly "slim." And such, voluntarily or involuntarily, not only the Covenant of the League of Nations but also the Treaty of Peace itself appear to have become. Day by day their "slimness" becomes more apparent, until we are almost constrained to admire the adroitness with which a whole company of Senegambian men and brethren have been concealed in the adjacent woodpile.

Of the first of these, indeed, we had warning. In his petulant intolerance of comment the President, just before going back to Paris, told us what he meant to do. "Won't accept my League of Nations, eh?" he said in effect, if we may translate his stately rhetoric into the vernacular of the Man in the Street. "I'll show you if you won't. I'll tie it up so fast to the whole peace treaty that you'll have to take both or neither!" But "slimness" thus confessed is none the less "slim." We can now see with what painstaking and protracted assiduity and ingenuity the President addressed himself to the congenial labor of making good that threat. He did indeed tie the Covenant fast, very fast, to the Treaty. Yet . . . we remember Gordias; and Alexander.

Now comes what seems to be another ingenious example of "slimness." Perhaps it was not—we are sure it was not—intended to be such by General Smuts, or Mr. Lloyd George, or whoever it was who inserted into the Treaty the provision that peace should become effective as soon as it was ratified by *any three* of the Big Five. The "slimness" rather lay in the deft withholding of this provision of an "open covenant, openly arrived at," from the knowledge of the United States until it could be sprung upon us at a psychological moment for forcing the hand of the Senate. Obviously, it would be tremendously effective for the President to be able to say to the Senate: "May I not point out to you that the first three big Powers that ratify the treaty will be the first to resume trade with Germany and thus get the inside track for the German markets?"

Of course, the trick, "slim" as it is, might not work. The Senate, or the whole Congress, might find some way of restoring peaceful and normal relations without swallowing the Smuts-Cecil League of Nations. But if, as we have said, confession does not diminish "slimness," neither does defeat impair its quality. And the circumstance of this latest revelation inevitably provokes the inquiry whether there are still further "jokers" concealed in this singularly "open" covenant, which has been so very "openly" arrived at. The world is informed that the complete text, unabridged, unexpurgated, un-Bowdlerized, was promptly laid before the German delegates. Is not the Senate of the United States of as much account, and as much interested in it, as they?

It would doubtless be a very "slim" performance to withhold it—all but the selected passages which the Political-master-General's censorship permitted to pass over the Administration-controlled cables—until the President himself returned to his legal place of business; when he could reveal to the Senate for the first time various provisions which made it all but imperative for this country to ratify the treaty, if at all, as soon as any other Power did so, and when he could warn the Senate that three others of the Big Five were already at the point of ratifying it, and that if America did not hurry she would be too late for the band wagon. Yet we have a comforting confidence that neither the American Senate nor the American nation can successfully be thus bamboozled. "Slimness" may abide for the night, but straightforwardness cometh in the morning.

A Repudiated Spokesman

IT does not require a long memory to remind us how little foundation in fact or reason there is for the President's vainglorious pretensions of speaking the mind of the American people, and of being the voice of the American spirit.

On two occasions, shortly before starting on his self-chosen excursion across the seas, the President solicited a vote of confidence, which would serve as foundation for and confirmation of the claim which he has since been making and which doubtless he then already was intending to put forth.

He asked the American people to elect a Democratic Congress which would be subservient to his will; because, he explained, otherwise it would be difficult for the people of France and Great Britain to believe that this nation was supporting its President—in other words, he would find it difficult to persuade those people, when he went over there, that he represented the sentiment, spirit and desires of the American people. Well, the nation very emphatically refused his request. It declined to give him the proof which he wanted to offer to the people of Europe, that they approved his foreign policy. According to his own logic, it indicated by negation that it was not supporting him in his policy.

Again, the President asked the Senate—for of course we must assume that Jim Ham acted through inspiration from the White House—to declare that it had "complete and full confidence" in his "discretion, judgment and patriotism," and that it approved in advance "whatever course" might be taken by him at the Peace Conference and "whatever methods" he might employ. Never before in the history of this if of any other country was so presumptuous a request made for an unlimited charter. Never was an envoy invested with such authority as he would have had if his request had been granted—practically a pledge in advance to ratify any treaty which he might negotiate. Never was a presumptuous request more summarily denied than that; for it was contemptuously tabled and never taken up for a vote.

Thus on these two occasions the nation and its Senate directly and specifically refused to authorize the President to be their spokesman. They were the only two occasions

on which he solicited such authorization. They were within a few weeks of the ending of the war and of his departure for the other side of the ocean. Yet with the echoes of those two rebuking and humiliating refusals ringing in his ears, the President went abroad and proclaimed himself the spokesman of the American people and the authoritative interpreter and exponent of the American spirit.

It is a pretense the effrontery of which is relieved only by its manifest absurdity.

Appointing League Delegates

ACTING upon the blithe and jocund principle of counting chickens before they are hatched, the President's choristers are already selecting the three delegates, proconsuls, ambassadors, messenger boys, or whatever they are to be called, who are to represent the United States in the Smuts-Cecil League of Nations. Colonel House, of course. That was a foregone conclusion. There could be no League without the greatest Unappointed Ambassador in our diplomatic history. For the other two places various names are suggested, in a more or less cocksure fashion; all depending, of course, upon the President's will.

It would be interesting to know how these vociferous choristers suppose such officials would be selected, or would be appointed and commissioned, in case the Covenant of the League were adopted and the United States decided to go into the world-wide-meddling business. Perhaps they imagine—all things are possible—that they would just be sent out by the President himself, as John Lind and William Bayard Hale and George D. Herron and Lincoln Steffens and Colonel House and the rest of the goodly company were sent; with nobody else to say a word about it.

Well, we reckon not. We assume that if such delegates to the League were to be created, they would be "public ministers" or at least some sort of "officers of the United States." If they were not, their pretended representation of the United States would be an impudent sham, of no more validity than their pretence to represent the Man in the Moon. But if they were to be such ministers or officers, there could be no possible question as to the manner of their appointment. After being nominated by the President, their appointment would have to be "by and with the advice and consent of the Senate."

Indeed, if such were not the case, it might be exceedingly awkward for the gentlemen concerned. If they went into the League deliberations without such authorization from the Senate, they would be private citizens communicating with or entering into negotiations with the Governments of foreign states on political matters in which the United States was interested, and that, we believe, is a rather serious penal offence.

If, therefore, the President should get his League of Nations scheme—or the Smuts-Cecil scheme—adopted, he could have the United States participate in it practically only through the cooperation and by and with the advice and consent of those pygmy-minded beings whom he wants to hang upon a gibbet fifty cubits high. Which might not be altogether pleasing to him.

Cause For Impatience

COLONEL JAMES HAMILTON LEWIS, erstwhile Senator Jim Ham, returns from the Far West "surprised" at the public sentiment which he there encountered "against the Administration at Washington." Coincidentally, Mr. David Lawrence, of the New York *Evening Post*, once the foremost journalistic champion of the President and all his works, reports, as the result of painstaking observations in ten thousand miles of travel through all parts of the country, that profound dissatisfaction with the Administration prevails in nearly all sections.

The American people, says Mr. Lawrence, did not see the necessity of the President's going abroad; they universally disapprove his choice of some of his colleagues; they regard him as "intolerant of opposition, even though opposition is merely discussion;" they are everywhere dissatisfied with the activities—or lack of activities—of government departments, particularly the Postoffice Department and the Railroad Administration; they are dissatisfied with the inequities of taxation; and they are impatient with the delays at Paris.

Simultaneously with these frank confessions of the President's most thick-and-thin apologists, there appears in one of Mr. Laurence Hills's cable dispatches to the New York *Sun* the completest possible explanation of the impatient, dissatisfied, and other unpleasant feelings of the American people which Mr. Lawrence describes. Mr. Hills reports that the American mission now expects to finish its work of making peace by June 10, if not a little before; a work which will include not only the German and Austrian treaties, but also a settlement of the Bulgarian and Turkish questions, "in which President Wilson intends to take an active part, although America will not be a party to the treaty."

There you have it, as Hosea Biglow said, plain and flat. The President, with his incorrigible and irrepressible *cacoethes immiscendi*, purposes to boss the job of making peace with Bulgaria and Turkey, though we are not and have not been at war with them. He must have a hand in the disposition of the Turkish Empire, though it is none of our business. He means to stay over there, meddling with everything in sight, until there is nothing more to be fussed with. Then he will come home to give a little attention to the neglected and much-suffering interests of the nation of a hundred millions which elected him and pays him a big salary to be its Chief Executive and to look after its business.

It is not to be wondered at that in such circumstances the people are impatient. The nation is running behind a million and a half dollars a day on its railroad accounts, and is losing heavily on the telegraph and telephone services—which have become so bad as to be a travesty on service. The vast issues of national reconstruction after the war are crying for settlement. Yet the President turns a deaf ear to all such things while he instructs France and Great Britain how to deal with Bulgaria, and superintends the division and disposition of the Turkish Empire. He sacrifices the interests of America to his love of meddling in the affairs of foreign lands.

Active in transactions to which America is not a party:

that exactly describes the President's present course. It exactly describes the policy to which he in his Covenant would like permanently to commit this nation. The American people, however, will have none of it. They want him to come home and attend to their business, and they themselves purpose to attend to their own business and not to meddle with that of other nations.

Mr. Redfield and Fish

MR. REDFIELD, the intellectual colossus at the head of the Department of Commerce, is not going to resign. This is official. Mr. Redfield himself has made the statement. He is going to stick to his post. But he is going out of the price-fixing business. He is going to devote his attention from now on to the propagation of fish.

This is an announcement that will be received with general satisfaction. Next to the actual resignation of Mr. Redfield, we can think of nothing more calculated to create a pleasing impression throughout the country than the assurance that hereafter he is going to concentrate the resources of his gigantic intellect upon fish. In this complicated transition epoch, to be sure, there will be many problems for the Department of Commerce to solve. There will arise questions and opportunities wherein the Department of Commerce, denatured as to Redfieldian guidance, might be of inestimable value to the country. But there seemed no way of unloading the Redfield handicap. That Mr. Redfield would resign was inconceivable. That the President would remove an official who had met every one of the Wilsonian standards of presumptive and demonstrated incompetence which have been the *sine qua non* of appointment to office, was also out of the question. Mr. Wilson's penchant for tractable weaklings in his Administration entourage is as well established a fact as is his stubborn support of them after they are once established where they can do the most harm.

So it looked as though we were as hopelessly saddled with Redfield as we are with Baker and with Burleson. Josephus originally met all the requirements of presumptive unfitness for the Department to which he was appointed. For a long time his performance in this respect was wholly worthy of his promise. But when the war came Josephus had an inspiration. It occurred to him that in such an emergency it might be well for the Navy Department to be administered by somebody whose nautical training had not been confined to editing a country newspaper and navigating canoes on North Carolina creeks. So he frankly eliminated himself and turned over his Department to those who knew how to run it.

And now, rather late in the day, to be sure, but none the less welcome, comes the news that Mr. Redfield is following the example of Josephus. He is going to relieve the Department of Commerce of the handicap of his directing intelligence and is going to concentrate on fish. If only the Political-master-General could be brought to see what a field for his genius there is in, say, poultry—but, oh pshaw! What's the use?



THE TAFTITES A
And Samuel Isaac said: "The Voice is Esau's"



THE SCHIFFITES

but the Hands are the Hands of Jacob."
—*Genesis Revised*.

The Week

WASHINGTON, May 22, 1919.

HERE is a Congress here, as well as at Paris. That is the salient, significant, and most gratifying feature of the week. We do not say that it will or that it should altogether overshadow that other body, to which the President prefers to give his personal attention. But it is highly desirable that we shall not forget that there are national as well as international interests, and that there are forty-eight States and several territories to be cared for as well as The Hedjaz, the Jugo-Slavs, and the southeastern slopes of Mount Ararat.

It must be regarded as characteristically illogical for the President to call Congress together at this time. It will be recalled that when he first went away, leaving his own tame and milk-fed Congress in session, he assured it that, though he was three thousand miles away, this would not matter, as he could and would keep in just as close touch with them as though he were only at the other end of Pennsylvania Avenue. After March 4, however, his tone changed, and he explained that he would not call Congress into special session while he was away, because of the impossibility of cooperating with it at such a distance. Three thousand miles were nothing when it was a Congress that turned thumbs up when he said "Thumbs up"! But a Congress that has a will of its own is quite a different thing. However, he did, after all, do what he said was impracticable, and called Congress together while he was abroad.

Seeing that he has done this, the question arises, why he did not do so long ago. There are many important laws to enact, and there is the Peace Treaty with its complementary or supplementary legislation to be disposed of. It has been suggested that he called the session before coming back himself in order that Congress may attend to all these other matters before he arrives, and then have the table clear for undivided attention to the treaty. But that is an untenable theory, since it is perfectly obvious that Congress cannot begin to finish with its domestic business before his return—unless he means to stay away until next Fall. If he had wanted Congress to do that, he should have called it together in March instead of May.

That the call was so long postponed in order that Congress should have as little time as possible before the end of the fiscal year and before the submission of the treaty to the Senate, and thus should be compelled to rush the supply bills and other measures through in a hurry, is of course incredible. Yet when we scan the field for other and more satisfactory explanations of the President's extraordinary course, we are at a loss to discover any that are altogether convincing.

One result of the episode—though, strangely enough, it is not mentioned in the generally admirable programme of legislation adopted by the House leaders—should be and we trust will be a changing of the regular time for the meeting of Congress. There may have been good reasons a century or more ago for postponing the meeting of Congress for a year and a month after its election. There are no such reasons

now. On the contrary, there are the strongest of reasons why the Congress should take its place as promptly as the President takes his. March 4, instead of the first Monday of December, should be the regular meeting date. There should, moreover, be some legal provision whereby Congress may, in necessitous circumstances, call itself together in special session without having to depend upon the President to summon it. It may be a better judge than he of the need of a special session.

There have not been many achievements of late better worth celebration than that splendid flight of an American naval aircraft across the Atlantic. Writers have already bracketed the name of Captain Read, the successful aviator, with those of Columbus and Magellan; in which there is, despite some fanciful exaggeration, a large modicum of justice and sense. It was a gallant flight, and Sir Josephus is entitled to all the felicitations the Navy Department has been getting over it. It is not yet announced that the Politicalmaster-General is arranging for a daily mail service across the Atlantic by hydroplane.

Current discussion of the peace treaty, and hypothetical refusal of the Senate to ratify it without amendment or reservation, raises again that interesting question concerning the peace-making power of the nation which has been often debated but never yet, we believe, authoritatively settled. It is well known that only Congress can declare war. Logically, then, Congress should have the power of ending war. The President, as Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy, wages the war under the authority and at the direction of Congress. Then certainly Congress can withdraw the authority which it gave him for waging war, and can direct him to cease his belligerent campaign. The notion that peace can be made only by the President arose from the notion that war can be ended and peace made only through an international treaty, which the President must negotiate. It is true that wars are usually ended with treaties, and there are generally some advantages in that method. Indeed, in most cases treaties are practically indispensable. But if a nation wants to quit fighting without a treaty, and feels that it would be quite safe in doing so, we know of nothing to prevent it. If, for example, Congress should enact that on and after a certain date our state of war with Germany should cease and end, and that it would be lawful thereafter for American citizens to engage in commerce with that country, we cannot see why such a law would not be valid, or why it would not end the war and reestablish peace just as certainly as any treaty could do.

The chief purpose of a treaty was originally, no doubt, to bind both parties, by solemn pledges, to keep the peace, and to make certain restitutions and what not on account of the war. But that purpose would be so little filled in dealing with a nation which regards treaties as mere "scraps of paper" that it might well be altogether waived. The world's security from German devilry in future will not be in any treaty signed by any German, but in the material precautions taken by the Allied nations.

According to statements publicly made during the war

by some of the most authoritative statesmen of Germany, it was the purpose of Germany not to surrender, if she won the war, one rood of the French and Belgian soil which German troops had occupied. Also, they scoffed at the notion that readjustments of boundaries should be made on the principle of nationalities. It is well to remember this when we are confronted with German rantings and railings and weepings over the unheard-of cruelty of taking away a few slices of the German empire and even dooming a few Boches to live under non-Boche government, unless they want to emigrate.

The suggestion of a new German Government headed by Bernstorff, Dernburg and Erzberger calls to mind the President's remark about "when the German people have spokesmen whose word we can believe." No further comment upon it is needed.

There is, we believe, a law of the United States forbidding the recruiting of men, or indeed the soliciting of any aid, in this country for militant operations against any country with which the United States is at peace, and we remember at least one highly esteemed foreign minister who was sent home in disgrace for countenancing a violation of that very salutary law. It is therefore of interest to observe that the agent of a foreign Government is at present publicly soliciting the enlistment of men and other aid for the purpose of promoting warfare against various countries with which we are at peace, if not indeed against ourselves. It is one of the craziest anomalies of this crazily anomalous time that we should have soldiers in Russia fighting the Bolsheviks, and at the same time should permit a blatantly self-avowed Bolshevik agent to find harbor in America, where he is soliciting publicly the enlistment of men in this country to go over there and aid the Bolsheviks with the "technical abilities" which they have acquired here. At this rate, we may soon see opened in American cities recruiting offices for Germans, who are to go to Germany and help drive out the American army of occupation.

We wish people would stop this scandalous talk about the President's dickering with the French Prime Minister. It has been intimated, and even more than intimated, that those two eminent gentlemen got together in some hole or corner and worked the wicked old game of "*Do ut des*" in true Bismarckian fashion. The President was, they say, desperately desirous of having M. Clemenceau's support for his League Covenant, and so, to gain it, he gave the promise of American aid for France in a new Triple Alliance, and also promised the retention of American troops along the Rhine for the next five years. "This," we read in a cable dispatch from Paris, "makes still clearer the price which President Wilson paid for the adoption of the Covenant of the League of Nations." Really, it is scandalous to make such imputations—how wantonly scandalous may be appreciated when we recall what the President himself said a little while ago:

It will be our wish and purpose that the processes of peace, when they are begun, shall be absolutely open, and that they shall involve and permit henceforth no secret understandings of

any kind. The day of conquest and aggrandizement is gone by; so is also the day of secret covenants entered into in the interest of particular Governments.

After that, it is simply monstrous to suggest that the President has been making any secret understanding or secret covenant with M. Clemenceau in the interest of France.

The controversy over the disposition of the German merchant ships is chiefly noteworthy for its reminder of what is said to be the President's decision and determination that America shall seek no money indemnity from Germany for war losses. Claims for indemnity have been filed with our State Department aggregating, it is said, \$800,000,000. But the President has ordered them all—including, of course, the *Lusitania* cases—to be pigeonholed. Not a cent will be demanded of Germany, and therefore, if those claims are paid, they must be paid by ourselves. That is to say, the American people are to be taxed to pay their fellow citizens, or perhaps themselves, indemnity for the murders committed by Germans. "This," says a Paris correspondent of the *New York Sun*, "is likely to cause much surprise in America, but evidently the President has settled the matter." We should doubt the great surprise. That is a feeling which few Americans now have at any of the President's acts or words. That the President "has settled the matter," or that he has power autocratically and alone to settle such a matter, is quite another thing.

A most amazing gloss is given to the notorious and all but intolerable mismanagement of the Postoffice Department in the statement that an enormous sum of forfeited insurance on parcels-post matter has been repudiated because the Department has no funds with which to pay it. The frequency with which packages in that branch of the service have been "lost, strayed, or stolen" has long been a national scandal. Not long ago there was a special "boom" for insuring such packages, at a special rate, and new windows for the transaction of such business, conveniently situated so as to attract the public, were opened at important postoffices. People were urged to pay higher rates on their packages, to insure their safe delivery. Yet now we are told that such insurance is being repudiated. We are not surprised at it, of course. We long ago gave up being surprised at any vagaries or tantrums of the Politicalmaster-General. But—we should hate to say what would be thought and said of such practice, and indeed what would be done about it, if it were perpetrated by some private concern instead of by a department of the United States Government.

Not since the Walrus and the Carpenter wept over the unhappy fate of the Oysters have we seen anything quite so touching as the tearful solicitude of the President's Democratic friends and propagandists lest the Republican party shall damage itself by opposing the League of Nations. They would be quite heartbroken if by refusing to sanction abrogation of the Monroe Doctrine and repudiation of the Declaration of Independence the Republican Senators should "get in Dutch" with the American people. This friendly anxiety is deeply and truly affecting.

Investigations

THE announcement made by Mr. Joseph P. Tumulty in Philadelphia the other night that while an investigation of the war might uncover some delays and errors, absolutely no dishonesty or graft would be found, is extremely interesting, coming as it does from a source so close to the President himself. We regret that he neglected to go into details and tell us just what facts that conclusion was based upon. If there has been graft, it seems highly improbable that the grafters would give the President's secretary the facts, and yet, so far as we know, there has been no thorough attempt to search out the places where it may have existed.

If Mr. Tumulty's statement does nothing more than call the attention of the Republicans to the fact that they are frittering away time when they ought to be preparing the most drastic investigation ever instituted anywhere, then it will not have been made in vain.

We do not pretend to estimate the waste in figures, but the total was stupendous. The War Department and the Shipping Board were the two greatest offenders. Until the hidden lessons of the war have been uncovered, it will be impossible to know how to legislate sanely for the immediate future. It would be well for the Republican leaders in the Senate and House to prepare for this all-important task without delay.

In order to get at the facts it is essential to build up the case with care and diligence. We are told that it is difficult to persuade officers and officials to discuss the "inside facts." This is nonsense. There are thousands of patriotic men familiar with every branch of the Government who can be called to Washington and interrogated to the end that the whole truth may be made public. Of course Mr. Baker, Mr. Hurley, and the other gentlemen in charge of mismanaged branches of the Government, will block every effort to ascertain the truth. They are adroit at "covering up," and they will baffle the attempts made by the average untutored legislator to obtain the facts.

The best lawyers in the country, with ample and competent assistance, should be called to Washington and put in charge of investigations of the various departments and divisions of the Government. Then and only then will the truth be forthcoming. The people who paid the bill are entitled to know what became of the money they so generously supplied.

More Burlesoniana

AT the celebration last week of the first anniversary of the beginning of the aerial postal service from New York, there was unfurled "a banner with the strange device" of "1918-1919; May 15; Air Mail Service. Trips scheduled, 1,263; miles possible, 138,310; miles flown, 128,255; performances, 92.73 per cent."

Apropos of this, let us recall the peregrinations of a letter which was entrusted to the ordinary facilities of the Politicalmaster-General's department. It was mailed on May 12, 1918, at the Navy Yard in Brooklyn, addressed legibly to a number on Broadway, New York, some two or three miles away. It reached its destination on May 14, 1919, having

been just one year and two days in traversing a distance which a fair walker could make well within an hour.

But we omit something: It did not go directly from Brooklyn to Broadway, New York. It went first to Rockaway, thence to Washington, thence to New York (but not to the address on Broadway), thence to Philadelphia, thence to Norfolk, Va., thence to Rockaway again, thence to Paris, France, thence to Genoa and other places in sunny Italy, thence back to New York, thence to Washington, and finally to the sender; the Politicalmaster-General's department apparently being unable to locate any such place as Broadway, New York.

It may be added that this much-traveled letter was sent in lieu of another which had been sent a few weeks before, but which had not reached its destination and was supposed to have been "lost in the mails."

The getters-up of the anniversary demonstration referred to above missed a great opportunity, if indeed they did not neglect an important duty.

They should have adorned that banner with an enlarged facsimile of the envelope of this world-trotting letter, with a map and time-table of its fifteen-thousand-mile itinerary from the Wallabout, Brooklyn, to Broadway, New York. Nothing could have been more fitting as an exhibit of the efficiency of the Politicalmaster-General's service.

The Creels

MR. H. B. CREEL, brother of Mr. George Creel, writes:

Your comments and criticisms on the speeches of President Wilson betray a lack of understanding which is really painful. The only trouble is that we Republicans, having been educated in the speech of Lincoln, Grant, McKinley and Roosevelt, are out of date. These men said just what they meant in words that needed no interpreter; but to read President Wilson by the same rules is impossible. Ability to read print does not qualify one to read a printer's galley of type—they are reversed. Once we understand that every statement of President Wilson's can be reversed before acceptance, he will appear to be a most reliable leader.

We should have known that he *would* be a candidate for a second term; that he *would* secure the repeal of the Panama Canal tolls exemptions; that he would *not* make Huerta salute the flag; that he would *not* capture Villa; that he would *not* become involved in the European War; that it was *not* our duty to be neutral; and that we were *not* too proud to fight.

To prove that I am right, just recall the events of November last. We had been solemnly assured, as we thought, that a failure to elect a Democratic Congress would give the victory to Germany, and we lost much sleep on account thereof. But the votes were cast on November 5. On November 7, it was definitely known that the Republicans had carried both houses of Congress; and the Germans surrendered on the eleventh.

Listen to my brother in the February *Everybody's*: "What happened to the Germans was an utter spiritual collapse, a disintegration of morale both on the firing-line and among the civilian population." So far I agree with him perfectly. But Brother George fails to mention the Republican victory as the cause of this collapse, which leaves his statement without reasonable proof.

It is a fixed rule of life to judge every man by his past; so, applying this rule, it becomes clear President Wilson's address at Boston meant that Europe does *not* want a League of Nations; that they do *not* expect the American people to stand for it; and that they are *not* more interested in the conditions of A. D. 2,500 than in those of A. D. 1919.

Anything we might add to this would be superfluous.

Mr. Hurley's "Services"

IN awarding the Distinguished Service Medal to Edward N. Hurley, the War Department issued the following citation:

Edward N. Hurley, chairman of the United States Shipping Board, for exceptionally meritorious and distinguished service. With tireless energy he surmounted extreme difficulties and increased transatlantic tonnage to an extent to allow of a steady shipment, both of troops and necessary supplies. Unselfish in devotion to duty, sound in judgment, quick to act, he rendered a service to the world.

It would be extremely interesting to know who wrote that. It would be more interesting to know what influences caused it to be written. It is false from beginning to end.

Mr. Hurley's services have not been exceptionally meritorious or distinguished. They have been exceptionally disastrous to the Government and distinguished only for failure. He did not surmount extreme difficulties and increase transatlantic tonnage in the manner credited to him. He dissipated the great potentialities he had at his disposal, and the Allies were saved only because the British Government furnished the ships and convoys to move men and cargoes across the seas in the nick of time. He was not unselfish in devotion to duty. He selfishly sought to capitalize the work of others, and his hired men sang his praises until all who knew the facts were disgusted. He was not sound in judgment. His errors have cost the Government millions upon millions. He was quick to act. Yes. And generations to come will pay the bill. He rendered no services to the world commensurate with the vast facilities at his command.

To award the Distinguished Service Medal to this man would be a tragedy—if it were not a burlesque.

In the names of thousands of American boys, whose bodies lie undecorated under the soil of France, and in the names of millions of others who were prepared to follow them to glory, we protest against granting America's coveted decoration to this disingenuous incompetent.

For more than a year we have protested against the orgy of waste and mismanagement that Mr. Hurley has jumbled together and called a shipping programme. His sole hope of covering the wreck lay in a long war. This has been denied him. It is fair to hope that the light of pitiless publicity is about to be turned on his handiwork. Even now, Representative Good, chairman of the new Committee on Appropriations, is preparing to uncover the truth. The ingenious activities of Southern Democrats, bribed mayhap with wooden ships and promises of permanent yards, will no longer suffice to hold down the lid. At least we hope so.

It is extremely tiresome to be compelled, week in and week out, to comment upon this strange character. But so long as the press neglects to inform the public that its money is being wasted by millions while it is satiated with high-priced lullabys, we deem it necessary to continue to tell the truth, or at least as much of it as is now available. For the present, limited space permits us to give no more than the facts concerning Mr. Hurley as an organization wrecker.

When Mr. Hurley was appointed, Admiral Capps, a distinguished naval constructor, was his chief adviser. After a few weeks Admiral Capps resigned, presumably on account of bad health, actually because he would not sanction the gross waste of money which Mr. Hurley authorized. Admiral Capps' judgment has been vindicated.

Admiral Harris followed him in and followed him out for precisely the same reasons.

Then Charles M. Schwab was "commandeered." From the day he entered the office he opposed all of Mr. Hurley's major policies. He was shocked at the waste, mismanagement and disorganization. On September 25th Mr. Schwab went to the White House and told the President, in effect, that Hurley was hopeless and that he could no longer be held responsible for any part of the wreck that was bound to result. The President induced Mr. Schwab to remain as a national duty. He promised to "discipline" Hurley. Mr. Schwab remained and Mr. Hurley was called to the White House and severely lectured. On the day the armistice was signed Mr. Schwab quit.

Mr. Raymond Stephens, one of the five commissioners appointed by the President, refused to sanction many of Mr. Hurley's schemes, and was banished to London. He had nothing to do in London, did not want to go, and finally returned, more than ever disgusted with Mr. Hurley.

Mr. Bainbridge Colby, another commissioner, resigned because he would no longer sanction waste and mismanagement.

On April 20 Mr. Leslie Lister, Secretary of the Board, was peremptorily discharged, although Mr. Hurley's records show that he "resigned."

On April 29th Mr. Hurley abused Mr. Hitchcock, the Assistant Chief of Operations, in language that cannot be printed. Mr. Hitchcock resigned.

On the same day Mr. Hurley attempted to use similar language to Mr. Page, the most competent commissioner on the board. Upon threat of personal chastisement Mr. Hurley apologized and Commissioner Page promptly cabled his resignation to the President. The President, realizing that the board could not afford to lose its one stabilizing member, asked Mr. Page to remain until he visited America again. Mr. Page consented.

We chronicle these tiresome and heretofore unpublished facts merely by way of showing the relations between Mr. Hurley and the men who have tried to work with him.

The covenant of the League of Nations is now a definite fact, to be accepted or rejected as such, together with the entire treaty of peace.

The action of the conference leaves no room for further speculation and conjecture. American critics, especially those who are members of the United States Senate, can no longer pretend that they favor a League of Nations but are opposed to this particular League of Nations. Either they are in favor of this league or they are not in favor of any league.—*The World*.

Precisely. If you care for eggs, and can't get a good one, take a bad one. Why be finicky?

Why Church-Going Declines

And I did hear of one very fat but very fashionable woman who found it utterly impossible to negotiate the unusually high step of a street car, and who finally solved her problem by sitting down on the platform and pivoting in, greatly to the diversion of the strap-hangers and smokers on the rear end. . . . Beyond any question there is a direct connection between these extreme and immodest styles and the increasing prevalence of vice.—*The Rev. Dr. Roach Straton, Pastor of Calvary Baptist Church, in a Sunday sermon.*

Beyond any question, there is a direct connection between the cheap silliness of certain preachers and the increasing prevalence of Sunday golf.

Certain Regrets

A CORRESPONDENT of the *Sun*, whose informative and level-headed cable letters from Paris have been widely commended, writes that President Wilson now "regrets" the public stand he took with reference to the Italian claim to Fiume. He regrets, in other words, that in this particular instance he appealed over the heads of Italy's chosen representatives to the Italian people *en masse*. He regrets that he thus plunged into Italian politics with the purpose of embarrassing and possibly overthrowing the existing Italian Cabinet.

Probably there are other proclamatory appeals which Mr. Wilson also regrets. Among them, presumably, may be included his appeal to the American people to elect exactly the kind of a Congress he needed in his business of administering the Legislative as well as the Executive branch of the Government. Even in this proclamation he threatened the people of the United States with having thrust upon them the dreadful onus of repudiating Woodrow Wilson and all Woodrow Wilson stood for unless they obeyed his orders to cast their votes for Congressmen as he directed. The cheerful alacrity with which the people of the United States thereupon assumed that onus will ever be a memorable landmark in the history of American politics.

We have no specific information that Mr. Wilson regrets that unfortunate appeal to the American people. There is, however, such wide latitude for regret in the premises that the presumption is strong that the regret is there—latent, at least, if not expressed. Confirmatory of this theory is the fact that an effort has been made to pile the blame for that masterpiece of political sagacity upon the already overburdened shoulders of the unhappy Political-master-General. It was because of Mr. Burleson's advice, we are informed, that the monumental blunder was made. Well, maybe it was. Burlesonian resources in fatuous stupidity have never yet been exhausted nor shown any symptoms of diminishing. But Burleson was not there when Mr. Wilson made his stump speech to Italy. He was not there when Mr. Wilson appealed over the head of the Government of which he was the guest to the assembled Socialists in Milan. There are necessary limitations upon the extent to which the patient Burleson can be cast for the part of Goat in the international tragi-comedy.

"Fair Play"?

"IF the American Democracy actually accepts the present terms of peace as its own," said the Herr President Ebert, speaking for the Hun, to the Associated Press correspondent, "it becomes an accomplice and abettor of political blackmailers; it surrenders the traditional American principle of fair play and sportsmanship."

The Hun, this perjured violater of the most solemn pledges; this ravisher of girls and kindergarten children; this wholesale murderer of aged men, of priests at the altar and of women with babies in their arms; this creature who at the point of the bayonet drove off tens of thousands of men to slavery and of women to enforced debasement; this common

thief and incendiary; this dynamiter of hospitals wherein lay the sick, the maimed and the dying; this skulking assassin of the high seas; this international brigand who in cold blood and of calculated purpose made a shambles of the world to gratify his beastly greed for plunder and power—this unspeakable Caliban of nations, now rendered impotent, has the unspeakable effrontery to whine about American "fair play" and American "sportsmanship"! He has not had fair play. That much may be granted. Had he had fair play, his own country would have been laid waste with fire and sword; the horrors upon horrors which he heaped upon every land which his cave-dweller barbarians swarmed over would have been visited upon his own country. In the very nature of things, he could not and can not have fair play. Fair play for the Hun means another Hun horde to see that it is administered. And in all the world, where, outside of the Hun's own borders, could such a horde of gorillas be recruited? No: there can not be fair play for the Hun. Mankind has not sunk low enough to inflict it.

And this welcher, this snivelling loser in the game of butchery and arson to which he challenged the world, has now the stupefying insolence to swagger and bluster about "sportsmanship"! Far be it from us to say that this is the limit of Hun blackguardism. It probably isn't. Hun blackguardism has no limit. The only limit reached in this last specimen is the limit of the imagination to conceive a higher flight of insolence or a lower depth of barbarian infamy.



THE WATCH ON THE RHINE

—From "Punch"

The Monument in France—Where?

I. CANTIGNY.
II. CHATEAU-THIERRY.

III. BELLEAU WOOD.
IV. ST. MIHIEL.

What Is Your Choice?

Four Millions—and a Park

SIR,—I believe that your proposal to build a monument in France to commemorate our soldier dead is admirable. The monument, I suppose, would have to be surrounded by a park, and it might be possible to make this park the center for a cemetery such as Arlington if our soldier dead are to remain in France.

It would seem to me that the money to be collected for the building of this monument should be sufficient in amount to cover not only the building of the monument but the laying out

of a proper park, and there should be a fund left to maintain the park and monument. If the monument would call for the expenditure of three millions, I think that at least four millions should be subscribed for the purpose, and I believe the subscriptions for this amount should be started at once.

I shall be very glad to send a subscription as soon as organization is perfected.

SAMUEL M. GREEN.

Springfield, Mass.

Many States Respond

MEMORIAL AND SHRINE

SIR,—I wish to record my vote in favor of the proposal to erect in France a duplicate of the Washington Monument. Nothing so fine could be thought out as a memorial and shrine.

E. A. DARBY.

Ashtabula, Ohio.

ADVERTISE THE PROJECT

SIR,—I should be very much pleased to aid in any way in the project, including subscription to a fund for expenses of advertising the matter.

LARUE TIERS.

Oakmont, Pa.

CALIFORNIA WILL BE LIBERAL

SIR,—I am quite sure that this part of the country will subscribe liberally towards your brilliant idea of duplicating the Washington Monument on the Battlefield of France.

FREDERICK KAHN.

Oakland, Calif.

PLEASING AND SUITABLE

SIR,—Please add my name to the list of the supporters of the erection of a replica of the Washington Monument in France. Anybody who has lived in Washington or has visited Washington knows how pleasing and suitable it will be.

ALFRED TUCKERMAN.

Washington, D. C.

THE FITTING THING

SIR,—I am in favor of a Washington Monument for France, because: First, it is the fitting thing to do, and (a very close) Second, the idea is suggested by George Harvey. Its accomplishment would be a permanent monument to our sons who have fallen on the battlefields of France.

V. H. CRANE.

Mott, N. D.

ONLY TOO GLAD

SIR,—I would like to be counted as one who is willing to subscribe a dollar or two to the fund for the proposed Washington Monument in France. I feel sure that as soon as subscriptions are in order, people will be only too glad to aid in such an undertaking.

JOHN H. FOSTER.

New York City.

CALL ON ME

SIR,—You may call on me for \$5.00 to the Washington Monument in France.

RICHARD COLLIVER.

Summers, Arkansas.

A VETERAN'S MITE

SIR,—I heartily endorse your plan for erecting a replica of the Washington Monument at some suitable place in France, and will esteem it a pleasure to contribute my mite. I am an humble old soldier of the Civil War, having done my humble bit in that scrap. I am in my eightieth year.

A. W. FOREMAN, M. D.

White Hall, Ill.

HEARTILY IN FAVOR

SIR,—I am heartily in favor of the proposed erection in France of a reproduction of the Washington Monument. I would like to contribute my dollar thereto.

GEORGE V. ALEXANDER.

Republic, Wash.

THE FIRST TO FALL

SIR,—With my husband, I endorse fully the plan to have a replica of the Washington Monument in France as a memorial to the dear boys who paid the supreme sacrifice. My boy was spared, but my nephew, twenty-four years old, was the first man in the battery of the 24th to fall. I hope the idea may be successful.

FLORENCE C. PROCTER.

Gloucester, Mass.

SUGGESTS AN "ORIGINAL"

SIR,—While I am heartily in favor of the project, I feel that the monument or memorial should not be a replica of anything. There is no more beautiful monument than the Washington Monument, and there should be only one of its kind—that in the nation's capital. A sufficient sum might be raised to erect, equip, and endow a hospital in France.

WM. LINTON LANDREHT.

Philadelphia.

LET IT ARISE!

SIR,—

On that foundation, fashioned of our flesh,
Sunken in soil ours to commemorate,
Cemented with our blood—let there arise—
Piercing the heavens of our united aim—
The Replica of our unbreaking faith!

Sincerely yours,

ALBERT EVANS, M. D.

Boston, Mass.

FROM ALL THE PEOPLE

SIR,—Your monument idea appeals most forcibly to me, and to all my friends with whom I have discussed the matter. I hope a drive to its accomplishment may be immediately inaugurated, and let it be in small amounts from all the people.

A. E. CARPENTER.

Detroit, Mich.

APPROVAL

SIR,—I approve of your plan for duplicating the Washington shaft and raising it in France as a memorial monument to the American soldiers in the recent war.

LILLIE BUFFUM CHASE WYMAN.

Newtonville, Mass.

Letters from Our Readers

A PERPLEXED AMERICAN

SIR,—First of all I want to thank you for the opportunity of reading as live, accurate, and interesting a periodical as the WEEKLY. Your sarcasm is exquisite, and your logic unanswerable.

There are three matters concerning which I want some additional light. Perhaps you can assist me in dispelling some of the gloom.

For forty years I have been a standpat Republican. I have not worshipped strange gods nor chased the popular "isms," and perhaps, by keeping in the narrow path,—which led at least to safety and possibly safety first,—my vision has been somewhat restricted.

Can you tell me why the present august tribunal sitting at Paris, which so woefully misrepresents the temper and interests of the American people, has failed to recognize the rights of the Jewish people (no matter where they may be located) to live, learn and prosper without being massacred and maltreated?

Even in sporadic cases where occasionally a Christian is maltreated or murdered, the whole Christian community rises in arms at the offense, but when thousands of down-trodden Jews are massacred, maligned, maltreated and prevented from living in the open even as their neighboring "Christians" are living, it does not seem to be the concern of the balance of mankind, and especially not of this tribunal.

Then again, may I ask why Japan is being so fearfully favored as against China?

Having met Chinese in and out of China, having learned to know the worth of these people, and what, with proper treatment, they can accomplish for the world, I confess it shocks my conscience to find that they are being neglected by this tribunal, so wonderfully and fearfully made.

My third and last inquiry has to do with the recognition of union labor, because, disguise it as you will, the sop thrown to the laboring element by the recent acts of the Paris tribunal, instigated and nurtured unquestionably by the American Federation of Labor under the skilled leadership of Mr. Gompers, means only a recognition of union labor; or am I mistaken in all this, and is it only a bid for the general labor vote at the next election?

SAML. R. STERN.

Spokane, Wash.

FROM A THOUGHTFUL PATRIOT.

SIR,—Every thinking and patriotic man in America is your debtor. Your Indianapolis speech was beyond all praise; but so are all your speeches, for they all breathe brains and patriotism. The combination is pleasant, but not always inevitable.

A defect that has been little dwelt upon in the League, even as amended, is the clause by which a nation must give two or more years' notice if desiring to leave the League. But why should we tie our hands for two years? Why tie them at all?

In 1869, Germany altered the face of Europe in six weeks. In 1898, America drove the Spaniard from the Western hemisphere in a three weeks' campaign. Much may happen in two years. If America goes in at all, she should do so with the understanding that she leaves at a moment's notice. Our great difficulty will be to leave the League once we are committed to it—once we have shown Europe the enormous advantages accruing to her from our vast resources in men, money, energy and power of achievement. Let us go very slow.

Let us look twice before entering a combination which we may not be permitted to leave save at the price of a war. Advantages such as we have to offer would not, once enjoyed, be lightly given up.

G. CREIGHTON WEBB.

New York City.

A PRESIDENTIAL SUGGESTION

(From the San Francisco Argonaut)

Editor of THE ARGONAUT:

SIR,—I have just seen J. B. L.'s valuable estimate of the available Presidential timber in the current ARGONAUT.

J. B. L., in my opinion, has overlooked the man who would probably make the best candidate and one of the very best Presidents—ex-Senator Beveridge. Senator Beveridge is distinctly of Presidential size. He is a big, brainy man and a real statesman. He was Roosevelt's friend, and he would have the enthusiastic support of the Progressive element, and for his sterling Republicanism and his splendid record he would have the Old Guard behind him to a man. I am one of them. He would completely reunite the party and lead it to certain victory. He has no peer as a campaigner, and nothing happier could happen than to have him follow Woodrow Wilson on a speaking

tour of the country. His Life of Marshall is one of the masterpieces of English literature, and emphasizes his serious and very great abilities. We would all work for him with enthusiasm, and would feel a just pride in his election.

Seattle, Wash.

C. T. CONOVER.

BRYAN NEVER RIGHT

SIR,—You had an article a short time ago wherein you spoke of Mr. Bryan as being at least right in one thing when he said in effect: "If you elect President Wilson, at the end of his term there will be no Democratic Party, but there will be a Wilson party."

I never knew Bryan to be right on anything, for I contend that at the end of Mr. Wilson's Administration there will not only be no Democratic Party, but there will be no Wilson party—this after reading Mr. Louis Seibold's very able article in this morning's *World* on Burleson, and Mr. Frank I. Cobb's very able editorial on Burleson. These men are two distinguished American journalists, and they must know that the American people are perfectly aware that Burleson is nothing but Wilson, and Wilson is nothing but Burleson, for Burleson could not last overnight without the authority of Mr. Wilson.

New York City.

F. H. A.

A WELCOME "BURDEN"

SIR,—It is far from a kindness to burden you with a message of confidence when each moment of your days must be filled to over-flowing; yet I can no longer resist telling you of the enjoyment and privilege I feel in reading, in your WEEKLY, the thoughts which you are sending into the world to try and save the country which we have all been proud and glad to call "our own."

It is an honor to be able to thank you for my personal joy in knowing that America has such a man to plead her cause and urge the keeping up of a previously high standard—a man on whom she may count, no matter how threatening the clouds may grow.

Westfield, N. J.

LILLIAN N. VAN DYKE.

ENCOURAGEMENT FROM HAWAII.

SIR,—After getting out of a government-run Navy, traveling over the continent on a government-run railroad, sailing to Honolulu on a government-run ship, shipping my car at government freight rates and getting my news over a government-controlled cable, it is the greatest event in my weekly life to read your refreshing, 100 per cent American, "Strike from the Shoulder" WEEKLY. Thank God for someone who isn't always dodging the question and saying, no matter how badly things are going now, "Just look what we did do when the war was on." Bah!

Honolulu, Hawaii.

W. EVERARDUS BOGARDUS.

CICERO, ETC.

SIR,—Cannot the most eloquent pleader for American Independence in this year of grace 1919, find a suggestion in Cicero's famous and magnificent arraignment of the arch usurper of his time?

Thank you for your brilliant services to the good cause.

Upper Montclair, N. J.

THOS. A. PAINTER.

WE PLEASE, APPARENTLY.

SIR,—Your WEEKLY is the best-written, best-looking, "livest," soundest, and sanest publication of its kind in America. I read them all—from THE NATION up. To combine wit with sagacity, as you do, substance with volatility, is no small achievement. Your publication delights the eye, the mind, and the spirit. It is wise, handsome, winning. What more could one ask? Keep it up. Be unafraid of bunk, high-falutin', insincerity, oppression, as you are and have been; and God-speed!

New York City.

JOHN HARKNESS.

CONFIRMATION

SIR,—I have read with my usual keen interest the letter from Mr. A. G. Browne, headlined "Real News from Texas."

I have opportunity to know first-hand somewhat of what is going on in Texas, and it is my opinion that Mr. Browne's letter is an accurate and conservative statement of the matter.

Santa Fe, N. M.

GEORGE H. VAN STONE.

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The Air Apparent

Two Words from Elihu Root

WHAT do Mr. William H. Taft and Dr. A. Lawrence Lowell mean by going about the country saying that the Root amendments have been substantially adopted? They know it isn't so. Take for illustration the one most vital respecting the Monroe Doctrine. Mr. Root proposed:

Immediately before the signature of the American delegates, insert the following reservation:

Inasmuch as in becoming a member of the League the United States of America is moved by no interest or wish to intrude upon or interfere with the political policy or internal administration of any foreign State, and by no existing or anticipated dangers in the affairs of the American continents, but accedes to the wish of the European States that it shall join its power to theirs for the preservation of general peace, the representatives of the United States of America sign this convention with the understanding that nothing therein contained shall be construed to imply a relinquishment by the United States of America of its traditional attitude towards purely American questions, or to require the submission of its policy regarding such questions (including therein the admission of immigrants) to the decision or recommendation of other Powers.

There is no mistaking the meaning of this. It is a clear, distinct, incisive refusal to submit our century-old national policy to the "decision" or even the "recommendation" of other Powers. And what is it that Mr. Taft and Dr. Lowell tell the public substantially embodies this declaration? This:

Nothing in this covenant shall be deemed to affect the validity of international engagements, such as treaties of arbitration or regional understandings like the Monroe Doctrine, for securing the maintenance of peace.

Now Mr. Taft and Dr. Lowell know quite well that the Monroe Doctrine is not an "international engagement," that it is not a "treaty of arbitration" and that it is not a "regional understanding." Even if it were, this curiously worded phrase recognizes the validity, not of the Monroe Doctrine itself, but only of "engagements," "treaties" and "understandings" which resemble it. So far from reserving for our own determination this national policy and flatly rejecting "decision" or "recommendation" by other Powers, as Mr. Root would do, the covenant tosses it into the air and vests the power of decision of any dispute over it, directly contrary to Mr. Root's insistence, in the "other Powers" comprising the League.

"Should any dispute ever arise between the American and European Powers, the League is there to settle it." Those are the exact words of the official British manifesto issued within forty-eight hours after publication of the covenant. And that statement stands. It has not been contradicted by the President or by any other person connected with the so-called American delegation. And silence gives consent. Both inferentially and practically the United States, in so far as Mr. Wilson can commit the United States, has accepted this open declaration of the British Government, and that acceptance, once ratified by the Senate, would be as binding as an explicit abandonment of the whole Monroe Doctrine as a national policy. Anybody can see that.

And yet Mr. Taft has the effrontery to stand up before four New England audiences and say, "The Monroe Doctrine is specifically recognized in the terms of the League

by a provision that nothing in the League shall affect it." What can be the explanation of misrepresentation so glaring as that? Is Mr. Taft really as ignorant as he would seem or has his obsession dragged him into the mire of fatuous disingenuousness? Does he even know where he is at himself? Listen to this at New Haven:

"Criticisms have been made of this League of various kinds."

That is correct, we grant. It certainly is a League "of various kinds," although compassionately we assume that what Mr. Taft was trying laboriously to indicate was a certain variety of criticisms,—but that also indubitably exists. And then he solemnly declares:

"These criticisms have led to suggestions for amendments, and the amendments upon which most friends of the League have agreed have now been adopted."

Can it be possible that Mr. Taft has been seduced into emulation of his political patron in using cunningly constructed sentences for deceptive purposes? Note the loophole afforded by the carefully guarded language. If anybody should call attention to the fact that none of the amendments proposed by Mr. Root, Mr. Lodge and Mr. Knox have been adopted, the answer we suppose would be that those gentlemen are not "friends," or at any rate "most friends" of the precious League. But what about Mr. Taft himself? Is not he a "friend," even a "most friend"? Well, the amendments which he himself proposed were scrapped along with the rest. Although for some reason or other neither Mr. Taft nor Mr. Wilson has seen fit to publish those helpful suggestions, we happen to be cognizant of both their contents and their unhappy fate.

But never mind about that. We would be the last to pry into the intimate association of Messrs. Taft and Wilson in their determined effort to scuttle the country. Each may safely be trusted to dispose of the other when the time comes to apportion the discredit. What does interest us greatly is Mr. Taft's interpretation of Elihu Root. With respect to that, the *Boston Transcript* says:

As Mr. Wilson's partner in this unhappy enterprise, Mr. Taft is now disseminating from the platform and through the press the impression that the covenant as it was amended, under pressure of protests from some of our ablest leaders and most experienced public servants, meets the objections they raised. Mr. Taft even went so far the other day as to praise Article 21 as fulfilling the demands of Mr. Root that the Monroe Doctrine should be reserved and protected from foreign attack by force of words as well as force of arms. The hasty speech of Mr. Taft has received an impressive answer in the deliberate silence of Mr. Root.

It is a source of sorrow to some old-time friends of Mr. Taft to have him appear to speak for Mr. Root. That is something not even Colonel Roosevelt ever presumed to do. Elihu Root speaks for himself and what he says never needs to be interpreted, and what he says he always means. He said on March 30 last that to submit the Monroe Doctrine to the interpretation of outside Powers would be to surrender it. The British delegation at Paris has been careful to point out that if disputes arise under Article 21 over the Monroe Doctrine "the League is there to settle it." And so it will, and if Mr. Root was right on March 30 then Article 21 spells the death of the Doctrine.

But Mr. Taft gives currency to none of this; he is too busy helping Mr. Wilson form public opinion in favor of the covenant.

The *Transcript* considerably assumes that the wish is

father to the thought of Mr. Taft in conveying the impression that Mr. Root is satisfied with the "revised version" and is disposed to excuse his "hasty speech" upon the ground that he doesn't know what he is talking about. This attitude of kindly forbearance is one which we, too, would gladly assume but for the following highly significant circumstance:

Soon after the revised version appeared, Mr. Taft's brother, Mr. Henry, and Mr. Henry's partner, Mr. Wickersham, hailed Mr. Root upon the street and asked that distinguished statesman if he did not consider that the corrected covenant embodied all essential amendments suggested by himself. Now everybody knows that Mr. Root has no superior in the selection of words designed to express precisely the thought in his mind, but probably never before has he demonstrated more conclusively his mastery of the art than when he turned to his interlocutors and ejaculated:

"Hell, NO!"

—and went his way.

Now assuming, as we assure the *Transcript* it may assume with confidence, that Mr. Taft has since conversed frequently with both Brother Henry and Partner Wickersham, our esteemed contemporary may draw its own conclusions as to the probability of its conjecture that Mr. Taft may be unwittingly conveying false impressions in consequence of his lack of accurate and definite information.

On Their Way

THE Taft-Schiff combination's private car rolled smoothly into the railway station at Burlington, Vt., just in time to beat the Hagerman outfit to it. Uncle Jacob did not go himself, having been detained unfortunately by important business in Wall Street; consequently the full burden of terrorizing the Hon. Carroll S. Page devolved upon the Air Apparent.

How the Yankees sitting in the shadow of their splendid monument to Ethan Allen took the mellifluous gabble about renewing their allegiance to the British Crown in the name of Humanity as a substitute for the independence which their fathers won in the name of Almighty God and the Continental Congress we have been unable to ascertain. The papers have not yet awakened to the momentous significance of Mr. Schiff's rolling stock of fireburners. We assume, however, that Mr. Taft also spoke, and, if so, the supposition is irresistible that Senator Page is now shifting uneasily in his chair, while the aforementioned Colonel Allen turns in his grave. We gather that the heavy artillery was concentrated upon Hide Park because of a local tradition in Montpelier that "the meetin' house itself ain't more sot" than the Hon. William P. Dillingham when once he has reached a conclusion.

Thence the palatial caravan proceeded to Manchester, N. H., where a pyre was arranged for the Hon. Henry W. Keyes, in view of the recognized intractability of the Hon. George H. Moses. President A. Lawrence Lowell of Harvard officiated, and a pleasant occasion was reported by all of the mill-hands, but nobody seems to know what became of the torch after it was handed to Editor Frank Knox.

Thus far, in fact, few words of encouragement were sent over the ticker to Mr. Schiff.

But at Portland, Maine, the crusaders began to perk up. Not much yielding could be anticipated from the Hon. Bert M. Fernald, but the Hon. Frederick Hale had just reversed his position on suffrage, in response to public demand, and symptoms of a flop on the League were held to be discernible in the event of sufficient clamor being raised. Efforts were redoubled, Mr. Taft speaking with unaccustomed vigor and Dr. Lowell with all the fire and dash of an angleworm. Heartening private information came to Mr. Schiff from Washington to the effect that Senator Hale was listening attentively at the 'phone and looking miserable, but whether in the end he will appear as the traditional plucked brand awaits ocular demonstration.

The party anticipated a ripping time in New Haven. Mr. Taft feels as much at home there as Mr. Wilson does in Paris, and several college chums awaited him with impressive verisimilitude of eager expectancy. The date was shrewdly chosen to coincide with a big afternoon parade in honor of homecoming troops, and the city was crowded with visitors. A great audience was expected, but it did not materialize. The capacity of Woolsey Hall is estimated at about two thousand. Less than fifteen hundred people were present, despite the fact recorded by the *Union*, the chief League paper, that "following the parade the streets in the center of the city were filled with the good-natured crowd that stood the jostling and having their feet walked on by others without the slightest complaint. Uniforms of the army and navy predominated, and there was a larger crowd out than on any Saturday for some years."

The meeting itself went flat. Only once was there hilarious applause. That was when Rabbi Wise, in referring to the American flag, made a graceful gesture overhead to the spot where the banner was supposed to be draped on the wall, only to discover that it was conspicuously and appropriately absent. A resolution was proposed, urging the appointment of a committee to canvass the State to discover the sentiment of the people and communicate the result to their representatives in the Senate. The resolution was put to the vote of the audience in a perfunctory manner and was passed, a few scattered "ayes" and no dissenting votes being heard. As a widely advertised ratification meeting the affair was a fizzle; as a rally it was a frost. The effect upon the weak knees of the Hon. Frank B. Brandegee and the Hon. George P. McLean will undoubtedly be instantaneous.

The Fireburners will proceed in state this week to West Virginia and thence over the mountains to Ohio and Indiana unless the private car develops a hot box. We tremble for Senators Sutherland, Elkins, New, Watson and Harding. Already they are said to be shaking in their boots.

Uncle Jacob, we are happy to note, according to the latest bulletin, is resting comfortably.

There has been no change in the decision of the Peace Conference leaders not to make public at present the text of the peace treaty presented to the Germans. The chief opposition to making the treaty public comes from Mr. Lloyd George. His objection was later approved by President Wilson.—*Associated Press dispatch from Paris.*

As we were saying, "Open covenants of peace, openly arrived at."

Not Yet

NEW HAVEN, May 24.—“If the Senate of the United States refuses to ratify the treaty of peace and it goes back to the nations of Europe and is accepted by them, as it surely will be, it will place the United States in the position of being at war with Germany, while the thirty-two nations of Europe would be at peace with her,” declared William H. Taft to-night.

IS the mind of Mr. Taft so muddled that he really thinks thirty-two nations will await the arrival from the United States Senate of a copy of a treaty which the Senate had rejected?

And does he not know that the Congress can at any moment declare that the “state of war” which it announced on April 2, 1917, had been “thrust upon” this country no longer exists?

Is he not aware that the United States is not a party to the agreement of France, Great Britain and Italy not to make a separate peace and can make terms of settlement with Germany whenever it sees fit?

Of all the threats yet advanced, that embodied in the menacing ebullition from Paris that the Allied Powers have technically the whip-hand over the United States is the most idiotic.

What the Congress had the power to do it has the power to undo, with or without the sanction of the President.

Even a veto is not yet the supreme law of the land.

Only last week the faithful *World* was pooh-poohing the idea that the Senate would dare incur the wrath of the people by rejecting the League “as it stands.” Now the *World's* Washington correspondent reports:

It developed to-day that those Senators who most vigorously support the League of Nations are becoming worried because of the apparently growing opposition. It is admitted in some quarters that the shift of public sentiment through the country is away from the League. It is pointed out that if this tendency develops it will menace the eventual approval of the covenant by the Senate. The increasing confidence of those Senators who antagonize the League, together with the corresponding depression in spirits of those who favor it, has been largely caused by a heavy increase in the number of letters received daily from constituents.

This is not the first time we have felt constrained to suggest to Mr. Cobb that he read his own paper.

Uncle Sam, Soldier of Fortune

TURKEY is on the table. That, we are told, is the chief feature of the present situation at the Quai d'Orsay. The “Sick Man of Europe” is not dead. He may not be permitted to die. But the remnants of his once vast estate are to be administered over his helpless head. Just what to do with them is the crux of consideration, but the European Governments are increasingly inclined toward a partitioning of them among five Powers; to wit, the “Big Four” (Japan being left out of the deal) and Greece. These are not, of course, to receive the slices of Turkey in fee simple, but merely in trust, as mandataries.

With only one-fifth of that arrangement are we concerned. That is, the share of the United States in such mandatory partitioning. Since America has long felt a keen missionary and philanthropic interest in Armenia, and since European rivalries and jealousies render it unthinkable that any one of those Powers should acquiesce in the possession or

control of Constantinople by any other of them, it is proposed that America shall become the mandatary for those regions—comprising, apparently, the greater part of the old kingdom of Armenia, with a continuous extension across country to the Mediterranean, and both shores of the Bosphorus. We have not yet seen a map of the delimitation, but we expect that when we do, it will remind us of that famous map of the Congress districts of Massachusetts which, prepared by Elbridge Gerry, gave a new word to our political vocabulary.

We are not, however, concerned with the cartography, geometry or plane trigonometry of the scheme, so much as with some of its legal and Constitutional aspects. It would, for example, be interesting to students of American civics and science of government to know by what right this country could exercise administrative authority and control over a remote alien territory to which the United States had no title of ownership or sovereignty whatever, whether by conquest, lease or cession. Also, we read in an obviously well-informed and judicious dispatch in the *New York Sun*:

One thing is realized by all, namely, that because of the religious feeling that has been engendered, a large force must be kept in those regions for many years to repress disorders. . . . Consequently even the Armenian mandate would mean the employment of many American troops in Asia.

Needless to say, we cannot approve or condone the cutting of each other's throats by Moslems and Giaours. But we must confess a certain inability to understand by what right the President of the United States, as commander in chief of the army and navy, could actively employ these forces in a foreign country, save under a declaration of war made by Congress. The United States is not, we believe, at war with the Turkish Empire, and has not been. There were many who thought that the United States should have declared war on Turkey at the same time that it did on Turkey's belligerent allies. But it did not do so, and it refrained from so doing because of the President's opposition. It would certainly be an extraordinary thing to do so now. Our record would thus be substantially as follows: That when we went to war with Turkey's allies we insisted upon remaining at peace with Turkey herself; but when we made peace with those allies, in and by the very act of so doing we engaged in an act of war against Turkey!

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BY GEORGE HARVEY

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The Absentee's Apology

WHEN the President, on his own egotistical initiative and against the wish of the nation, insisted upon going abroad, he was plausible and profuse in his protestations that he would not thus be neglecting the business for which this nation employed him.

"I shall," he said to Congress in his Farewell Address, "be in close touch with you and with affairs on this side of the water, and you will know all that I do. . . . I shall not be inaccessible. The cables and the wireless will render me available for any counsel or service you may desire of me, and I shall be happy in the thought that I am constantly in touch with the weighty matters of domestic policy with which we have to deal."

It has long been notorious that the second of those promises—"you will know all that I do"—has not been fulfilled. Congress has *not* known all that the President has been doing. It has been permitted, by him, to know mighty little. As we write, there is being withheld from it, at the President's desire, the text of the treaty which was supposed to be his chief work over there. The whole text has been disclosed to the Germans, whom we have been fighting, but is withheld from the Senate of the United States, which is to be asked to ratify it and make it a part of the supreme law of the land.

Now the President himself confesses that the other promise has equally gone a-glimmering. He confesses that he has not kept in close touch with Congress and with affairs on this side of the water. He is not available for the counsel and service which Congress desires of him, and which the Constitution makes it obligatory upon him to render.

"I hesitate," he says, "to venture any opinion or to press any recommendation with regard to domestic legislation while absent from the United States and out of daily touch with intimate sources of information and counsel. I am conscious that I need, after so long an absence from Washington, to seek the advice of those who have remained in constant contact with domestic problems and who have known them close at hand from day to day."

He was to have been, according to his explicit promise, "in close touch with affairs on this side of the water"; yet he now casually observes that, as a matter of fact, he has been "out of daily touch with intimate sources of information and counsel." While he was to be "available for any counsel or service" which Congress might desire, and "constantly in touch with matters of domestic policy," he now "hesitates to venture any opinion or to press any recommendation with regard to domestic legislation." Indeed, while being ready to give advice to Congress, he feels that he himself rather needs advice from Congress.

Was there ever before such a confession by a President of neglect of duty and unfitness or inability to perform the duties of his office? The Constitution of the United States says, explicitly and imperatively, that "he *shall* give to the Congress information of the state of the Union, and recommend to their consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient." But Woodrow Wilson says to Congress that he is—by his own wilful act—unable to give

it information, and that he hesitates to recommend any measures to its consideration.

In brief, by his own showing, he has not merely failed to fulfil his promise but he has, by his own act, made himself unable to discharge the duties of his office. In such a contingency, the Constitution directs that the powers and duties of the office shall devolve upon the Vice-President. Mr. Wilson is understood not to approve of such a transfer of authority, though his objection to it can scarcely be the same that he had when he was Governor of New Jersey and his place was temporarily filled by his legal substitute.

When the delegation of farmers returned from their call upon Secretary Tumulty to ask that Mr. Burleson be discharged, one of the members reported that, greatly to his surprise, "instead of defending Mr. Burleson, Mr. Tumulty sided with the farmers," saying that he "had no doubt the charges were true in the main" and that Burleson had "done more to discredit President Wilson than any other thing." There are few better judges of political incompetency than Mr. Tumulty, but he ought to weigh his words with care when speaking relatively. How, for instance, would he classify Redfield?

Make Them Pay

THERE was cause to "thank God and take courage" in the Allied reply to the German note on economics. Whoever wrote it did a good piece of work.

The gist of it is that Germany was responsible for the war, and that therefore she must suffer at least her full share of the consequences of it. The shortage of merchant ships, the scarcity of coal, the economic crisis, are not due to the terms of peace which the Allies are prescribing. They are the effects and results of the war which Germany started, and of the methods of waging that war which Germany practised. If Germany had not, in violation of international law, destroyed millions of tons of peaceful shipping, there would be no scarcity of vessels for the commerce of the world. If Germany had not, in violation of international law, destroyed the coal mines of France, there would be no scarcity of coal.

But since Germany did these things, it would be a travesty upon justice to permit her to retain her ships and her mines and thus enjoy plenty, while her victims suffered scarcity. If she is not compelled—as she justly might be—to pay all the war bills of all the nations, she must at least endure her share of the economic suffering which all the rest of Europe, because of her deviltry, will have to bear for years to come. That is common sense. That is justice.

What needs to be recognized is this: that the country which was ready and eager to make great sacrifices for the prosecution of a wanton war of conquest and loot against innocent neighbors, must, whether willingly or not, make at least equal sacrifices to repair the wrong that it has done to others. Germany has been boasting for years of the patriotic devotion and self-sacrifice of her people in the prosecution of the war. Now let them show at least equal devotion and self-sacrifice in paying the costs of that war.

Missouri is Shown

LITTLE by little the voice of America is beginning to be heard above the expensively organized pro-League chorus of the Taftites, Schiffites, and Busybodies generally. The strictly vocal element of our population appears to have had its day. Consider Missouri.

When, a few weeks ago, Senator Reed dared defy the temporary receiver of the Democratic Party, the lick-spittle press prepared his political obituary. Missouri, they informed us, was solidly behind the President and his League. The State was disgraced by the conduct of its senior senator, and the Legislature would demand his resignation, in order that a worthy son might redeem its reputation.

Instead of being frightened into obedience, as a good Democratic statesman is supposed to be when the Presidential wrath takes the form of a bonfire in the vicinity of his coat-tails, Senator Reed followed the example of that other distinguished citizen from Missouri who insisted upon being shown. He accepted an invitation to address the Legislature, despite warnings that his appearance would be resented by that body as well as by the good people of Jefferson City, the State capital. When he appeared on the rostrum, twelve members left their seats and walked out of the chamber, while the others on the floor and several thousand spectators in the galleries remained and cheered.

A few days later Senator Reed spoke in St. Louis, and the overflow was so great that the police reserves were called out to make way for those who had tickets to the hall. The enthusiasm so impressed the local league propaganda managers that they sent a hurry call for speakers of national reputation to trail him. In response, Mr. Taft came to the rescue, followed by a high-priced galaxy of stars.

From St. Louis, Senator Reed went to Kansas City, and then on to St. Joe, Springfield, Sedalia, Joplin, Moberly, Columbia and Saulisbury. At every meeting, great crowds listened with respectful interest and applauded vociferously. There was no occasion for oratory. A simple recital of the truth convinced the people that they had been hoodwinked.

Senator Reed found that the State had been flooded with League propaganda. Many people, having heard only the Wilson-Taft version of the League, had been led to look upon it as a Godsend, and were unable to understand how any honest man could oppose it. He found that virtually none had read the covenant.

In order to meet this peculiar state of mind, Senator Reed followed a simple, almost a primary method. He distributed copies of the covenant throughout the audience, and then explained it line by line. The effect was quite astounding. In many instances the audiences acted after the fashion of persons attending religious revivals. The resentment of those who had been deceived was equalled only by the keen interest evoked when they began to realize the inevitable results, for America, of accepting this alien thing.

They gave vent to their feelings in unmistakable terms when they realized that the League would mean the giving-up of the Monroe Doctrine, the acceptance of foreign dictation over our own affairs, the sending of American boys overseas on foreign orders to fight foreign wars, and an obligation

to meddle in the affairs of every country on the globe. It was quite apparent that the people of Missouri wanted none of it, and when Mr. Taft caught up with the itinerary of Senator Reed, he met with the respect and curiosity invariably accorded an ex-President, but nothing more.

In general, the effect of Senator Reed's tour was quite similar to that made by Senator Borah in his recent trip through the Southwest. In each case, the people of the sections visited had been denied the truth, but had been filled up with the Wilson-Taft-Schiff propaganda.

Is it any wonder that we hear no more nonsense to the effect that the Legislature of Missouri will demand the resignation of Senator Reed?

A Threat from Olympus

THERE is a ring of the old McAdoo threat in the President's letter from abroad addressed to Congress. The railroads, we are peremptorily informed, "will be handed over to their owners at the end of the calendar year."

That is quite in line with Mr. McAdoo's minatory proclamation in case his plan for five years more of Government operation were rejected. No matter what disastrous consequences to the railroad owners and the country might ensue, unless the McAdoo five-year plan were adopted, the whole tangle of Government-wrecked railroad debris would be dumped back upon us, with ours the job of climbing out of the ruins as best we might.

The President, in his message to Congress, speaks in precisely the same threatening tone. About the transit of the telegraph and telephone lines from the hands of his precious Burleson he is temperate and considerate. "The telegraph and telephone lines," he writes, "will, of course, be returned to their owners so soon as the transfer can be effected without administrative confusion, so soon, that is, as the change can be made with the least possible inconvenience to the public and to the owners themselves." But, as to the railroads, inconvenience to the public and their owners or not, administrative confusion or not, they are to be thrown back bodily in whatever plight they may be at the end of the calendar year.

Here again the curious hallucination that he is the entire Government of the United States leads Mr. Wilson astray. The railroads will be returned to their owners during the calendar year if the American people through their chosen representatives in Congress assembled decree that they shall be so returned. If at the end of the calendar year a plan has not been worked out under which the interests of the owners and the convenience of the public will be properly conserved, then the time for the transfer will be prolonged. Senator Cummins, of Iowa, who will be at the head of the Senate Interstate Commerce Committee, is of the opinion that by the end of the year Congress will have worked out a plan under which the railroads may be sufficiently disentangled from the chaos to which Government operation has reduced them, to make possible their transfer to their right-

ful owners. But it is a formidable task. Congress may or may not be able to perform it within the time specified. In case it is not able to solve satisfactorily all the complicated problems in that interval, the time will be extended notwithstanding Mr. Wilson's harsh threat to avenge the failure of Government operation by dumping the resultant wreckage upon the railroad owners, no matter at what cost of public and private disaster.

Before Mr. Wilson went to Europe and took a large portion of the Government machinery with him, he made the distinct statement to Congress that he had no plans of his own as to the return of the railroads. Hardly had he got beyond seas, when Mr. McAdoo came forward with a very concrete plan, backed by precisely the threat which Mr. Wilson has now put into the form of a final decision handed down from the Parisian Olympus. Mr. McAdoo threatened that unless his plan were adopted, the roads, practically, would be flung back, wrecked as they were, at the heads of their owners. Mr. Wilson now announces that they are to be so flung back.

To be sure, Mr. Wilson, elsewhere in his letter from abroad to the folks back home in Congress, admits that he is not in touch with the mere domestic matters of the United States. Perhaps when he drops in on us again for another little visit, and learns in a casual, tourist sort of way something about American internal conditions he may be brought to look on this railroad matter in another light. He may be more leniently disposed. He may modify his purpose to inflict severe punishment upon the country at large and the railroad owners for the Government's ghastly failure as a railroad operator.

Not, of course, that it matters much whether he does or does not take this more tolerant and benevolent view. As Senator Cummins puts it: "If by the opening of next year we have passed legislation establishing our policy as to the railroads they will be returned to the companies. If we have not, they will not be returned." It may be *lèse majesté*, but that seems to be about the way the thing stands.

Cheating Soldiers' Families

ABOUT 700,000 soldiers' families have failed to receive the sums which were due to them from the Government on May 1. That was because the President's own Congress, which went out of existence on March 4 last, neglected to make provision for the fulfilment of that sacred duty. It was also because the President, although well knowing that the Government was thus about to default in its obligations to those—or their families—who were serving it at the risk of their lives, or who had served it at cost of their lives, callously and stubbornly refused to let the new Congress have an opportunity to repair the neglect and provide for the payment of the pensions and insurance funds on time.

When at last, for his own Administration's selfish sake (as he himself admitted), the President was practically compelled to call the Congress together, that body acted with the utmost promptness, passing the necessary appropriation

bill in a few minutes, without taking up time with a roll-call.

But then, what was the theory, and what was the condition, which confronted this most urgent measure? It could not become effective, of course, without the President's signature. The condition was and is this: That the President is three thousand miles away, and nobody knows when he is coming back to his place of business; wherefore nobody knows how long it will be before this urgent measure can become law. Important and immediate service is desired of the President, but he is not available. The cables and the wireless may render him available for platitudes, but not for signatures to laws.

Of course, the bill can be—and will be—sent over to Paris, for him to sign there; if such signature will be valid, under the diplomatic fiction that wherever the President is, there is American soil. But that at best will cause a week or more of delay, postponing enactment probably until after the first of June.

The net result is that the millions of dollars which should have been paid to these most deserving and often most needy creditors of the Government on May 1, have not been paid, and will not be paid until some time after the first of June; and that the other millions which should be paid on June 1 will not be paid at that time, but at some yet undetermined date thereafter. Indeed, it will be a lucky thing if the Government gets its account with its pensioners squared up by July 1.

That is just one of the direct results of the President's diplomatic gallivanting in foreign parts when he ought to be at home attending to the business of the United States of America.

As Some Others See Us

WE are not minded to trim our sails according to alien winds. America is capable of forming her own policies, of interpreting her own doctrines, and of determining her own course, neither induced nor deterred by the opinions of other lands. We would not, it is true, repeat the scornful demand of a generation ago: What do we care for abroad? We do care for the good opinion of the world. We care, above all, to deserve it by straightforward and right dealing, whether we get it or not. But we would not compromise a single principle nor sacrifice a single vital interest of this nation, for all the blandishments, flattery, or applause which all the gallery of the nations could bestow.

Seeing, however, the flamboyant appeal which the President has made to the nations of Europe; seeing the scintillant and resplendent reports which he has given us of the esteem in which those nations now hold America; seeing the hints which are being given by the President's apologists that "a prophet is not without honor save in his own country," and that the President's policies are appreciated abroad if they are not here; and seeing how desirable it is that this country should command the confidence of its allies in peacemaking as well as it did in waging war—seeing these

things, it may not be unprofitable to observe what some representative and authoritative journals of Great Britain are saying. This is to be observed, of course, not in the censored cable dispatches, but in the files of the journals themselves, when they come to hand.

Note, for example, the *Spectator*, of London, long regarded as perhaps the sanest, most thoughtful, and most authoritative exponent of the best liberal element of Great Britain, and certainly far removed from anything resembling jingoism or militarism. In a studied and detailed editorial discussion of "The Covenant" it says, at the very beginning:

It is extremely difficult to write in a spirit that will be both just and helpful about the final text of the Covenant creating the League of Nations. Let us say at once that the scheme seems to us to be heavily charged with proposals that spell disappointment and disillusionment.

Then, near the close of nearly three columns of earnest discussion, it adds:

We are conscious as we look back upon this survey of difficulties and defects that it is a gloomy one—gloomier than we had anticipated when we began to write.

The article is crowded with shrewd and pertinent expositions of the weak points and defects of the scheme; not those which are antagonistic to American principles, such as form the burden of criticism here, but others which involve the practical efficiency of the Covenant for the purposes for which it is designed. "How," it asks, "will the League be able to prevent wars if a unanimous vote is required?" When an aggrieved Power is judge in its own case, it will scarcely vote with its opponent. But, say the League advocates, a state is not permitted to exercise a veto in the settlement of disputes to which it is a party. No; but every State is to be allowed to vote on all matters "specially affecting its interests." Surely, as the *Spectator* says, "he would be a man of superhuman wisdom who could distinguish between a dispute to which a small Power is a party and a dispute which 'specially affects its interests.'"

If we turn to the other extreme of British journalism, to the truculent *Saturday Review*, beloved of the "stern, unbending Tories," we find no more comfort for the President. It says plumply:

Beyond question, Mr. Wilson will return a sadder and wiser man, having fallen from great heights of popularity since the "acid test" of reality was applied both at home and abroad to what Italy, in the first surge of her enthusiastic greeting, called the *Wilsoneggiare*.

And it declares the President's aim in his League scheme to be "a quite impossible aim"; it says that he "blows hot and cold," and predicts that "the exit from the European stage of this great protagonist of Peace will lack all the elements of fervor which greeted his entry."

Let us close by subscribing to the words of a correspondent in the same *Saturday Review* which we have quoted:

It is unfortunate that the strict and most carefully planned censorship of the cables has prevented any free interchange of ideas and criticism between England, France and the United States regarding the proposed League.

It is indeed unfortunate; and it may in the end prove chiefly unfortunate to those who were and are responsible for the outrage of maintaining a wartime censorship in time of peace.

Passing the Buck

SO the President "passes the buck"—or tries to; for we have little expectation that his political manoeuvre will succeed. Having, with his own hand-picked Congress, imposed upon the country "war-time prohibition," which is to go into effect not in war-time, but *after the war is over*, he now seeks to throw upon the new Congress responsibility for the embarrassment of either maintaining or repealing it, and for the odium which seems sure to attach to whichever course is adopted.

Let the circumstances be well remembered. The prohibition provision was driven through Congress under whip and spur as something quite necessary to the President's successful prosecution of the war—like woman suffrage; which, however, was denied him, and yet without which the war was won, after all. It was put through in the most odious and disingenuous of forms: as a "rider" on an appropriation bill—a "legislative freebooter," as Senator Spooner would have called it. And it was to remain in effect until the President should declare demobilization of the army to have been effected.

The President now asks Congress to repeal it. It was supposed—Congress supposed when it passed the thing at his behest—that he could himself end it by proclamation, whenever demobilization was completed. But he says that he is "advised" that he cannot do so without legislative aid.

Apparently it is on his own authority that he declares demobilization to have proceeded so far that it would now be quite safe and proper to unchain the Demon Rum. That statement will, we are sure, surprise the average citizen, who has no more knowledge than that which he gets from the papers, and who therefore imagines demobilization to be very far from complete. Apparently there must have been a great holding back of the news of arrivals and demobilization of troops, as there was of the news of casualties, and there must have been hundreds of thousands of soldiers returned home of which the country as yet knows nothing. It is to be wondered where they are kept in hiding. If the Secretary of War can do such a thing as that, he surely deserves the President's testimonial as "one of the ablest public officials I have ever known."

So the President wants Congress to do something about it, right away, quick, before the law goes into effect on July 1. If Congress should vote upon it, he shrewdly reckons, it would be certain to get itself into trouble: if it voted for repeal, it would incur the resentment and hostility of the "dry" forces. "See!" all the Creels would cry, "The President had a prohibition law enacted, and the wicked Republicans have repealed it and made the nation drunk again." If, on the other hand, Congress should vote against repeal, it would incur the displeasure of a very large part of the general public, who would have it creeled into their ears that the President wanted to have them relieved of the odious prohibition, but that Congress refused and thwarted him.

We do not think the trick will work. The President is responsible for the law, and, despite the "advice" he says he has received, has full power to suspend or recall it if he wishes. It is up to *him* to deal with it.

Our Great Constructor

ASSISTANT SECRETARY ROOSEVELT'S announcement that the credit for originating and developing the transatlantic flight belongs to Rear Admiral David W. Taylor is most gratifying, and, so far as we know, represents the first official acknowledgment this brilliant officer has received of any of the valuable services he has rendered the country.

The following paragraphs from Mr. Roosevelt's statement indicate quite clearly just what Admiral Taylor had in mind when the German submarine menace was at its height:

The first step in connection with the provisions of the large flying boats now being used by the navy for the transatlantic flight, was taken by Rear Admiral D. W. Taylor, Chief Constructor of the Navy, on August 25, 1917, in a memorandum to Naval Constructor J. C. Hunsaker, U. S. N., his assistant for aeronautics, as follows:

"The United States motor gives good promise of being a success, and if we can push ahead on the airplane end, it seems to me the submarine menace could be abated, even if not destroyed, from the air.

"The ideal solution would be big flying boats or the equivalent, that would be able to keep the sea (not air) in any weather, and also able to fly across the Atlantic to avoid difficulties of delivery, etc.

"Please think over very carefully, particularly as to the method of procedure to develop something as close to the idea as possible."

It will be remembered that when this memorandum was penned, the great American transport movement had not been started, and that our own Government, as well as the Allies, were spending many sleepless nights in fear that the Huns would successfully attack our troop-ships. When we consider the circumstances in which the plans for the great hydros were made, it is apparent that the present flight is little more than a frolic compared with what might have been expected had German submarines pierced the line of British and American convoys.

Incidentally, the memorandum is interesting because it throws considerable light upon Admiral Taylor's methods—and when we say this, we mean the methods that have been followed by the navy throughout the war; because the Chief Constructor, more than any other officer, has been relied upon for advice by Secretary Daniels. At the time these plans were conceived, dozens of other methods were being evolved to detect and destroy the submarines, but none of the Allies had gone to the extreme of attempting to dot the North Sea with hydros. The plan appealed with peculiar force to Admiral Taylor, because, in addition to offering a means of carrying the fight to the submarine nests, it meant an immense saving in transportation.

Few other officers in either branch of the service contributed more to America's success in the war than did Admiral Taylor. Upon him rested the responsibility of having the navy's material ready when war was declared, and of planning its subsequent development in the direction of minor craft. Comment would be superfluous on this phase of the service. It is already a matter of history that the navy was ready, and that it made a perfect record, considering its size. Probably it is due to the fact that Admiral Taylor is one of the most modest men in the service that he is virtually unknown to the country at large.

We have said that Secretary Daniels constantly leaned on Admiral Taylor, and invariably followed his advice. This

is literally true, and our only regret is that the President did not seek his advice directly in at least two of the major programmes. We refer to the aviation and shipping programmes. Had the President sought Admiral Taylor's advice, neither Denman or Hurley would have been allowed to waste valuable time and huge sums of money on a so-called shipping programme, nor would Coffin, Ryan, or any of the other misfits have been allowed to throw together a huge pile of wreckage and call it an aviation programme. Many months before the armistice was signed, Admiral Taylor presented the Secretary of the Navy with a confidential report, predicting exactly what would happen if the experimenters were allowed to proceed as they were doing at that time; and every one of his predictions has been verified.

Pygmy Mind-Matching

THE President's fondness for "matching minds" is likely to have something like a continuous-performance gratification. When the recreation ends in Paris it will begin anew in Washington. In Paris the great mind-matching contest was between Mr. Wilson on one side and the statesmen of the world on the other. In Washington it will be between Mr. Wilson and the statesmen of the United States Senate.

Mr. Wilson hardly won a triumph abroad. He entered the game with Fourteen Points. As the matching contest progressed he lost them one by one. He further threw into the stakes-pool certain very large holdings of the United States. Independence and sovereignty; the friendship of Italy, Japan and China; the power of self-defense; national option as to the size of our navy and army; the right to make treaties at will, and self-determination in the matter of minding our own business—all these were among the nation's possessions for which Mr. Wilson matched minds in Paris, and all of which he lost as the game progressed. "Surrendered" is probably more accurately descriptive than "lost" as applied to these national possessions. But no matter. It all comes to the same thing.

That was a pretty stiff mind-matching game over there in Paris. The minds against which Mr. Wilson matched his own there were full-sized minds. It will be quite another matter here at home. The Senate minds that he will match against here are pygmy minds. We have his own authority for that fact. The definition of a Senatorial pygmy mind, as established by Mr. Wilson himself, is a mind which does not agree with Mr. Wilson's mind. Senator Lodge, Senator Knox, Senator Borah, Senator Reed, Senator Brandegee and over thirty other Senators come under that definition. Every mother's son of them has a pygmy mind. Senators who admit that Mr. Wilson is the only true fount of all knowledge and wisdom have full-grown minds. They will not be in the game. It is only with the pygmy minds that Mr. Wilson will match. Naturally it will be a walk-over. All the same it will be rather an interesting game to watch. We doubt if there will be many dull moments.

The Week

WASHINGTON, May 29, 1919.

CONGRESS is doing well. In its advance agenda it discounted practically all of the President's recommendations, save a couple of freaks, so completely that we might almost suspect that the President delayed writing his long-range message until he had learned what Congress was planning to do. The organization of the two Houses was harmonious, authoritative, and eminently business-like. The work of the session has been promptly taken up, with fine discrimination; the very first example being significant of what we may reasonably expect the whole to be. The former Congress had neglected to provide for the payment of many millions of dollars of the Government's obligations to soldiers or their families. The new Congress enacted the necessary appropriation within an hour. If it will keep up that pace it may get the bulk of the arrears entailed upon it by its predecessor disposed of in time for a brief recess before the regular session begins next Fall.

To that end it will do well not to waste any time in pulling Presidential chestnuts out of the fire, by monkeying with the war-time prohibition business. That was the President's pet scheme, which the former Congress adopted exactly to his liking, and in justice he should be left to deal with it himself. The suggestion that he is powerless to act in it without special authorization by Congress is a quaint delusion. We can imagine the austere indignation with which he himself would have resented it—a few months ago. The purport of the notorious "rider" was, as everybody knew at the time, to give him autocratic authority in the matter. It would be *lèse majesty* to seek to impair that authority. With a \$1,200,000,000 deficit in the railroad administration to be covered, Congress will have enough to do without taking away from the President any of his chosen jobs.

The other Congress—over there—does not seem to be doing so well. It must, we think, be very generally regretted that it has assented to practically unlimited debate with the German envoys; for repeated exchange of notes is as much debate as a face-to-face wrangle. The original purpose, as often declared, was to prepare a letter-perfect draft of the treaty and then submit it to the Germans for their acceptance or rejection, as they pleased, but in either case just as it stood, without amendment by so much as the dotting of an i or the crossing of a t. Certainly the activities of a thousand or more experts during several months might reasonably have been expected to result in the production of a document upon which the Allies could resolutely stand, without change. But now we are informed that the thing was after all so incomplete and so ill-devised that the Germans, acting off-hand, have been able to propose changes which the Allies themselves are glad to accept, recognizing them to be marked improvements upon the original, in the direction of making the treaty more practicable and workable. We should think that such an admission would be decidedly humiliating to the Congress.

Such humiliation or discrediting of the Congress is not, however, by any means the worst feature of the case. There

is another far more serious, and ominous of trouble. That is, the aid and comfort which are thus given to the most defiant and recalcitrant elements among the Huns; which was doubtless the chief object of the changes requested by the German envoys. The changes are in themselves largely immaterial. They may or may not be for the better. But the point is that they are made at the request, demand, or what not, of the Germans. That "saves the face" of the latter. It enables the German envoys and the German Government to say, exultingly, that they have after all secured a negotiated peace, and have not been compelled to accept a dictated peace. It enables them to boast that they were admitted to the Congress to debate with the Allies as equals, and to negotiate a treaty on the old rule of give and take. In brief, it confirms the pretension, made by the German Government and cherished by the German people, that Germany was not beaten in the war.

That we must regard as a most ominous thing, because of the encouragement that it will give Germany to seek a renewal of the war whenever preparation can be made for it. Much as we loathe the Blond Beast and all the unspeakable iniquities of the Hun-waged war—which some now seem so easily to forget, even above the wreck of the *Lusitania* and the grave of Edith Cavell—we would not take the trouble to humiliate Germany just for the sake of humiliating her. We would not "rub in" the sense of defeat, nor impose merely punitive penalties just for the sake of crushing the German people. What we would do, and what we believe the welfare of the world, even of Germany herself, imperatively requires, is to bring home to the German people in some way such a realization of their defeat, of their wrongdoing, and of the inevitable penalty, as will forever restrain them from attempting a renewal of the war. We would have them made to realize and to say, in effect, "We were wrong, we have been beaten, and we must never try it again." As it is, with the Congress yielding to some of their demands, they are prompted and encouraged to say, in effect, "Well, they couldn't beat us, and if we try it again we shall probably win."

Memorandum, for consideration by the Senate, and by all Americans: The Peace Congress, President Wilson consenting, permits the Germans to revise and amend the treaty of peace. But when the thing, with its Hun-made amendments, finally reaches these shores, the Senate and the American nation must swallow it, hook, line and sinker, without privilege of suggestion or exception. Are we then of so much less worth than the Huns?

Even China, it is intimated, will make a reservation in signing the treaty. Her delegates say that they will probably sign the document with an appended statement to the effect that in doing so they do not waive their claim for the surrender to China herself of the German rights and privileges in Shantung, and do not acquiesce in the transfer of them to Japan. But since the United States of America is of so much less importance and authority than China, our delegate will sign the treaty without making any reservation of the unimpaired validity of the Monroe Doctrine and the traditional policies of the United States. So greatly have

we declined in dignity and authority since the last Hague Congress. Or, has the change been in the character and disposition of our delegate?

What is this strange report about the President, the Congress, and the Turkish mandate? It is to the effect that he has warned the other members of the Big Four that the American Congress may not approve of America's assuming charge of the Sick Man's debts and responsibility for keeping the Kurds in order, and if it does not, the scheme, no matter how much he himself may be enamored of it, must fall through.

That would seem to be a confession that his will is not the supreme law of the land, but that whatever he does diplomatically must be passed upon by the Senate as a part of the treaty-making power, if not by all Congress as the only war-declaring power. Of course, that is the precise truth. But it is somewhat of a surprise—a most agreeable surprise—to find the President himself proclaiming it. In effect, he tells Europe that he voices the mind of the American nation, excepting on the subject of the Turkish mandate, on which Congress must do the voicing. We should be interested to hear his deft and ingenious reply to the suggestion (if any mischievous fellow should make it) that, if Congress has the last word to say about the Turkish mandate, it may also have the last word to say about the other mandates of the Covenanters.

Almost sensational prominence was given by Administration organs the other day to the fact that the Citizens' Alliance for Good Government of Queens County, New York, had sent to the President a demand for "a settlement in strict accordance with the Fourteen Points." We should hope that the President would pay heed to this impressive message, particularly in respect to the first of the Fourteen. After that, the remaining thirteen would not so greatly matter.

Little pussy is playing with its tail in Washington—the State in the upper left-hand corner of the map. The Supreme Court of that progressive commonwealth has granted a writ to the California Wine Growers' Association permitting a referendum on the legislative ratification of the prohibition amendment. As we remember it, there was a judicial decision the other day against any such referendum. The fact is, first, that the legislative ratification without referendum has already been accepted at Washington, D. C., and the national ratification of the amendment has been proclaimed; thus making a *res adjudicata* which no belated referendum after the fact is likely to reopen or undo. The fact is, second, that even if Washington's ratification could thus be withdrawn, the national ratification of the amendment would not be affected, since there would still remain unchanged the ratifications of many more than the needed three-fourths of the States.

However, it may add somewhat to the gayety of a prospectively "bone dry" nation to have a local sequel to the historic Bull against the Comet.

"I have violated no law," says Victor Berger, the Socialist convict who is trying to get into Congress. "Because twelve men may have said differently, so far as I am concerned, does not change the fact." Of course. Samuel Butler reminded us centuries ago that

He that complies against his will
Is of his own opinion still;

and an older and greater authority declared that

Though thou shouldest bray a fool in a mortar among wheat with a pestle, yet will not his foolishness depart from him.

The fact is that Berger was tried before an intelligent and impartial jury of his own acceptance; that he had an exceptionally long and patient trial, in which were granted to him extraordinary privileges and opportunities for defence against the damning accusations which had been made against him; and that despite such privileges and such employment of them as almost verged upon abuse and scandal, he was unanimously declared by that jury to be guilty of violating the law. He may remain "of his own opinion still." But the jury, the court, the Congress and the American people also remain of their own opinion; and it happens to be their opinion that most counts.

In view of the request of the Railroad Administration for some billion and a fifth of American taxpayers' money for making good the deficit in its management of transportation lines, it certainly is extraordinary for it to order a reduction of freight rates of from 20 to 25 per cent *on foreign imports*. If the roads are not paying expenses, why should there be any reduction in rates? And if there is to be any reduction in rates, why should it be on foreign rather than on domestic freight? We wonder, too, what would have been said, even by some members and supporters of the present Administration, if the railroads under private ownership had made such a discrimination.

The main purpose of the conventions will be to send to the United States Senate countless messages urging ratification of the League of Nations Covenant.—*W. B. Boyd, "National Campaign Manager of the League."*

We have a keen recollection of corresponding campaigns early in the war, the main purpose of which was to send to Congress countless messages urging relaxation of our neutrality laws in Germany's favor. Our recollection is that they were largely forged and spurious, and that they utterly failed of the desired effect. *Mutatis mutandis*, we shouldn't be a bit surprised to see a similar result this time.

We cheerfully record the gratifying facts that Mr. Redfield, Secretary of Commerce, regards government control and operation of railroads, telegraphs and telephones as a failure, and that the first bill introduced by Mr. Edge, Senator from New Jersey, was one for establishing a Federal budget system.

Erzberger the Unspeakable declares that the German people have lost faith in humanity; since, we suppose, they found themselves unable to carry out his highly humane plan of massacring women, children and non-combatants.

Revenue from Tariff or Taxes?

TARIFF revision is never welcome. In any circumstances it is a complicated and laborious task. It inevitably causes some disturbance of business. It is intensely controversial. In part it is experimental. The one thing about it that is certain in advance is that it will cause dissatisfaction and incur adverse criticism. Thus there is an uncommonly bitter irony in the fact that at this time, with other economic and governmental problems of unprecedented magnitude and importance demanding the promptest solution possible, it should seem necessary to undertake a general revision which will probably amount to nothing less than the framing of a new tariff law.

The necessity is unwittingly conceded by the President himself. Indeed, he even recommends it. In his cabled Message, it is true, he tries to argue that there is no need of it, but he bases his argument upon the quite untenable proposition that "no serious danger of foreign competition now threatens American industries." We believe that the most judicious opinion and the most authentic information is to the contrary effect; to wit, that this country is threatened with foreign competition, and with wholesale "dumping." If, however, we waive that point, we still find the President recommending increased tariff protection for some of our great chemical industries. That recommendation is sound. It should and doubtless will be favorably acted upon. But certainly the President is a sufficiently learned economist to realize that the various schedules of a tariff law are so inter-related that it is impossible to make material changes in one without some corresponding changes in others, which may in turn require changes in still others, and so on until the whole law is revised.

He also directly urges another particularly radical change in the existing tariff system, in the direction of protection—it is he, free trader as he is, who uses the word. Despite his own Third Commandment, with its demand for "the establishment of an equality of trade conditions" as an essential part of "the only possible programme of the world's peace," he realizes that there is danger of inequality and of hostile and invidious discrimination against this country. Under the existing tariff, drawn and enacted at his dictation, this country has no means of protecting itself against such treatment—the League of Nations apparently not being considered competent for the job. Therefore he urges such changes in the law as will give us the power to protect ourselves by "retaliation"—another ugly word which the President himself uses. We have a notion that to readjust one of the most important schedules, and those essentially inter-related with it, and to empower us to wage a retaliatory tariff war against other nations—which is precisely what he recommends—will involve a pretty thorough revision of the whole law.

Before and above and beyond all this, however, stands the salient, dominant, irrefutable fact that the nation is in need of revenue; and the existing tariff is not and never was a tariff for revenue, but a tariff for deficit. Every careful observer of national economics knows that immediately upon the enactment of the Underwood tariff, the balance of trade turned against this country, and that nothing but the out-

break of the great war, with its tremendous stimulation of our commerce, saved the Government from being compelled to borrow money to pay its running expenses. No rational man, whether he favors a protective tariff or a tariff for revenue only, can desire the maintenance of such a system, or tolerate it longer than the earliest date on which it is possible to get rid of it. Nor will this nation be reconciled to such a system by the President's glib assumption that we have now found the main sources from which our revenue must be drawn, and that "its mainstays will henceforth be the income tax, the excess profits tax, and the estate tax." The fact is that during most of our history, under Democratic and Republican administrations alike, the mainstay of our revenue has been the tariff on imports. Until the last few quite abnormal years there were probably not a dozen years in which customs duties did not aggregate considerably more than the total of internal revenue, and they were mostly in war time. In the forty-two years from 1869 to 1910 inclusive, there were only six years in which the tariff did not supply more than half of our total revenue, and five of them were during and immediately following the war with Spain.

The imposition of prohibition upon the country, with the consequent loss of the very large sums hitherto derived from the excise tax, will doubtless necessitate the increase of other forms of internal taxation. But we do not believe that the American people will accept an inquisitorial income tax as the "mainstay" of our national revenue, at least until we have a tariff which can fairly be described as a tariff for revenue instead of for deficit, and until that tariff is made at least as protective to American industry as even our free trade President admits and recommends it should be.

The question whether the tariff is a tax, and if it is who pays that tax, may never be answered to universal satisfaction this side of the Millennium. But there is no question in the world about the income tax being a tax, or about the identity of the payer of it. And if a choice must be made between a tariff tax and an income tax, we must gravely doubt that the majority of the American people would prefer the latter. They would not approve an exorbitantly high tariff, or one unjustly devised for special privilege. But they do want our import trade to pay its due proportion of the country's revenue, and they remember that in the years of the greatest normal expansion and prosperity of our foreign commerce, our tariff duties paid more than half our total revenue. It will require more than the utterance of glib and facile platitudes to convince them that the same thing cannot be done again, and that with the fullest possible expansion of our foreign trade to meet and to take advantage of the new conditions upon which the world is entering, it will not be possible at once to give our domestic industry rational protection against unfair competition or odious discrimination, and to secure from customs duties the major part of the revenue needed for the economical conduct of the Government.

Greece is to have a mandate for Smyrna. That is doubtless right and just. We should like to have it explained, however, if possible with a diagram and blue prints, why Italy should not similarly have a mandate for Fiume, and Poland for Dantzig.

The Conquest of the Air

THE empire of the air is conquered.

That is the record, trebly affirmed, of this marvellous month of May, 1919. A representative of each of the three greatest nations in the world has achieved a flight unprecedented and unique. Each of the three, it is true, failed to achieve his precise aim; but each succeeded in demonstrating the certain possibility of doing what he set out to do. Read, the American; Roget, the Frenchman; Hawker, the Briton. Let us consider the sure title of each to aerial fame.

The American was the first to make a flight across the Atlantic. We say "across the Atlantic," because he alighted, after a continuous flight, upon land which has ever been regarded as a part of the Old World, and which was known to the ancients before America was discovered. He failed because he was unable at once to continue his flight from that mid-sea stopping-place to his intended goal. Yet was his achievement unprecedented and superb.

The Frenchman made the longest unbroken voyage thus far on record; exceeding the American's by 137 miles, or more than an hour's flight. He too failed, because he had to stop long before his intended goal was reached.

The Australian Briton, though he, too, failed, proved the possibility of a success more significant than that of either of his gallant rivals.

Consider the difference: The American, Read, flew 1,211 miles over a course thickly dotted with vessels stationed there to mark his route and to give him aid, comfort, and succor. The Frenchman, Roget, flew 1,348 miles almost entirely over land, where his course was unmistakable, and where it was possible in case of need to make a safe descent at almost any stage of the journey. But the Briton, Hawker, plunged forth "alone, on a wide, wide sea," with not a single vessel to await his coming or to note his passing. It chokes the throat and dims the eye to think of that lone plane, with its two divinely mad adventurers, rushing at breathless speed above the vast vacancy of trackless seas and through the vaster vacancy of the uncharted heavens. Never was there a more resplendent and convincing demonstration of "what long-enduring hearts can do."

Ammunition for Villa

SOME weeks ago, our Government allowed Carranza to import several thousand rifles and approximately 300,000 rounds of ammunition through the Juarez district, upon the plea that it was urgently needed for use against Villa, and upon the promise that an honest attempt would be made to curb the revolutionary bands in Chihuahua. This was in addition to approximately 2,000,000 rounds which was passed through Laredo for shipment to the headquarters of the Carranza Government at Mexico City.

Shortly after the American ammunition passed through Juarez, Villa and his side-partner, Angeles, showed more activity than at any time in many months. They warned all Americans to leave Chihuahua, announced the capture of Parral, and promised to take Chihuahua City, Torreon, and Durango without further delay. The reports of the last few

days indicate that these plans are progressing nicely, and that the entire section will be in their control within a few weeks. We have information that the successful consummation of these plans will result in a general coalition of other disaffected leaders, and that a general movement of a respectable size against Carranza may be expected.

A short while ago, the State Department sent Ambassador Fletcher instructions to ask Carranza how it happened that immediately after his officers had received the ammunition that was to result in clearing the north of bandits, the self-same bandits became more aggressive than ever, and were proceeding to clear the north of Government forces. So far as we now know, the State Department has received no reply to its communication. There is no doubt, however, that when Carranza gets around to it, he will send a reply on one of his regular forms, and that our Government will accept it, as is the custom.

In the meantime, however, we happen to be in possession of the precise information which the State Department has formally asked for. Here it is:

When Villa and Angeles were informed (and they are informed on everything of the sort) that the shipment of ammunition had arrived at Juarez, or was about to arrive at that point, they sent the Carranza commander of that town a polite note. It was to this effect: They could take Juarez with ease, but did not care to do so at this time unless "military necessity demanded such action." There was one condition upon which they would not take the town. This was, that they should be given one-third or one-half of the ammunition which the United States Government had allowed Carranza to move across the border. The Carranza commander accepted the terms, and the deal was consummated.

We realize that this sounds altogether unbelievable, and yet it is absolutely true down to the last detail. It is unique only because it represents a larger transaction than Villa has accomplished at any one time. The thing is typical of the methods which the Carranza Government has been making to re-establish law and order.

It is this system which caused us to ask several weeks ago, and to repeat now: How much longer is our Government going to supply the bullets used in the murder of our own brothers?

In personally reading his messages to the Congress, President Wilson merely reverted to the practice of George Washington and John Adams. But in sending them by cable from a distance of three thousand miles he has at last achieved originality.

A New England Suspicion

(From the New Haven Register)

As welcome as the flowers that bloom in the spring, the blue birds that chirrup about our kitchen door, or the check returned by the treasury department for the over-payment of our income tax, is the HARVEY'S WEEKEY that reaches our desk regularly on Tuesday. It is a publication of considerable capacity within a limited mobilization of pages, but it is so full of punch and pepper, and so readable and informative of the doings of our wandering President, as to be unforgettable and profitable. And, incidentally, a very discerning reader, who will devote time to scrutinizing between the lines with a powerful microscopic assistant may be justified in the suspicion that Colonel Harvey fosters no enduring admiration for President Wilson and "Political-master" General Burleson.

Suggested Sites for the Monument

V.—Meuse-Argonne Offensive. First, Second, and Third Phases



From General Pershing's Official Report

On the day after we had taken the St. Mihiel salient, much of our corps and army artillery which had operated at St. Mihiel and our reserve divisions in reserve at other points, were already on the move toward the area back of the line between the Meuse River and the western edge of the Forest of Argonne. . . . We made steady headway in the almost impenetrable and strongly-held Argonne Forest, for it was our army that was doing the driving. . . . On Oct. 4 the attack was renewed all along our front. Our 3d Corps, tilting to the left, followed the Brioules-Cunel road; our 5th Corps took Gesnes, while the 1st Corps advanced for over two miles along the irregular valley of

the Aire River and in the wooded hills of the Argonne. . . . On the 23d, the 3d and 5th Corps pushed northward toward the level of Bantheville. While we continued to press forward and throw back the enemy's violent counter-attacks with great loss to him, a regrouping of our forces was under way for the final assault. . . . With comparatively well-rested divisions, the final advance in the Meuse-Argonne front was begun Nov. 1. Our increased artillery force acquitted itself magnificently in support of the advance, and the enemy broke before the determined infantry, which, by its persistent fighting of the past weeks and the dash of this attack, had overcome his will to resist.

A Few of This Week's Responses

THE IDEA IS "GREAT"

SIR,—The suggestion of a memorial to our deceased soldiers in the form of a replica of the Washington Monument is one that should interest every American. You may count on us to render every assistance possible, not only in Burlington, but in this county. Your idea is great and we wish it every success. Speed it up, is the desire of

Burlington, N. J.

JOSEPH R. CHEESMAN,
Editor *The Daily Enterprise*.

"ALL THE ASSISTANCE I CAN"

SIR,—When your plans shall have been completed for the erection of the Monument I will be very glad indeed to give all the assistance I can. It seems to me that this should be done immediately.

Guinea Mills, Va.

WILLIAM GAMALIEL SHEPARD.

METZ OR BERLIN

SIR,—Your Monument idea is fine, Colonel Harvey. But let us place it at Metz, at least—if not at Berlin!

Greensburg, Pa.

EDWIN LIGHTNER NESBIT, M.D.

FREE-WILL OFFERING

SIR,—I am heartily in favor of the movement to erect a replica of the Washington Monument in France, as a free-will offering of the people of America to the people of France, and hope that the idea will develop into being.

St. Paul, Minn.

GEO. H. HESS, JR.

PRACTICAL AND BEAUTIFUL

SIR,—An exact replica of the Washington Monument by all means. The idea is only one more example of your wonderful ability to combine practical sense and beautiful sentiment. Count me in when the subscription cards are sent around.

GEORGE H. CARNAHAN.

New York City.

A WORTHY UNDERTAKING

SIR,—I commend your suggestion for erecting a replica of the Washington Monument to our beloved dead in France, and trust you will accomplish the worthy undertaking.

MRS. CHARLES B. WOLFINGER.

Hagerstown, Md.

NOTHING MORE BEAUTIFUL

SIR,—It seems to me that nothing could be more beautiful and expressive of America's feeling for her sons who have given their lives in this war than the Monument you suggest. I hope most earnestly that your suggestion may be carried out.

FRANCES H. BOLTON.

New York City.

"FIFTY CENTS A THROW"

SIR,—Your suggestion that we build a Washington Monument in France is so praiseworthy and so in keeping with the spirit of the people of this country that I suggest, as others have before me, that you start the subscription and let the rest of us follow. Make it popular, say fifty cents a throw, for six millions of us. I would like to have my name second on the list.

Kalamazoo, Mich.

C. E. BURLEIGH.

Letters from Our Readers

A CERTAIN WEEKLY

SIR,—This morning I beheld the bright face of HARVEY'S WEEKLY looking so pleasantly at me from a wall of periodicals. As yet I have not had the paper in my hands, and know nothing of its contents; but a thousand thoughts rushed through my mind at once—thoughts of argosies of treasure glittering like the Arabian Nights' Entertainment, dreams of conquest, of sway, of a great charge and its perfect fulfilment. I dared not look at your pages, for first I must look over the pictures of imagination, and ask you to go with me as far as you can on this "friendly road." Though you do not know me, nor would you be any better off if you did, let us be kind strangers to each other.

For some years I have subscribed to a weekly paper, the best one in the whole world! On the day of publication, I rise early in prospect of what is in store for me that day. And when its dear face looks up at me, finally, as I open its wrapper, a proud satisfaction fills me through and through. No one touches it when it is on my table, unless they be reverent hands, for this weekly is made of precious stuff. I shall tell you a little about it.

The first page or two may be written by young Plato of a certain Western newspaper, or old Seneca of the Boston *Bugle*; however, whether it is a dissertation on roast pig, lapsing into a stroll through the bazaar at Stamboul, I go right there with him, whoever he is, and come away richer, because I have been taken far away from myself, and have heard and seen things of rare beauty and charm.

So I turn the pages, and glad am I not to run up against a pile of useless lumber anywhere, but instead of that—columns, one or two perhaps, of enthralling experiences by one who has travelled some difficult defile on life's way, and has a message for me. I go straight through with him and take the journey as my own.

Following this, while I find no attempt at preaching new religion, new politics, new thought, eugenics, economics, social conditions, what not, I do find, thank heaven! treatment of men and things that touch me very closely, and the page seems painted by dear R. L. S. with the same brush that did *Virginibus Puerisque* and the *Child's Garden of Verses*. Faint glimmers of Dickens, too, may touch the page with magic light, and I think of old Yarmouth again, or of some dingy corner of London where Fagin and the Artful Dodger lie hidden. Then "Prue and I" have enjoyed walks together, it seems.

But it is not a story paper. It has the sentiment of good books. And therefore I sometimes seem to sit with Tom Brown and those other little chaps at Rugby, listening to the Doctor's sermon when "the soft twilight stole over the chapel, deepening into darkness in the high gallery behind the organ," at those times "he won his way to the hearts of the great mass of those on whom he left his mark."

My weekly discusses books, acting, music, art and every sport and pastime, beautifully and with truth.

This weekly, however, is not yet published as a paper—unless you have done it, at last.

Hyattsville, Md.

P. G. MELBOURNE.

PUZZLE: FIND CHICAGO

SIR,—I enclose herewith carbon copy of a letter which I have this day mailed to the Post Master at Chattanooga. Heretofore in the columns of your WEEKLY you have recorded some of the worthy performances of the Postmaster-General and his Department. Since variety is the spice of life, I would like to add this performance to those that have gone before.

There may be a good reason why a letter plainly addressed with a typewriter to Chicago, Illinois, should be delivered in Atlanta to an entirely different addressee, but such reason is not obvious to one unacquainted with the workings of the present Administration of the Post Office Department.

Chattanooga, Tennessee.

C. W. LUSK.

[ENCLOSURE]

Chattanooga, Tenn.,
May 20, 1919.

Hon. T. Charlton Howell, Postmaster,
Chattanooga, Tenn.

Dear Sir,—On May 16, 1919, my firm put into the mailing chute in the Volunteer State Life Building in this city a letter addressed plainly with typewriter as follows:

"The Kelly Company,
35 S. Dearborn Street,
Chicago, Ill."

On this morning, May 20th, 1919, this envelope, with the letter enclosed, was returned to us by Keely Company, Corner White-

hall and Hunter Streets, Atlanta, Georgia, accompanied by the following letter:

"The inclosed letter was delivered to us, and through oversight opened. We are therefore returning it to you.

"Yours very truly,

"(Signed) Keely Company."

The envelope which we forwarded bears the Chattanooga postmark dated May 16th at 7 P. M. We are today starting our letter out again under a new envelope and we hope it will finally reach its intended destination. Comment on this performance seems to be unnecessary. It may be that the press of war work is responsible, but I have not heretofore been advised that even that much-ridden excuse is sufficient to explain the inability of the parties who sent this letter 150 miles in the wrong direction to read a printed address on the outside of an envelope.

Yours very truly,

C. W. Lusk.

FROM A SAILOR

SIR,—I wish to answer your question, "What marines or sailors wouldn't cheer at the announcement that Josephus henceforth was to limit his activities to the conning-tower of a ferry-boat, plying between Raleigh and Scotland Neck?" I shall not speak for marines, but I shall speak for sailors. Having been discharged from the Navy after service both before and during the war, I can speak with knowledge.

There never was a more popular Secretary of the Navy. Mr. Daniels won this popularity by his great good-heartedness, which, handicapped as it was by successive balls of red tape, strained as it was through successive grades of officers before it reached the sailor, still was of such quality and largeness as to cause him to be known and felt the best friend of every sailor. This sentiment is particularly true of every pre-war sailor, because Mr. Daniels had opportunity to effect benefits in peace time which he had not in war time. Your space will not permit an enumeration of these benefits. Ask the next sailor with hash marks you meet. He knows the difference between a Secretary with fawn-colored swede gloves and Josephus Daniels with his bare hands! Just ask him the difference.

And, Mr. Editor, as a parting piece of advice, remember there are three people criticism of whom will get a rise out of a sailor every time: Helen Miller Gould Shepard, Theodore Roosevelt, and Josephus Daniels. These three did for the sailor long before it was fashionable to do for him,—long before any one else,—and a "dog of a sailor" is grateful, is faithful.

Hands off the Secretary of the Navy, Josephus Daniels!

Columbus, Ohio.

H. M. HUBBARD, JR.
Ex-Q. M. C., U. S. N.

DISGUSTED

SIR,—File this letter in your dustiest file; it is one you will *not* run on your correspondence page. Better still, throw it in the waste basket.

You are a beautiful example of the pot calling the kettle black. You say in the issue of May 17th:

Far be it from us to object to the World's bludgeoning of Burleson; but, would you mind, Mr. Cobb—

"Who planted him there; who keeps him there; and is your tremendous assault the real thing or only a spasmodic sham? Don't answer; whistle."

Well; far be it from us to object to HARVEY'S WEEKLY's bludgeoning of Woodrow Wilson; but, would you mind, Colonel Harvey—

Who planted him there? and is your tremendous assault the real thing or only a spasmodic sham? And if you had succeeded in making him your tool would you not have deified him? Is it not that you are not so much for the United States as against Woodrow Wilson? Would you be such a howling patriot if Wilson would dance when you pull the strings?

Don't answer; whistle.

As concerns the *World*; "cast the mote from thine own eye ere thou wouldst pluck the beam from thy brother's." You sound like a disgruntled ward politician.

Chicago, Ill.

Yours in deep disgust,

HELEN PUTNAM.

AN EMPTY DREAM

SIR,—You are one red-blooded American. I read your Washington vs. Wilson address, then I subscribed for HARVEY'S WEEKLY for a year and wished there were a million of you. May God bless you, and continue to give you strength to speak brave

words for which all men (except the profiteer and the Bolshevik) are hungry.

So long as men differ, there will be different camps. The strongest will survive. A "League of Nations" is an empty dream.

Your Indianapolis speech on the subject is the greatest I ever read.

HORACE G. BENSON.

Denver, Colorado.

CONCERNING COLONEL HOUSE

SIR.—It will please multitudes of your readers if you would tell them something about Colonel House.

Who is Colonel House, where did he originate, who were his forbears, where does he come from, what is his personal and public record, how and where did he obtain his rank of Colonel, how is it that he is put forward as the representative of the people of the United States at the Paris conference when he holds no position under the Government and is, to the general public, an unknown individual, when and how did he gain his great hold on President Wilson, does the President from his own pocket pay the salary and expenses of Colonel House—in short, who is Colonel House?

J. H. H.

New York City.

[Colonel House? Ridiculous! You must be trying for a rise. Everybody knows who Colonel House is. He is a truly wise guy, the heeding of whose advice more frequently by his lord would be of inestimable value to the country. That is no joke; it's the truth.—EDITOR.]

ADD PRESIDENTIAL NOMINEES

SIR,—For years I have admired you, for years I have followed you, even going so far—God forgive me—as to vote for Woodrow Wilson. While you were editor of HARPER'S WEEKLY I looked upon that paper almost as I did upon the Bible.

I remember distinctly the first time you posted Woodrow Wilson's name at the top of your editorial page. Everybody at some time in his life makes a mistake. You committed yours—but there is this much to your credit: You admit your error not only publicly but constantly.

Republicans, as you know, are at sea at present as to whom they shall nominate in 1920. I extract the following from a letter just received from my son, who has been in France since September, 1917, which may be an inspiration:

"There is one real organization over here. I speak of the American Red Cross. They have accomplished wonders. They don't claim to be Democrats, but wear their heart to the left and center. God bless the American Red Cross and everything connected with it. I don't know who will be our next President, but I am for Henry P. Davison."

More power to your virile mind and vigorous pen!

J. S. DURNEY.

New York City.

ONE AMONG FIVE OR NINE

SIR,—According to George Creel (See *War Cyclopaedia*, foot of page 13) the President, in a speech to the D. A. R. on November 11, 1915, said:

"I look forward to the necessity, in every political agitation in the years . . . immediately at hand, of calling upon every man to declare himself, where he stands. Is it America first, or is it not? . . . I would not be afraid upon the test of 'America first' to take a census of all the foreign-born citizens of the United States."

And now, that same President would have us unite with Jeff in singing "Our countries 'tis of those."

The political agitation is at hand and the necessity is urgent. I commend you most heartily upon your courage and patriotism in taking up the slogan "America first," long since abandoned by the President, who can only see America one among five or nine at the present time.

Keep up the good work.

Washington, D. C.

ERNEST W. ROBERTS.

"IRRESPECTIVE OF PARTY"

SIR,—As a simple American citizen, keenly interested in national affairs and having the deepest admiration for capable executives in high positions, irrespective of party, I can not resist expressing to you my intense appreciation and profound gratitude for HARVEY'S WEEKLY. Thank God for giving us, right now, Colonel George Harvey! J. HENRY LANCASHIRE.

New York City.

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Ten Cents a Copy

VOL. 2

WEEK ENDING JUNE 7, 1919

No. 23

Two Memorial Day Addresses

FOR WHAT DID AMERICAN SOLDIERS LAY DOWN
THEIR LIVES?

For the League

By President Wilson

THE thing that these men left us, though they did not in their counsels conceive it, is the great instrument which we have just erected in the League of Nations. . . .

These men have given their lives in order to secure the freedom of mankind, and I look forward to an age when it will be just as impossible to regret the results of their labor as it is now impossible to regret the results of the labor of those men who fought for the union of the States.

I look for the time when every man who now puts his counsel against the united service of mankind under the League of Nations will be just as ashamed of it as if he now regretted the union of the States.

There is here and there an attempt to insert into the counsel of statesmen the old reckoning of selfishness and bargaining and national advantage which were the roots of this war, and any man who counsels these things advocates a renewal of the sacrifice which these men have made, for if this is not the final battle for right there will be another that will be final.

Let these gentlemen who suppose that it is possible for them to accomplish this return to an order of which we are ashamed and that we are ready to forget, realize they cannot accomplish it.

For Their Country

By General Pershing

THE principles which our forefathers fought to establish, the heroic dead who lie here fought to maintain, and their ideals have brought our gift to the Old World.

. . . The times demand of us clearness in thought and firmness in action. The solidity of our national institutions must be the bulwark against insidious and destructive tendencies.

The glory of our independence must remain the heaven and our flag the emblem of all that freemen love and cherish.

Strengthened by the practical test of war, and with an abiding faith in the Almighty, let us be steadfast in upholding the integrity of our traditions as a guide to future generations at home and a beacon to all who are oppressed.

Those to whom America pays tribute here to-day came with us in the full vigor of their youth. . . . As they went to battle they were united with a holy inspiration, realizing their mighty task and their obligations to their country, and they fought with unparalleled stoicism and determination.

And now, dear comrades, farewell. Here under the clear skies, on the green hillsides and amid the flowering fields of France, in the quiet hush of peace, we leave you forever in God's keeping.

Opinions

WHEN President Wilson, in the course of his felicitous speech in honor of the President-elect of Brazil, pronounced it "very delightful to know that my Presidency is not ahead of me," he was speaking obviously with the license accorded by tradition to poetic and eloquent utterance. After all, he has nearly two years to serve, to say nothing of the third term with which the country is threatened in the event of the Senate refusing to swallow the League, and several domestic problems of more or less importance will call for incidental attention upon his eventual return to the White House. But they can wait.

So far as public matters are concerned, there is no occasion for the President to hurry home. Congress has begun to function satisfactorily under the watchful eye of Mr. Tumulty, both Mr. Daniels and Mr. Baker have reported present, and the country has become reconciled to the absence of its Chief Magistrate. It will be well enough, of course, to keep the *George Washington* at Brest with steam up for any contingency, but nothing really important is likely to happen now until the Leaguers come to hold their first formal meeting in the East Room.

There need be no concern whatever about the immortal Covenant. It will be ratified beyond the shadow of a doubt. We have this confidentially from Mr. Taft and outspokenly from the *New York Times*, which foresees a decisive influence in the President's "prophetic vision at Suresnes," wherein he beheld "a time when every man who now puts his counsel against the united service of mankind under the League of Nations will be just as ashamed of it as if he now regretted the union of the States." To the natural surmise that this particular threat must have been directed at irreconcilable Southern Democrats the *Times* pays no heed. It sees only obdurate Northern Republicans about to be "just as ashamed" as if they now "regretted the union of States."

To the minds of some persons, we can imagine, this will seem somewhat bewildering, but not to the mind of the *Times*. And the reason is plain: "Their cause is bad. They hopelessly confront the millions of mankind in a forward movement. Their blind persistence has made the League a Democratic issue of such undeniable and great potency with the people of the country that rejection of the Treaty and prolongation of the state of war would involve consequences they dare not face." So they will yield and vote "under compulsion" to denationalize their country and then presumably pass out of public life with heads bowed in shame and bodies lightly clad in sackcloth and ashes.

Well, it is their own fault. Had not the *Times* warned them over and over again of their impending fate? And the *World*? And the *Boston Post*? Seldom, if ever, have we known three great Democratic journals to be so deeply concerned at the prospect of Republicans making so grave "a party blunder." And they are not the only ones. "If the Republican leaders are wise," most impressively declared Democratic Chairman Cummings, "they will join hands with President Wilson in ratifying the covenant. If they want to be foolish and oppose it, they will not know they are alive. The Democratic National Committee is a unit on this question."

Further evidences of the insanity of Republican leaders in demanding safeguards for American independence we might adduce without number from like sources, but we forbear. Enough, enough! It is all over. Internationalism has won. The President may safely stay away as long as he likes. Quite so!

Lest, however, at some future date, we should appear as a party to conveyance of the comfortable assurance which might induce an indefinite sojourn, we beg to record a humble opinion that the League covenant submitted by President Wilson has about as much chance of being ratified by the United States Senate as the Ten Commandments have of being repudiated by the Presbyterian Synod.

However, we shall see.

We Answer a Call

WE are waiting for our old friend Col. George Harvey to demonstrate that President Wilson had no right to make a Memorial Day speech in France without "the advice and consent" of the United States Senate.—*The World*.

We shall not keep our neighbor in suspense. President Wilson upon this occasion turned his deaf ear to the voices which he is accustomed to hear from the air and assumed to speak for the United States of America. He had besought the privilege of doing so on October 24, 1918, when he issued the following appeal and pledge:

My Fellow Countrymen: . . . If you have approved of my leadership and wish me to continue to be your unembarrassed spokesman in affairs at home and abroad, I earnestly beg that you will express yourselves unmistakably to that effect by returning a Democratic majority to both the Senate and the House of Representatives. I am your servant and will accept your judgment without cavil.

His fellow countrymen responded "unmistakably" by electing a Republican Congress with more than a million votes to spare. They flatly refused by this enormous majority to constitute Mr. Wilson their "unembarrassed spokesman" and designated a Republican Senate as their true representative in dealing with foreign affairs. This was the "judgment" which Mr. Wilson solemnly promised to "accept without cavil." He could not, therefore, without breaking his word, voice sentiments which he knew to be contrary to the views of the Senate elected in response to his challenge. Personally, even technically perhaps, though whether honorably or not we leave to our highminded neighbor, he had a "right" to make the speech which he did make; logically or morally, it is clear, he had not.

That is the plain answer demanded by a hasty and incautious sneer.

"If the League of Nations should by any chance be defeated, and this to my mind is unthinkable, the pressure brought to bear on the President to run again would be very great, and I feel certain that he would be reelected. If the League of Nations is successful I do not think the pressure would be nearly as great," said Democratic Chairman Cummings in Chicago.

"It is idle to talk about third terms or of Presidential candidates," said Chairman Cummings the next day in St. Louis.

The wise Tumulty accompanied Mr. Cummings.

A Momentous Decision

WE have received the following query:

SIR: Having just read your exceedingly pertinent article, "Republican Leaders, Take Notice!" I found myself surprised upon finishing it that one so invariably keen as you have been in analyzing the psychology of the Administration should fail to point out the possible joker in the whole proposition. With regard to the implied offer of our Executive which you cite to withdraw from the Presidential race of 1920, if the Republicans in the Senate will withdraw their opposition to the League of Nations, you explain the motive, from Mr. Wilson's standpoint, thus: "No other conceivable act could more conclusively evidence his own true greatness; no other could fix him so securely in the hearts of his fellow men or win so surely their undying gratitude."

Undoubtedly. But recalling your own assertion that Mr. Wilson does not aspire to run again for "President of the United States"—a statement which always carried a distinct inference—it is necessary to remember that the Covenant, as now formulated, does not provide for a President of the League of Nations. It has, however, an Executive Council which must, in the nature of things, designate a Chairman. But to be a Chairman, it is reasonable to assume that the incumbent must be one of the duly appointed representatives of a member nation.

So, if Mr. Wilson is not himself to be the appointing President for our League delegation, is it not possible that his successor may be encouraged to exercise proper judgment and a sense of fitness in the appointments he shall make? Well . . . ?

E. J. HEMING.

New York.

Mr. Root declared in his communication to Mr. Hays that "it would be the duty of Congress to establish by law the offices of representatives of the United States in the body of Delegates and the Executive Council, just as the offices of Ambassadors and Ministers are already provided for by law, and the new offices would be filled by appointment of the President with the advice and consent of the Senate under Article III, Section 2. of the Constitution of the United States."

All evidences at hand, however, indicate that the view of the President does not accord with that expressed by Mr. Root. Not only were the members of the Peace Commission appointed without the advice or consent of the Senate, but Mr. Raymond Fosdick has already been designated by the President to serve for an indefinite period as an officer of the League. Personally, moreover, Mr. Wilson has presided at the preliminary meetings and, it is announced, will act as Chairman at the first formal assemblage in Washington in October. It is an interesting and perhaps significant fact, furthermore, that the first signature to the ratification clauses of the treaty incorporating the League covenant is the following:

"HONORABLE WOODROW WILSON, PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES, ACTING IN HIS OWN NAME AND BY HIS OWN PROPER AUTHORITY."

"The President's is the only name appearing thus," according to the press reports, the other delegates apparently having signed in the usual way as representatives of their respective Governments to which they are responsible. Whatever "his own proper authority" may rest upon, the inference is unmistakable that Mr. Wilson does not consider that any portion of it is derived from the Congress. Legislation such as Mr. Root regards as essential to comply with the provisions of the Constitution obviously, in the President's view foreshadowing his probable intent, would not be required.

Clearly, if this theory of Mr. Wilson as Premier should be sustained by Mr. Wilson as President, he could appoint

himself a member of the League, as he appointed himself a delegate, for a year, for five years or for life, acting throughout exclusively "in his own name and by his own proper authority." Whether or not he will finally feel impelled by an overpowering sense of public duty to make so great a personal sacrifice is, however, a question, which he will hardly determine until he decides to be or not to be his own successor as President of the United States.

Upon the results of ratiocination designed to evolve an ideal conclusion as bearing upon the future of humanity all seems now to depend.

Gems

FROM the President's Speech:

The peoples of the world are awake and the peoples of the world are in the saddle. Private counsels of statesmen cannot now and cannot hereafter determine the destinies of nations.

They seem to be giving a fair imitation.

These men did not come across the seas merely to defeat Germany and her associated Powers in the war.

They thought they did.

Never before have men crossed the seas to a foreign land to fight for a cause of humanity which they did not pretend was particularly their own but knew was the cause of humanity and of mankind.

Shades of Lafayette and Rochambeau!

The old order of which we are ashamed and that we are ready to forget.

The order of Washington—*ashamed!*

The thought that these men left us . . . is the great instrument which we have just erected in the League of Nations.

And not one had ever heard of it.

If we are not the servants of the opinion of mankind we are of all men the littlest, the most contemptible, the least gifted with vision.

Notably those sworn to serve the United States.

I found the statesmen with whom I was about to deal united in the idea that we must have a League of Nations.

Clemenceau, in particular. And yet—

There is something better, if possible, that a man can give than his life, and that is his living spirit, to a service that is not easy, to resist counsels that are hard to resist, to stand against purposes that are difficult to stand against and to say: "Here stand I, consecrated in the spirit of the men who were once my comrades and who are now gone, and who left me under eternal bonds of fidelity."

Enough!

Lausanne, Switzerland, May 26.—President Wilson has written to the municipal authorities that he accepts honorary citizenship of the city of Lausanne "with profound pleasure."

An anonymous correspondent quotes the above dispatch and inquires, "Is Mr. Wilson now a citizen of the United States; can he hold two citizenships?" Assuming that the acceptance of the proffered honor did not involve the forswearing of his nominal or technical allegiance to this country, we are not aware of the existence of any statute which would deprive Mr. Wilson of the privilege of voting in New Jersey. If, however, he should become President of the World with headquarters at Geneva, he might find it more convenient to cast his ballot in Switzerland, in which event doubtless requisite provision would be, if indeed it has not already been, made in the superconstitution of the universe.

The Scandal of Secrecy

DAY by day the scandal of secrecy at the Peace Congress appears more flagrant. Day by day there are new revelations of the manner in which the American people, if not the people of other lands, are being not only kept in the dark but actually misinformed and deceived concerning what we are assured is the most important human document ever framed, in which the most vital interests and destinies of this nation are involved. While for a few cents any Boche in Prussia can get an authentic copy of the complete text of the Peace Treaty, not only the entire mass of American citizens but even the Senate, which must officially pass upon it with equal authority with the President, must perforce be content with an incomplete and garbled summary of it.

Some time ago we called attention to the concealment, by omission from the official summary, of the highly important provision that the treaty would become effective when ratified by any three of the Big Five; the sinister purpose of which concealment was quite apparent. Later came the revelation of the provisions concerning control of German dye works. These probably were commendable provisions; but the deliberate concealment of them from the very people most interested excites most unpleasant suspicions, and indeed is scarcely to be explained on any creditable ground. Still later there leaked out through trustworthy but of course unofficial channels news of the provisions for placing practically the whole economic control of Germany for years to come in the hands of the League of Nations. Now we have no objection to such control. We should not object to the maintenance of an able-bodied Poilu with fixed bayonet behind the chair of every member of the German Government, for the next fifty years. But we do object to having such features of the Treaty kept secret from Americans when they are made known to Germans. We object to having this nation virtually lied to, in being told that a complete synopsis of the Treaty is laid before it, when as a matter of fact some of the provisions of most importance and in which we are most interested are deliberately and purposely withheld.

The specific reasons for concealing some of the items "we are not," in the President's words, "interested to search for or explore." But the general purpose of such withholding of essential facts is only too probably clear. It must be regarded as an unscrupulous manoeuvre to secure, if possible, ratification of a Treaty of doubtful acceptability. There is probably a fear in somebody's mind—somebody who has a very large measure of control over the matter—that if all the provisions of the Treaty were disclosed to this country at so early a date, there would be found many unacceptable things in them and there would arise a general opposition to the Treaty as a whole, which would endanger its ratification. It is therefore thought desirable to disclose only a part of the instrument, just enough to serve as a basis for working up, by the familiar methods of propaganda, a strong public sentiment in its favor. Then when at last the whole thing has to be disclosed, there will be a hope of rushing it through with a whoop before the thitherto concealed passages are fairly understood. And all that in the sacrosanct name of "open covenants of peace, openly arrived at!"

We are not fanatical sticklers for "open diplomacy." We do not object to a certain reserve during certain stages of the negotiations. But we do object to a secrecy which amounts to actual deceit, and which is practiced for sinister motives. Above all, we abhor the hypocrisy of prating about "open covenants, openly arrived at" at the very time when there is practised a furtive secrecy which even Talleyrand and Metternich would have regarded as "going the limit."

The Penalty of Meddling

IT is all very well for the glib propagandists of the League of Nations to pretend that their Smuts-born Covenant does not impair the sovereignty of the United States nor bind it to do the bidding of alien Powers, but being chiefly advisory, recommendatory, suggestive, et cetera, leaves this country in the last analysis free to do as it pleases about sending its forces to intervene in every picayune ruction between Moresnet and Darfur. We are well aware that under the rule requiring unanimous consent the objection of this country alone would save us from the necessity of any such thing. (Incidentally, of course, the same wise and benign rule would prevent anything's being done by anybody, and thus reduce the efficiency of the League to zero.) But to us, that method of saving ourselves savors entirely too much of the "scrap of paper" philosophy.

To our mind, and we believe to the mind of rational people generally, in America and in Europe alike, the extent of our participation in prescribing the terms of peace must be, morally, the measure of our responsibility for them and of our obligation to enforce them. If the American delegate to the Peace Conference had been content to say to his colleagues that the war was primarily their business and it was for them to determine the details of settlement, America being interested only in some general principles and, of course, in those matters which directly concerned herself, then we should have incurred little responsibility. The European

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BY GEORGE HARVEY

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Allies—we are assumed to be only an "Associate"—would have settled the question of Fiume and Dantzig and Teschen and the rest among themselves, and would have taken upon themselves sole responsibility for maintaining those settlements.

But the American delegate, with his insatiable itch for "butting in" and for dictating everything to everybody, insisted upon being the supreme arbiter in all such matters. Again and again we have witnessed the extraordinary spectacle of his overruling all his colleagues and imposing his imperious and arbitrary will upon them in matters which were no more the business of America than are the electoral qualifications of the citizens of Mars; and he has done so under the safe pretence—safe while the censorship lasted—that he was speaking the mind and will of the American people, and that if the European Powers did not do as he wished, they would offend and alienate this country. Naturally, those Powers yielded—to some extent.

For such arrogant assumptions of the right to meddle and to dictate, however, a price or a penalty must be paid. A writer in the *Fortnightly Review* puts the case plainly and justly, though it may not be to the liking of the League Circuit Riders, when he says:

The people of America have espoused the idea of the League . . . but neither they nor any other people have thought out what it means to stand obliged to send expeditions to the recesses of the Baltic or the Black Sea in a quarrel in which they take little interest. It is for America to say. She certainly cannot, through her President, press her solution of the peace problem upon her Allies, and then retire to a sheltered position of virtual isolation from the affairs of Europe. Either the European Powers of the Entente must be left to make a peace after their own choosing, or the United States must shoulder a very real and a very big share of the burden. . . . This is the real question before the American people.

That is exactly true, and the sooner and the more fully the citizens of the United States realize it, the better it will be for them and for their country. This nation cannot be a welcher. It cannot make laws for Europe without standing ready to enforce those laws. If it did shirk the responsibilities of the League which it imposed upon the world, it would incur and would deserve to incur the resentment and the contempt of every other nation.

The Voice of the Bally-Hoo

THE Covenanters' Circus is performing currently at Albany, N. Y., and the voice of the Bally-Hoo Man is loud in the land, proclaiming that all who will may come and be self-appointed "delegates." In his harangue, distributed broadcast by mail to the just and the unjust alike, he tells us what the Covenant is, what it does, how it will do it, and what it does not or would not do. And like the usual Bally-Hoo at the tent-side, this output is more noteworthy for noise than for sense, and for supposedly seductive appeal than for truth and logic.

Thus we are told that, under the Covenant,—

The members of the League agree that they will respect and preserve the political independence and territorial integrity of each member against aggression.

Yet in the next breath, or the breath after the next, we are told that

The Covenant does not involve the calling out of American soldiers in case of local squabbles in the Balkans or elsewhere. While members of the League are obliged to take part in a boy-

cott against a nation that attacks another member contrary to the League Covenant, they do not otherwise agree to join in making war.

We leave it to the Bally-Hoo Man to explain how a nation can "preserve the political independence and territorial integrity" of another if it is not to go to war in case of need.

If, for example, Bulgaria should attack Serbia with force of arms, how could we fulfil our pledge to "preserve the political independence and territorial integrity" of Serbia without sending soldiers to the scene? Should we say to Serbia, as the Bally-Hoo Man suggests, "All we could do for you would be to boycott another League member which went to war with you contrary to the Covenant. We did not agree to make war in your behalf against a wicked nation that is not a member of our Holy League"? Would that be a satisfactory fulfilment of our pledge not merely to respect but to "preserve" the independence and integrity of Serbia?

Again says the Bally-Hoo Man:

The members of the League agree that they will abrogate all treaties among themselves inconsistent with the Covenant and enter into no such obligations in the future.

Yet, according to the same vociferous authority:

The Covenant does not create a super-government outranking those of member states.

The power of making treaties with other states is one of the chief attributes of independent sovereignty. If to deprive a state of that power, or in any way to limit its exercise thereof, is not to "create a super-government," then words have lost their meaning.

Again:

The Government does not commit members to obligations they cannot get out of. A nation may withdraw on two years' notice, if its international and League obligations have been fulfilled.

In the Name of the Prophet, Figs! Does not that commit members for at least two years to obligations that they cannot get out of? Would not that inevitably compel a nation to discharge the very obligation that it wanted to get out of, before it was permitted to withdraw?

And yet once more:

The Covenant does not affect the constitutional authority of Congress to declare war, although Congress will be morally bound by this treaty, as by every other.

That unblushing piece of cynical immorality was formerly put forward by an eminent University President. We had hoped that it would not be heard again. But apparently it is a choice item in the stock in trade of this Great Moral Show.

Step right up, Ladies and Gentlemen, and ratify the Covenant! Don't be afraid! Of course you will be "morally bound" to do all sorts of things. But you won't have to do them if you don't want to. You'll only be "morally bound," that's all. No real obligation, you know. Only a "moral" one.

As the Covenant itself says in its preamble, the purpose is to maintain "a scrupulous respect for all treaty obligations." That, of course, is to be done by regarding them as not really and necessarily obligatory, but "only morally binding."

Good Old Morality!

The German Delegates at Versailles



Drawn by F. Matania for the London "Sphere." Copyrighted in the U. S. by the N. Y. Herald Co.

This drawing shows the scowling delegates of Germany at Versailles listening to M. Clémentau as he recites the penalties imposed by the Entente Powers. On the extreme left is Dr. Melchior; next to him sits Herr Leinert; then comes Dr. Landsberg; next is Count Brockdorff-Rantzau. On the Count's left is Herr Giesberts, and Professor Schücking is on the extreme right.

The Big Naval Bluff

SIR JOSEPHUS boasts that he can dodge an embarrassing question as easily as anyone can ask it. But of some dodging we may say, in adaptation of Webster's epigram, Evasion is confession. Indeed, we are not sure that it needed confession, by dodging or otherwise, to convict the Administration of employing the nation's naval programme as the means of working or at least trying to work one of the biggest and most cynical games of bluff in all the annals of "open covenants of peace, openly arrived at."

Here are the facts:

During the last session of Congress the Secretary of the Navy asked for the passage of a naval expansion bill so gigantic as to stagger the country. The hand-picked Congress showed an inclination to demur. Whereupon there was furtively passed around, to force recalcitrants into line, a secret cable message which the President had sent, practically demanding the passage of the bill on the ground that it was necessary to the success of his "undertakings."

That is to say, the foremost living exponent of "open

covenants openly arrived at" was secretly trying to bully and bluff Great Britain into accepting his fad for limitation of armaments by threatening that if she did not do so the United States would build a navy so big that Britannia would no longer be able to rule the waves.

The thing did not work. John Bull was not to be bluffed. The British delegates did indeed accept the Covenant of the League of Nations. But it contained no mandate for general reduction of armaments, but simply provisions that Great Britain was quite free to keep her own navy fully up to its present concert pitch.

Now Sir Josephus, who a few months ago was showing that secret cable dispatch around in holes and corners, comes out into the open and says that he does not want that big programme adopted, after all. He does not tell us whether in so doing he is following the instructions of another secret dispatch and whether the President has any new "undertakings" the success of which requires a small navy programme. When asked pertinent questions he smiles and boasts of his facility in dodging.

But Sir Josephus displays, we fear, a little of the inco-

sistency of great minds. He says in one breath, "There will be no necessity for such increase, as I have faith in the League of Nations"; and in the next he makes the fatal admission, "If the League of Nations plan succeeds *we must end our naval construction.*" First, the glib optimism of Utopia: We shall not need more ships, because the League of Nations will prevent war. Second, the after thought and truer thought: There is no use in planning to build more ships, because the League of Nations will not let us build them.

We confess that we are at a loss to determine which is the more significant, which is the more discreditable, of the two admissions thus made by the Secretary of the Navy of the United States of America. The one is that the Administration, at Woodrow Wilson's personal direction and urging, tried to get Congress to pass a monstrous naval bill which it did not want and did not mean save on paper as a means of "bluffing" another nation. The other is that the Administration is now bending every effort for the adoption of an international compact under which we shall not be permitted to build any more ships, save by the unanimous permission of the other nations of the world.

Whichever is the worse, they both are true.

There Was a Bill of Rights

A QUAIN old document, self-styled a "Constitution for the United States of America," less known, perhaps, to the Hot Gospellers of the New Freedom than to contemplative antiquarians and mere citizens of patriotic inclination, contains this curious passage:

The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated.

We were reminded of this by hearing, the other day, of the introduction of a measure in Congress which, reading between the lines, is practically entitled "A Bill for Giving the Anti-Saloon Busybodies Fat Jobs at Prying into Other People's Business." It provides for the appointment of a Commissioner of Prohibition, who shall have power to appoint his own assistants, within the limits of an appropriation of \$3,000,000, and who, with the assistance of that goodly company, shall enforce the President's own wartime prohibition law.

That is a nice starter. But nicer still remains. For by the same enlightened bill everything which contains more than one half of one per cent of alcohol is declared anathema. Ye shall not "manufacture, sell, barter, give away, transport, export, deliver, furnish, receive, possess, or use" the unclean thing. And the Commissioner and his friends are to see to it that you do not; and they are to do so in a "liberal" manner. That is to say, "all the provisions of this act shall be liberally construed." Most acts leave construction to judicial authorities. Not so this one. It gives orders and prescriptions for its own construction. "Liberally." That obviously means according to the taste and fancy of the man who does the job. If someone is suspected of having in his cellar a bottle of grape juice which has fermented until it contains six tenths of one per cent of alcohol, then the Government sleuths, "liberally"

construing the law, are to invade, enter, search, ransack and loot the domicile of this bibulous miscreant, until they have found the aforesaid bottle, and shall thereupon hale it and its owner to court to receive the dread sentence of the outraged law.

But the relationship between this entrancing and seductive prospect of the days that follow the rare days of June, and the aforesaid "Constitution," is this, and it is the circumstance which causes contemplation of the one to recall to mind regretful memories of the other; to wit: That obviously there can be no friction, clash, conflict or contradiction between them, for the reason that the so-called "Constitution"—even were it in force and valid effect under the dispensation of the New Freedom—inhibits and forbids nothing but "unreasonable" searches and seizures. And who is there among all of you so bold as to dispute the sweet reasonableness of such search and seizure as that which we have described?

Roosevelt and the League

WE commend perusal of an article in the last *Unpopular Review* by the Editor of that publication, which, as the climax and peroration of a most elaborate argument and appeal for the League of Nations, contains this astounding inquiry:

Was it the Power called God, working through laws that go wider and deeper than our imaginations can, or was it chance . . . that, while the trial of the experiment was under discussion, *removed to higher spheres*, we trust, *the one man most likely and most able to obstruct it?*

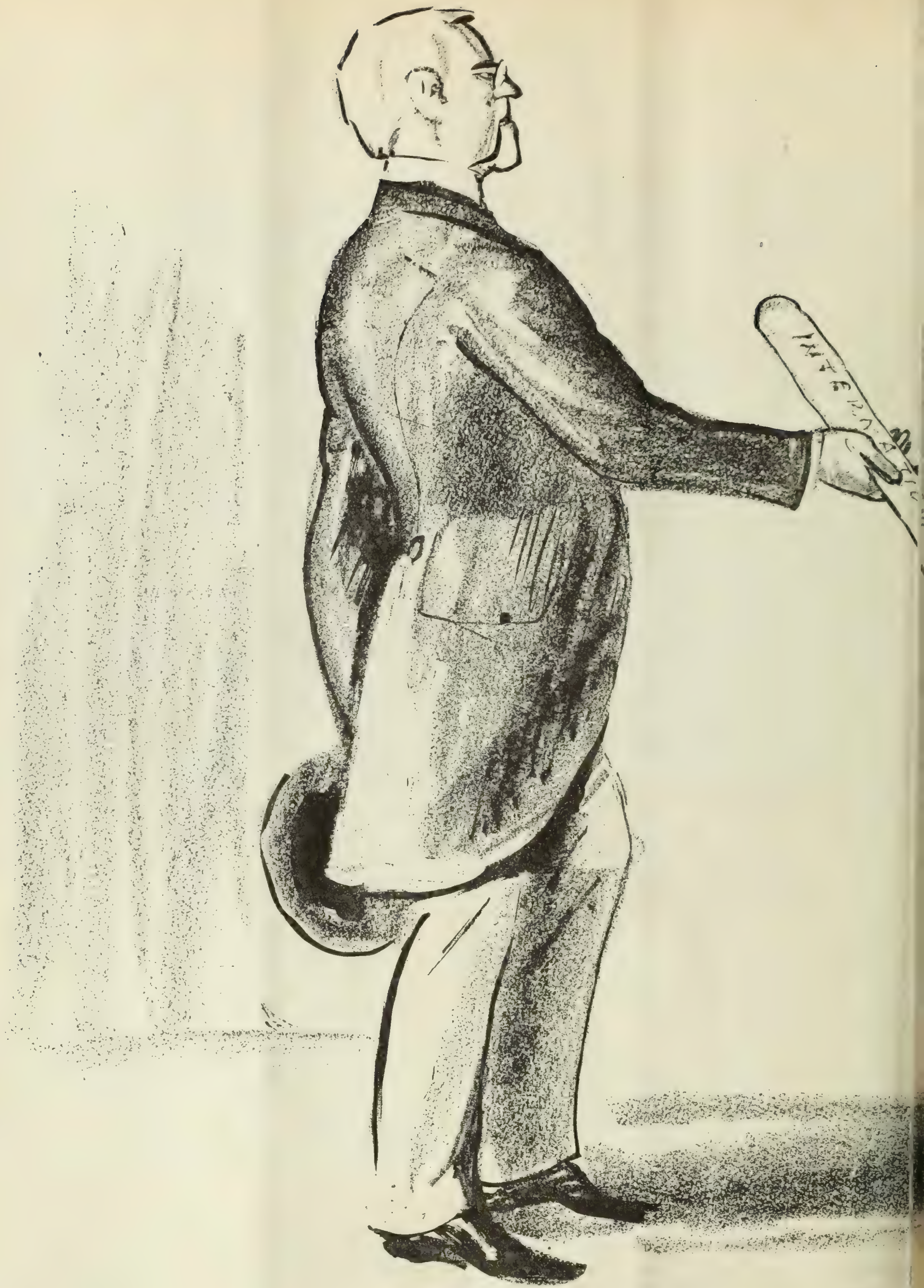
That, we think, should be a sufficient answer to the impudent attempt to cite Theodore Roosevelt on the side of Denationalization. Everyone with more brains than a shrimp knows right well that the vagaries of this League Covenant were utterly repugnant and abhorrent to Theodore Roosevelt, and that they are at direct variance with all the principles and practices and teachings of his career; and that if he were living to-day he would be in the very forefront of the opposition to it.

But there is something more than that truthful confession in the amazing passage which we have quoted. It consists of the opening and closing clauses of an enormously compounded question which fills nearly a whole page. It asks if it was "the Power called God or chance" that did twelve separate and distinct things. Every one of the first eleven of the twelve is a thing in which we are supposed to exult and rejoice, and which the writer of the article obviously regards as cause for grateful thanksgiving. And then comes the twelfth, which we have quoted; in precisely the same manner.

It would scarcely have been possible for the fine master of English speech who wrote that article to say more plainly than he implied it in those words,

Thank God—or luck—that Theodore Roosevelt is dead and thus cannot defeat the League of Nations.

We have met with many unworthy things in the propaganda of the League. Some were self-stultifying. Some were mendacious. Some were impertinent. Some were simply silly. We have seen no other quite so monstrously indecent as this ghoulish chuckling and exulting over the death of Theodore Roosevelt.



The Challenge and Dread Alterra



“Take THAT or Take ME!”

The Week

WASHINGTON, June 5, 1919.

THE signature of the treaty is still of the future. It may be June 20, say some. As for the truly wise, they make no predictions but are heard now and then to intone beneath their breath the refrain of an old, old song: "It may be for years, and it may be forever!"

The one thing certain in the whole deplorable muddle is this, that the delay is inestimably costly in the present and threatens to be hereafter unspeakably disastrous to the world. It is costly because of its maintenance of war conditions and war expenses through month after month of what should be time of peace, and because of its obstruction and postponement of those works of reconstruction and rehabilitation which are supremely necessary for the welfare of the nations, even of our own. Never in history was the economic and social status of the world so mischievously disturbed as it was by the great war. Never was there so great need of its immediate and complete reestablishment. But that achievement is impossible until the peace treaty is signed. Everything waits upon that. The employment of labor, the prices of food and all the necessities of life, the restoration of industry of all kinds to a normal basis—all are dependent upon the conditions of peace which are not to be determined until the treaty is signed. And because of the League of Nations folly, that signature is indefinitely delayed. It is a heavy account which those responsible for the delay will ultimately have to settle with an outraged world.

We say that this delay is primarily due to the League of Nations project. That is not because of delay over the precious Covenant of the Smuts-made League, which was adopted weeks ago. It is because of the President's persistent attempts to fulfil his threat of inextricably interweaving the Covenant with the general terms of the Treaty so that they will both have to be accepted or rejected together. To that pernicious end he insists on linking up his League follies with every possible feature of the Treaty. Is Fiume to be apportioned? Let the League do it. Is Dantzig to be disposed of? Trust it to the League. How about industrial supervision of Germany, to assure her payment of her debts? The League will attend to that. If the disposition of these matters had been left to normal agencies, the whole business might have been settled months ago. If a mandate of the League is to be arranged for every time the Sultan of Zanzibar wants to sneeze, we may as well let the making of peace await the coming of the Greek Kalends.

Exasperating and costly as this unnecessary delay is, however, that is by no means the most serious and ominous feature of the case. Far worse, for the future of the world, are the encouragement which is thus given for the recrudescence of the old Hunnish spirit, the transformation of what was to have been a peace dictated by triumphant justice into a peace of negotiation and compromise, the confirmation of the German people in the belief that they were not at all defeated in the war, and the enabling of Germany to win in peace what she was unable to win in war. The pretence

that no discussion of terms would be permitted has long been abandoned, and for a fortnight there has been just as truly a debate between the Allies and the Huns as there was among the Powers at Berlin in 1878; much more than was permitted between Germany and France in 1871. The attempt to require Germany to sign by a prescribed time has become a farce, postponement after postponement being granted at the Hunnish will. Change after change is being made in the treaty, upon the insistence of Germany. Day after day the old arrogance of Germany is being reasserted—note the secret letter of Erzberger, just disclosed. "Delay the making of peace long enough," said the shrewd Huns months ago, "and our enemies will get so tired that they will be willing to settle on any terms." There is danger today that that expectation will be fulfilled.

Germany wants a few billion dollars indemnity because "a million births were prevented as a direct result of the food blockade upon the vitality of the women." It is quite possible that the circumstances of the war did lower the German birth rate, though we are not prepared to admit that that was an unmixed calamity to the world. But we should like to know what would be left of Germany if she were compelled to pay at a like ratio for the results of her deliberate devilry upon the women of other countries.

An article of the Peace Treaty which was officially withheld from the published summary but which has since been disclosed by other than an official agency, deals with contracts with enemy nations, and has a special clause providing that it shall not apply to American, Brazilian or Japanese contracts, because of its conflict with the constitutions and laws of those countries. Very well. If such reservations and exceptions can be made in one place, they can be made in others. Let us have an omnibus reservation, to the effect that nothing in any part of the Treaty or contained Covenant shall apply to the United States which in the opinion of the Senate of that country conflicts with its Constitution, laws or established policy. Why not, if such a reservation is permissible to Article 299?

The announcement of an independent Rhineland Republic is to be taken with a very large pinch of salt. It is of course possible that the project is sincere. It is more probable that it is nothing but a scheme of German camouflage, intended for effect upon the Peace Congress and especially upon France.

What is really going on in Poland? On Sunday last the *New York Times* printed some particularly detailed, circumstantial, and apparently responsible reports of outrages upon Jews by the Poles, of such a character as to reflect grave culpability upon the Government of that country. Yet on Monday there was made public an earnest request by Mr. Paderewski that Mr. Wilson send an American commissioner thither to investigate thoroughly the whole matter; with an expression of entire confidence that the result would exonerate the Polish Government and people. Mr. Paderewski asserted that the reported "pogroms" never occurred, and that the few Jews who have been put to death were renegade Bolsheviks.

Mr. Paderewski's request for an investigation is impressive. It is unlikely that he would make it unless he were confident of a result favorable for himself and for Poland; and there can scarcely be anyone who knows better than he what the result would be. Let us have the truth, whatever it may reveal.

That was an amazing document which a *Tribune* correspondent got hold of and made public on Monday, a secret letter written by the infamous Erzberger, in which Erzberger argues that Germany's future depends upon her preventing Poland from becoming strong, and thus maintaining German access to Russia, with the purpose of Germanizing Russia and then renewing the attempt to conquer the world. And yet, is this amazing after all? On second thought, we guess not.

The protest of Roumania and other small nations against the cavalier way in which they are being treated by the Big Four is a reminder that the Fourteenth Commandment has gone the way of the First of that sacrosanct farrago. Let us recall its terms:

A general association of nations must be formed under specific covenants, for the purpose of affording mutual guarantees of political independence and territorial integrity to great and small states alike.

Instead of that, according to the President's own statement, admission, or what not, we have, in effect—

A close corporation of the great Powers for the purpose of doing whatever they please with the political independence and territorial integrity of the small Powers, without the knowledge or consent of the latter.

Those are not the President's own words, of course, though they are entirely accordant with them. They are an interpretation of deeds which are stronger than words.

A *Tribune* correspondent who visited Amerongen and learned much about the ex-Kaiser, but was denied an interview with him, reports that, according to all he was able to learn, the Hohenzollern "is playing the part of a moral and physical coward, living in mortal terror of bodily harm." There never, in all his sin-stained life, was reason for supposing him to be anything but a coward, the same kind of coward that cruel tyrants generally are.

The Pan-German Union, we are told, purposes to seek the adoption, by the German National Assembly, of a resolution inviting the former Kaiser to return home. At the same time the German representatives revolt indignantly at the proposal that the former Kaiser shall be tried for his crimes. Precisely. We have no doubt in the world that to the great majority of Germans William Hohenzollern is just as much of an "Ali Highest" as he ever was, or that they would hesitate a moment to welcome him back to the throne if they thought there was a good chance of his "making good." The leopard may change his spots and the Ethiopian his skin, but the Blond Beast will not change its nature.

While the President hesitates to approve giving recognition to the one Government in Russia which is performing the legitimate functions of government, for fear that it might not realize exactly his own ideals of democracy, the Constitutional Democrats of that country are quite satisfied with it and have pledged to it their hearty support. We are told that the Peace Conference wants Admiral Kolchak to say whether he intends, if successful, to give Russia a Constituent Assembly. But the facts, known to all the world, are that he is fighting against the usurping despots who forcibly dispersed the Constituent Assembly, and that he has repeatedly declared that the future of Russia is to be decided by the freely elected representatives of the Russian people. It is not easy to see what more could well be asked of him.

The New York *Times* takes Senator Poindexter to task for saying that "on December 4, 1917" the President spoke of the Bolshevik government in Russia as "worthy of the admiration of every lover of mankind." It points out, what is quite true, that in his address on that date the President said no such thing, and that, moreover, at that early date the Bolsheviks were not yet in full control of Russian affairs. Therefore, it says, "Mr. Poindexter owes the President a retraction." Not so. He owes nothing but a correction of date. Not on December 4, 1917, when the Bolsheviks were not yet fully in control, but on January 8, 1918, when they had gained full control and were treacherously entering upon the infamies of Brest-Litovsk, the President did say, to the Congress of the United States, that the Russian people, though apparently prostrate and all but helpless before the power of Germany, had stated "their conception of what is right, of what is humane and honorable for them to accept, with a frankness, a largeness of view, a generosity of spirit, and a universal human sympathy which must challenge the admiration of every friend of mankind." Apparently the President's reference was to the statements and purposes of the Bolsheviks at Brest-Litovsk. Technically the *Times* is right. The President did not say any such thing on the date named by Senator Poindexter. But in its apparently attempted suggestion and conclusion that the President never said any such thing, the *Times* is wrong.

Lieutenant Read has completed his transatlantic journey. The big, salient, immortal fact is that his seaplane was the first aerial craft that ever crossed from America to Europe under its own power. That brackets it forever with the flagship of Columbus. What will come hereafter, we may not foretell; though we have a confident expectation that Read's achievement will lead to further ventures until successful performances of the feat which Hawker attempted will be a commonplace of aerial navigation. For the present, sufficient unto the feat is the glory thereof.

FIGHT ON LEAGUE BROUGHT UNITY TO REPUBLICANS.
—Headline in *The Tribune*.

Good. But it will be better still to have it bring unity to all Americans.

Mr. Baker's Plan

NEEDLESS to say, "A Permanent Military Policy for the United States," Secretary Baker's contribution to a recent *Saturday Evening Post*, will receive the respectful consideration it merits from all students of military affairs. This is right and proper. Not only because he is our Secretary of War, but because he directed the expenditure of more than \$13,000,000,000 for the equipment and support of 4,000,000 soldiers, every statement that Mr. Baker makes has the authority of experience. It so happens that the President himself read and approved the proofs in Paris, thereby lending the weight of his sanction to the policies proposed.

Like an excellent lawyer building his case from the very foundations, Mr. Baker presents irrefutable evidences to prove that the Constitution guarantees us the right to an army; but we must pass this section without comment, and hasten to examine the reasons why we were hopelessly unprepared in April, 1917.

Mr. Baker, we are glad to say, clarifies this controverted chapter of history by showing quite clearly that we were without a sufficient and scientifically trained force because of the necessity "of maintaining widely scattered and relatively small frontier outposts for service in the event of Indian disturbances." We must confess that we had somewhat underestimated this danger as a compelling influence on our military policy during the last half-dozen years or so, but it is gratifying to be assured that we need not fear the danger of Indian aggression hereafter, because it "has almost if not entirely disappeared."

From these less engrossing observations, Mr. Baker approaches the vital question of our permanent policy. He sets forth concisely and cogently the numerical requirements of the future as follows:

The size of the permanent Regular Army cannot now be determined. Obviously it depends upon two considerations. First, a just forecast of the international obligations of the United States; second, the size of the regular army should be such as to afford adequate representation to the several arms.

With the exception of his epigrammatic explanation before the Senate Committee of our somewhat tardy participation in France, that the war was "3,000 miles" away, we venture to say that Mr. Baker has made no more typical or satisfying statement since he alienated himself from his pacifist friends and accepted the nation's call to lead us in war.

I do not discuss in these comments the question of universal military training because I think it important to withhold the formation of definite views on that subject until the promulgation of the treaties which are being worked out in the Peace Conference.

That, of course, follows naturally from the conclusions affecting the future size of the regular army, and we could hardly expect a more positive statement from Mr. Baker. It is gratifying to know from his own pen that he considers the subject of universal training of enough importance to receive that deep consideration which may be expected to result in definite views. The country, we are sure, would hardly be satisfied with indefinite views.

While his plans for the future have not been worked out

in more detail than would be apparent from the foregoing observations, it is evident that Mr. Baker's purpose concerning the present regular organization is clear in some ways.

The mercenary, the professional army as a caste—are things of the past.

At the present moment we do not feel equal to commenting upon this. We shall leave what comment may be required to the Pershings, the Woods, the Liggets, the Kuhns, and those other "mercenaries" who for twenty years have sought to teach the people of America the inevitable results of the pacifism preached by Mr. Baker and his friends, and who, when the call came, surmounted unbelievable difficulties and trained our citizens as best they could.

We regret that space forbids us to comment on those important sections of the article which appear under the heads, "How to make the army attractive"; "Linking Military and Civil Science"; "Vacation Training"; and such other subjects as social centers and religious training—vital essentials of any permanent military policy. Concerning the matter of age-limits, Mr. Baker says:

The peace-time army should . . . be made up of young men from eighteen to twenty one. . . It would also create an army of men below the normal age for marriage, and their army experience would be during the latter years of adolescence, when mental and physical occupation are an adequate answer to the sex demands which later become insistent and embarrassing in dealing with groups of unmarried men.

It is indeed unpleasant to think that Mr. Baker has been compelled to deal with such novel and embarrassing demands.

A regular organization built on these lines would never need to be very large. Think of the tremendous moral effect that such an army of youthful celibates would have upon the immoral hordes of Europe and Asia!

What troops would want to fight them?

Colonel George Harvey has cast up accounts on the peace treaty and finds that the war didn't pay. Everybody else, he finds, got something definitely worth while from the treaty, but America got nothing. Even granting that Colonel Harvey's contention were correct, what sort of morality and decency would his interpretation imply among the people of the United States? A child, let us say, is drowning; a stranger leaps in and rescues him, and then proceeds to cast accounts in the Harvian fashion as follows: The child gains one gallon of water, some sea weed in his locks, and experience. The mother of the child gains her infant back again and an opportunity to weep. But as for the stranger, he spoils a suit of clothes, he gets water in his watch, and the parting comes out of his hair. Obviously, a man is a fool to rescue a child from drowning.—*The Globe*.

No, a man is not a fool to rescue a child; only, having done so, to adopt it.

The *World* reports that "the name of former President Taft was cheered for the first time at a meeting of a Democratic National Committee,"—and rightly so, we maintain. Mr. Taft has become the chief and pretty nearly the only asset of the Democratic party and it was eminently fitting to show adequate appreciation of his valuable services. But why, in all fairness, we inquire, was no mention made of Uncle Jacob, who makes the wheels go round and round?

An Unfortunate Speech

WE may call Mr. Hawker's speech unfortunate and let it go at that. Even with his subsequent explanatory comments, it hardly leaves him in the sportsmanship class with, say, Sir Thomas Lipton. But Sir Thomas is not an Englishman. He is an Irishman. And Mr. Hawker, for that matter, is not an Englishman. He is an Australian.

But to measure the sportsmanship standards of either Australia or England by Mr. Hawker's comments on the success of our naval airmen would obviously be unfair. They are not in harmony with what we know of Australian sport ethics, while with those of England they are in distinct disaccord. They probably are individual to Mr. Hawker.

And for him, much allowance is to be made. On his own inspiration he elected to take our Navy's transatlantic flight as something in the nature of a race challenge. Nothing, of course, could be further from the fact. Our Navy, in a way, was merely engaged in experimental aerial manoeuvres. We challenged nobody. We merely went about our Navy business in our own Navy way. The Navy simply maintained American Navy traditions. The transatlantic flight was a carefully planned, skilfully organized experiment in air navigation conducted to a triumphant conclusion through inflexible courage and clear-headed coolness and skill.

Mr. Hawker's flight was purely a private affair. His objective was a monetary prize and the collateral distinction that went with the winning of it. At the last moment, incited by the success of our flight to the Azores, he entered the lists in what he chose to regard as a competitive flight across the Atlantic. Of his splendid daring there can be no question. He might have won. He failed, yet he won the enthusiastic plaudits of the Great Britain in whose honor he staked his life as well as the hearty applause of the last man of us here in this country.

Perhaps he would have been more than human had his disappointment not a little disturbed his poise.

And that tells the whole story, save in one particular. The accounts of the way Mr. Hawker's remarks were received by the English audience which heard them differ diametrically. One account describes them as having been received with wild and tumultuous applause. The other has it that they were received in dead silence. It can only be hoped that the last account is the correct one.

Itasca's Voice Rings Out

TO Mr. C. C. McCarthy, of Grand Rapids, Itasca County, Minnesota, we are indebted for a copy of "Resolutions Adopted by the Itasca County, Minnesota, Branch of The League to Enforce Peace, Indorsing the Paris Covenant for a League of Nations."

The inspiration of the Resolutions, it appears, was the organization in Grand Rapids of a branch of Mr. Taft's League to Enforce Peace. We are not informed as to the exact number attending the meeting. It must have been a tremendous outpouring of the masses. Itasca County cast 1,504 votes for Wilson and 1,163 for Hughes in 1916, mak-

ing a total of 2,667. This, at a moderate estimate, would mean a population of not far from 12,000. They were all there. We know this, because Mr. McCarthy says, "the citizens of Itasca County, after reading your magazines—the *North American Review* and *Weekly*—and especially your Chicago and Indianapolis speeches, and after careful consideration of the same, and, no doubt, influenced thereby, met at the Court House." Thus we have Mr. McCarthy's word for it that the 12,000 or so citizens of Itasca County were all present and accounted for when County Chairman Freeman rapped for order.

The population of the county being all present, the meeting very properly began the Resolutions with the formula: "We, the citizens of the County of Itasca, State of Minnesota, in Mass Convention." How 12,000 or so people managed to squeeze into the County Court House is something of a puzzle. Either it is a prodigiously big Court House or there was a League of Overflow Meetings forming the Mass Meeting unit. But that is immaterial. The essential is the set of resolutions. Mr. McCarthy asks us to print them in full in both the *North American Review* and the *Weekly*. We regret our inability to comply with so reasonable a request. Neither the *North American Review* nor the *Weekly* is, intentionally at least, a purely humorous publication. Even to oblige the entire population of Itasca County in Mass Meeting assembled, we can not quite see our way to devoting something like four solid columns of this humble little sheet to mere hilarity. The appeal of the Resolutions to the American sense of humor is undeniably strong. The temptation to spread the entire Itasca County document before our readers is correspondingly alluring. But there is a limit to all things. The best we can do is to offer a few pearls from the "whereas" section of the document. At a venture, we suggest these as perhaps the gems of the collection:

Is it possible that we must so construe and apply Washington's Farewell Address as to tie our hands and paralyze our powers in the very matter of National Life?

Shall we make it a millstone hanged to our necks to drag us down in the great ocean of the world? Shall we make it a dagger with which to commit suicide?

Gosh, no!

Shall we dishonor Washington by making his Farewell Address a dead and a lifeless thing, or shall we honor him by making it a living, vital force for our continued life, liberty, prosperity, happiness and peace? We will beware of foreign alliances and the way to do so is to see to it that conditions throughout the earth are so made that we cannot—never again—[tut! tut!] be picked up bodily and thrust into a world conflagration without our knowing it until after it was done?

Now, we venture to call that hot stuff. The way the entire population of Itasca County thus picks us up bodily and "thrusts us into a world conflagration without our knowing it until after it was done," is, in our humble opinion, nothing short of soul-stirring.

Of course, the alternatives are obvious. Either we have got to take the League of Nations just as Mr. Wilson hands it to us, or the United States Senate has got to match minds with Itasca County to see which is going to be picked up bodily and pitched neck and crop into a world conflagration with the loser not knowing where he is going until he gets there. Itasca County's voice has sung out in clarion tones!

A Washington Monument for France

IN the Senate of the United States, May 20, 1919, Mr. Moses introduced the following bill; which was read twice and referred to the Committee on the Library:

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That there is hereby created a commission, to be known as the World War Memorial Commission, and to be composed of the Secretary of State, the Secretary of War, the Secretary of the Navy, and the chairmen of the Committees on the Library, Military Affairs, and Naval Affairs of the Senate and House of Representatives, respectively.

SEC. 2. That the duties of said commission shall be to cause to be erected in France, on the Heights of the Marne, in the vicinity of Chateau-Thierry, or on such other suitable site as may be selected and purchased by them, a permanent memorial to commemorate for all time the heroic achievements of the American soldier, sailor, and marine in the World War. Such memorial shall be known as the American World War Memorial, and shall take the form and be, so far as practicable, a replica of the Washington National Monument, bearing upon its surface a suitable record in bronze of the battles in which American troops were engaged, the military units involved, and such other data as the Commission may deem proper.

SEC. 3. That the Commission shall cause to be prepared, at a cost not to exceed \$25,000, appropriate plans and designs for the embellishment of the immediate vicinity of the shaft, and when such plans and designs shall have received the approval of the Fine Arts Commission to whom they shall be submitted, they shall be included in the general plans for the American World War Memorial.

SEC. 4. The erection of said memorial and all engineering work connected therewith shall be performed under the supervision and direction of the Chief of Engineers, United States Army, subject to the general approval of the commission.

SEC. 5. That the Secretary of State is hereby directed to enter into negotiations with the French Republic for the purpose of securing the necessary concessions from that Government and its cooperation in carrying out the purposes of this act.

SEC. 6. The permanent office of the commission shall be in the Senate Office Building at Washington. The commission may appoint a secretary at an annual salary not exceeding \$4,000, and may employ such clerical assistants from time to time as they may deem necessary: *Provided*, That the aggregate annual compensation of such assistants shall not exceed \$25,000.

SEC. 7. The commission shall render a report to Congress on the first day of each regular session thereof, setting forth in detail the amount and nature of the expenditures made by them during the preceding year and to date, the progress made in the erection of the memorial, the names and compensation paid to each of their employees, and such other information as may be pertinent or required by Congress.

SEC. 8. That for the purposes of this act there is hereby

appropriated, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, the sum of \$500,000, and the limit of cost of the American World War Memorial is hereby fixed at \$3,500,000.

The Great Dogfish Uplift

IN a recent issue we had the pleasure of mentioning the fact that Mr. Redfield was about to concentrate the full dynamic energies of his powerful intellect upon fish. In contributing our humble resources to the spreading of these glad tidings we had not the remotest thought of doing Mr. Redfield a wrong.

And yet a valued correspondent writes that this is precisely what, by implication, we did do when we said that Mr. Redfield was "going" to concentrate on fish. With what we fear is a more or less justified severity of rebuke, our correspondent calls attention to the fact that Mr. Redfield's mind has long been concentrated on fish—that his mental fish concentration is an historical landmark in the Wilson Administration; that to refer to it as an event of the future, when it is an epochal milepost of the past, is a suggestive belittlement of Mr. Redfield's distinguished record and a lamentable display of ignorance on our part. "What about Mr. Redfield's noble efforts in the great dogfish uplift movement?" our correspondent sternly asks.

To the extent that the implication suggested might possibly flow from our language, we stand rebuked. That there was any intention on our part to obscure Mr. Redfield's glories we emphatically deny. Whatever suggestion in that direction there may have been was purely inadvertent on our part. Likewise do we emphatically deny that we were ignorant of Mr. Redfield's dogfish labors. Those labors are outstanding historical events in the Wilson Administration.

What Mr. Redfield did for the downtrodden American dogfish is common knowledge. If the American people refused to eat dogfish, the blame rests with them and not with Mr. Redfield. Through the powerful press agencies available to all supporters of the Administration, Mr. Redfield pleads for the dogfish with all but lyric eloquence. Why, oh why, he asked, should the American people eat canned salmon when they could eat canned dogfish? He personally appeared before the House Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries and plead for dogfish—plead so earnestly that he got an appropriation of \$25,000 of perfectly good taxpayers' money to promote dogfish-canning and to thrust dogfish down American throats. And again, no later than last January, he asked for and was refused another appropriation of \$45,000 to reimburse canners who had canned dogfish, not wisely but too well. Eight tons of Mr. Redfield's canned dogfish were dumped in one installment into Seattle harbor. The pampered American public simply would not eat canned dogfish.

Now this great epic of dogfish is a matter of record. It is known of all men. It hardly seemed necessary to refer to it in congratulating the public on the fact that Mr. Redfield was going to keep right on concentrating his gigantic intellect on fish.

Gutzon Borglum's Monument Views

SIR,—On February 22nd, your courageous, inimitable and otherwise original paper proposed the Washington Monument, itself an imitation, as "our most notable work of art" and "unique," "our one great distinctive national creation," as the most fitting memorial to be erected in France for America's monument to the part she had played in preserving self-determination among the peoples of the earth.

I have subscribed for your paper ever since it appeared, and if I find anything in it I do not approve of, I am half inclined to conclude that I am the one who is in the wrong; and so I have watched for two months your WEEKLY's report on this idea from your readers, and I have watched for informed approval as well as criticism, and as yet I have found neither.

The subject you have opened is a great one; let us, so far as we may, discuss it greatly, let us deal with the occasion for a memorial, and forget nothing. Let us strip to the truth of things as they were and are, and learn the reality of our services, and let us ask France to confer with us as to the fitness of such statement, since we wish France to receive that great Pantheon, where rest forever our youth, together with the youth of the world, who abandoned their lives that we may live on and free.

Nor shall I in criticism reflect on the beautiful borrowed Egyptian needle which you suggest "be again borrowed from our borrowing and returned to the old world," from which it came, to France, the mistress of modern art! I shall not criticize the monument on grounds of design. It is infinitely beautiful as it stands, and chaste enough—coming from so wanton an age; but it is in no way related to the subject we wish to memorialize; it in no way expresses that which must be expressed, if our boys shall "sleep in Flanders fields." And it is not ours. It is in no way a "distinctive national creation"; neither is it a "work of art." We cannot even call it an historical document; it has not the original qualities even of the first Brooklyn Bridge, which originated out of the local necessities that cried for expression. This Brooklyn Bridge—the first one—is full of creative and original beauty; the other bridges between New York and Brooklyn are not even good imitations.

A monument is but a marker, with its memorial data; it is the most sacred legacy we leave to posterity; it must carry the purest expression of our best moments. Greece had a law (from which Phidias is said to have suffered) that a work of art was the expression of the people or the state; that it was sacred; and that it was a penal offense for the artist himself to claim it or cut his name upon it. That is a true and wonderful thought, and it should be revived. A monument is itself a mark upon the face of the world; it is a shrine, an altar—upon it should be inscribed the story of the deeds that prompted the

people to build it; for it is an altar in permanent service carrying its message into eternity. And the language and the spirit must be universal and understood by all. The ancients knew this simple elemental truth, and cut their history in stone and bronze, in forms or characters that children and strangers understand equally well.

If we erect a memorial to the service that this nation, through our sons, rendered civilization on that hallowed frontier, it must be as distinct, as unique, a contribution to art as that service was to mankind. Let us first, then, determine what that service was.

Was it sacred and unselfish, was it a struggle for fair dealing, for law and morality against the enemies of these? Was our part in this war an expression of the national conscience? That is, was the war national? Second, what sacrifice did we make? What was the precise character of that sacrifice? Even its quality will color the character of the memorial, that, I believe, pleads mightily for immortality. I believe, also, that there is here a wonderful race movement. Third, we must think of its permanency, its relation to the other memorials that will mark forever that great red way. Fourth, we must consider its design, its craftsmanship. That memorial, with the other supremely great memorials—France's, England's, America's (Belgium's should be at Liège, where the first great service was rendered) should be in granite and in bronze. Of course, it must be large, because it is a world-monument; it commemorates an epoch in civilization, it deals with the whole of humanity, and we must avoid the selfish note though we deal at once with America; the borrowed obelisk called the Washington Monument, with all its beauty, is inadequate for its purpose.

I have read the letters sent to you praising your suggestion, and I respect every one of them but, as I analyzed them, I found that they expressed the desire I have, but were thoughtless and uninformed, groping for something and seizing your suggestion,—which, after all, is the only heroic one that has been offered.

The utilitarian fiend will not think of invading your field or France, with his bureau or public building, labeled "Memorial," etc. Thank heaven, that farce could be perpetrated only here at home, and as its originators rightfully say themselves, "let the community that has neither an understanding spirit nor national interest build something useful; anything else would be a waste of money," and further, "none of them care."

But the great national tribute to the nation's legions in the world war is another matter, and I shall watch it as I have watched few events in our days, and do all in my power to make it a true world record of the new world's true part in epoch making.

GUTZON BORGLUM.

Where?

I. CANTIGNY
II. CHÂTEAU-THIERRY

III. BELLEAU WOOD
IV. ST. MIHIEL

V. MEUSE-ARGONNE

Endorsement and Encouragement

ABSOLUTELY PERFECT, IF—

SIR,—Under ordinary circumstances a Washington Monument in France would be a perfect representation of our American ideals and our friendship for France. It would typify our appreciation of France in sending its aid to Washington in the Revolutionary War, and of our sending our army to help France in the great world war. However, I am not so sure that it will be fitting if the League of Nations proposal by President Wilson goes through, as we would then be surrendering everything that Washington stood for, and instead of the Washington Monument standing for American nationalism it might be construed as the time when we abandoned all of the ideals represented by Washington. Therefore, I think it would be contradictory for us to adopt the League of Nations whereby we surrender many of our sovereign powers, and at the same time erect a Washington Monument. If it were not for the League of Nations muddle your proposal would be absolutely perfect.

RALPH W. SMITH.

Denver, Colo.

A MONUMENT CITY

SIR,—Permit me to suggest an amendment to your proposed monument in France. Considering her distressed condition, should not any considerable sum of money which we spend within her borders by way of a memorial be so disposed of as to help relieve her, impoverished as she is?

I would select, or let them select, some one of the smaller devastated towns, and thoroughly reconstruct and rebuild it ac-

ording to the best modern ideas and designs—French, not ours—with churches and schools restored, good pavements laid and trees replanted, and statues of Washington and Lincoln.

AMERICANS WILL APPROVE

SIR,—Regarding the Washington Monument for France, I believe the suggestion in HARVEY'S WEEKLY, a copy of which I am receiving and enjoy reading, is a splendid one. I trust the idea will grow and mature into a reality and I believe the American people generally will approve of the same.

H. C. STICHER.

Osage City, Kans.

ONE OR TEN DOLLARS

SIR,—I heartily endorse your suggestion of a permanent monument to our sons who have fallen in France perpetuating the cause of liberty. I am ready now or at any time with my contribution of one or ten dollars towards this object.

I. K. REVELLE.

Oklahoma City, Okla.

MEMORIAL AND SHRINE

SIR,—I wish to record my vote for the proposal to erect in France a duplicate of the Washington Monument. Nothing so fine could be thought out as a memorial and shrine.

E. A. DARBY.

Ashtabula, Ohio.

Letters From Our Readers

SINGLE-TRACKED

SIR,—Your WEEKLY is the strongest and most virile, but not virulent, periodical that I have seen, and your masterly choice of words in putting thoughts into our minds is a delight and pleasure to me. July 1st will lose some of its terrors for me because I shall continue to get from reading your many artistic examples of word-weaving the mental exhilaration that one gets from sipping rare old wine.

But I have just one criticism, or rather suggestion: I think it is rather unfair to twit a person in his later days about something he said in his earlier, and possibly formative days. It is amusing to watch the complex workings of a self-acknowledged simple and single-track mind and to compare it with itself a few years, or a few months, or in fact a few days, previous. But still I maintain it is unfair to quote to that remarkable mind after a lapse of years, months or even days, things that were promulgated by it on another occasion.

As I live on a single-track railroad I believe that I know what is meant by a single-track mind, and possibly your unfamiliarity with single-track railroads gives you a wrong conception of what the term means. A single-track railroad is one where the train, although of necessity passing the same stations day after day, is never the same. It has the same equipment, the same engineer, conductor, etc., but it has an almost entirely different load. The passengers, never exactly of the same composition, may be likened to an association of different ideas, which must, of course, produce a different effect or appearance of the whole. The train starts from one end, in the morning, and pursues the even tenor of its way until it reaches its destination, and then it starts back in time to reach its base of supplies before nightfall. There is no opportunity to run several trains a day, as there is on the double- and four-track roads; and even when one wants to run through a special idea, or rather train, one has to sidetrack the original to permit the other to pass, and this is always the occasion of considerable bother and lost time which is rarely made up. The freight trains with their bulky loads of the more heavy freight amble along from sidetrack to sidetrack, in order not to disturb the original train in its right of way on the single track, and with more or less regularity, unless prevented by a wreck that spills its ideas, or load of freight, it ultimately reaches its destination.

This is about all the traffic the road will stand. Of course, there is an occasional circus train, or a special excursion train, but these also disturb the schedule of the original train on this single-track road. As for a fast express train such as we read about running from New York to Chicago in eighteen hours (we read it in history, anyway), the roadbed is not sufficiently strong to stand the strain. So you can see that a single-track road is rather limited in its possibilities, and one cannot expect it to be the same in its entirety, although seemingly so in its outward appearance and its habits, from day to day and year to year. So you see that we who live on single-track roads know what to expect from single-track minds.

Mansfield, Pa.

EDWIN S. COLES.

SAN FRANCISCO'S CLAIM

SIR,—Admirable,—your suggestion that we have a peripatetic Congress following the precedent set by the President. Right you are! "Sub-tropical Washington is no place for a summer session of Congress."

San Francisco with its all-year-round climate would be an ideal place for Congress to hold its summer sessions. We should have a sort of Congressional Chautauqua.

In the city by the Golden Gate we face the Orient with its teeming millions and its pressing world problems.

What matter though the President and the Cabinet linger in Paris or London? Wireless and the cables have annihilated distance and the League of Nations has made the world one great family.

Let Congress swing round the circle!

San Francisco speaks for the next summer session.

San Francisco, California.

P. PORTOLA.

THE DEVASTATION GOES ON

SIR,—The work of exterminating towns still goes merrily on. A week or two ago I received a letter from a distant relative of mine who lives in Lovelock, Butte Co., Calif., which I proceeded to answer. This letter was returned to me the next day with the familiar stamp, "Return to the writer, no such office in state named." I happened to have the envelope bearing the Lovelock postmark, and I returned my letter to the Post Office by the carrier with this envelope, instructing him to tell the clerk who was guilty of deleting Lovelock from the Post Office

map that I thought he was a damn fool. I have heard nothing from the letter since, so I suppose it went through. As my correspondent in Lovelock is 91 years old and I am 84, it is questionable whether we shall be able to hear from one another very many times during our respective lives if the instance you mention, in which the letter reached its destination about two years after the addressee had attended the funeral of its writer continues to hold good.

GEO. B. SNOW.

Long Beach, Calif.

THE CONSTITUTION AND THE LEAGUE

SIR,—For some time an interested reader of your publications I particularly enjoyed the address to the Bankers' Association of Chicago and the speech in Indianapolis.

In referring to the President's speech in Boston, you naturally disagree with the statement "... we did not confine our conception and purpose to America, and now we will make mer free ..." It seems to me that the best contradiction of his claim is found in the Preamble to the Constitution of the United States, which reads: "We, the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect Union, establish justice insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defence promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain . . ."

No thought of "men everywhere!"

You may have called attention to this in some publication which has escaped me. If not, I thought you might possibly be interested in the quotations.

C. A.

New York City.

LEAGUES AND WAR

SIR,—I want to congratulate you upon your masterful, courageous, patriotic and American speech. It was a clarion call to a sleeping nation. It should be printed and circulated throughout the country.

Your suggestion that any League of Nations is dangerous is absolutely the right stand. I don't see how any student of history can be for any international alliance.

All of the Leagues in history have been makers of war, not preservers of peace. The League between Rameses and the Hittites, the Holy Alliance, the German-Austria-Italian League, the English-French-Russian League, the Napoleonic Leagues, all made for war. None of them preserved peace and none ever will.

I am getting up a brief now on this subject, to show how many wars have grown out of international alliances and how few have grown out of single treaty partnerships.

E. C. S.

Trenton, N. J.

A REFORMED SOUTHERN DEMOCRAT

SIR,—Why do you continue your rapid-fire in an effort to disable our "long-range rhetorical gun?"

Who made him Governor of New Jersey, who carried his name "for President" two long years in *Harper's Weekly*, who got him nominated at Baltimore in 1912, and caused poor little me to vote for him (that year only)?

Answer: *George Harvey!*

A sadder and wiser man, I subscribe myself as one of the millions of Americans absolutely opposed to any foreign country having anything to say, in any way, as to what the United States shall or shall not do, and against our country entering any League of Nations, of any one of the fifty-seven varieties.

Bristol, Virginia.

FRANCK TAYLOR.

"A MORAL TONIC"

SIR,—I want the personal satisfaction of telling you that to me your WEEKLY and the *North American Review* are most bracing moral tonics. As a clergyman, I feel deeply the responsibility of trying to help form right opinion and conserve the virtues and moral stamina which made our founders men of power. For that reason, I wish I were a Pope, so I could make all my flock read you or else suffer excommunication.

EDGAR M. ROGERS.

Trinity Church, Everett, Washington.

GOOD WISHES

SIR,—Strength to your strong, right arm. Keep the hypodermic pumping rich, red blood into many anemic veins, fast becoming merely dust ducts!

Boston, Mass.

R. M. WASHBURN.

HARVEY'S WEEKLY

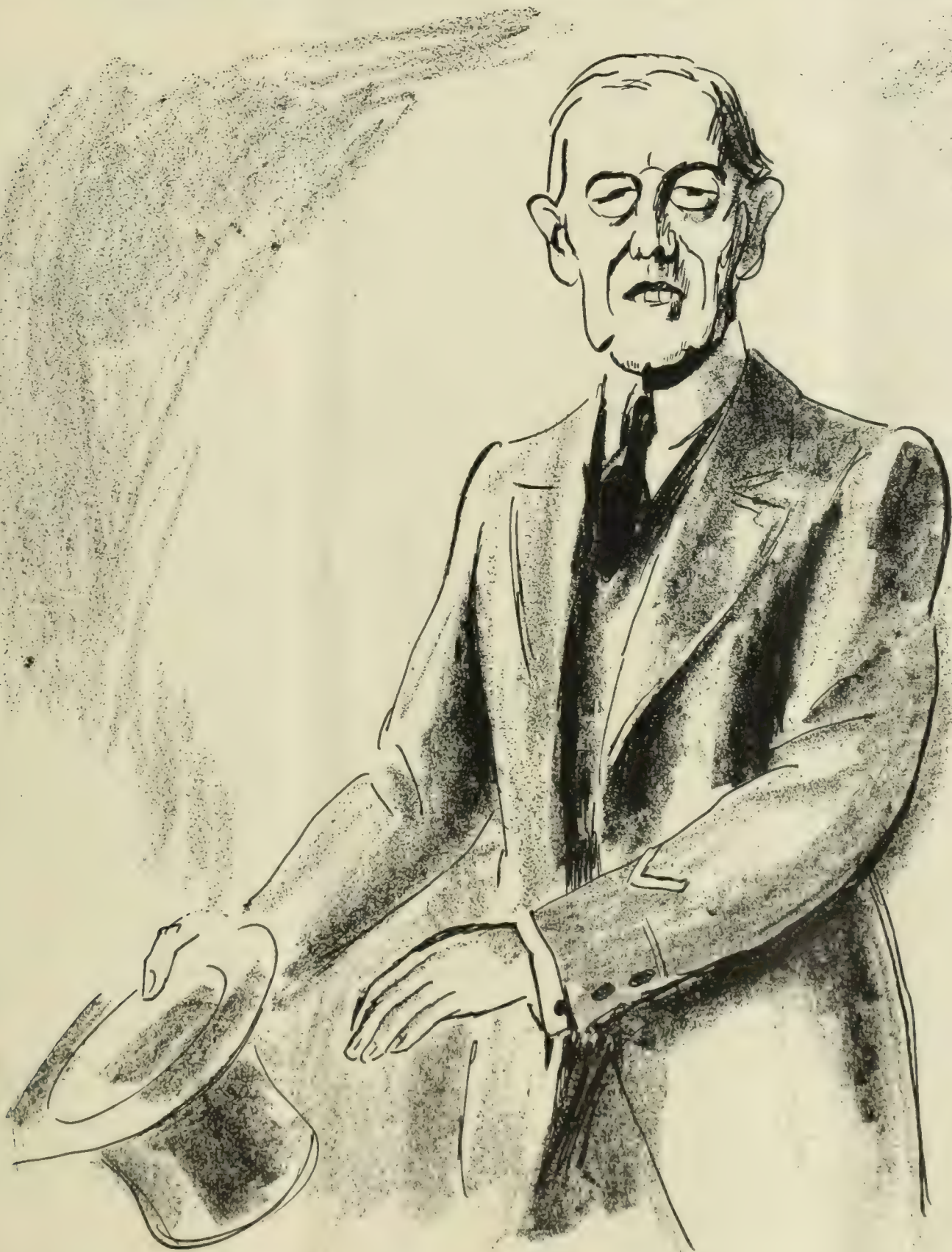
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WEEK ENDING JUNE 14, 1919

No. 24



HIS SERVICE STRIPE

President Wilson Will Have Been Abroad Six Months on June 13

—Press dispatch from Paris

Opening the Covenant

THE Covenant of Peace is open at last—not at the will of the Covenanter, who to the last protested that it should not be, but at the will of the American people, expressed through brave and loyal Senators, who would no longer endure being played fast and loose with in a matter of paramount importance, every detail of which was fully disclosed to the Huns of Berlin but was made taboo to the American people and their representatives.

The episode of Monday was thus at once admirable and grossly discreditable. It was discreditable in that the President made it necessary for the Senate to resort to such means for attaining its legitimate end. There have been, happily, few such spectacles in our history as that of a President of the United States brazenly clamoring for "open covenants openly arrived at," and at the same time insisting that a supremely important covenant should be arrived at secretly and should be kept secret from his own people while it was freely disclosed to their enemies; of his permitting, through negligence or otherwise, copies of the covenant to issue surreptitiously to interested persons; and of his chosen spokesmen railing to the last against those to whom such copies had legitimately come.

It was discreditable because of the very character and essence of the covenant when it was revealed. The subservient apologists of the President insist that it contains nothing new, that all its contents were faithfully presented in the official summary which was published some time ago. If that were true, it would make it utterly stultifying for the President to have refused so stubbornly to reveal the letter when the spirit had already been disclosed. Others discern in it matters of much importance which were not given in the summary; a circumstance which, so far as it is true, suggests a most discreditable purpose on the part of somebody to mislead and deceive the American people.

The admirable feature of the case is seen in the revolt of the Senate against the arrogant autocracy of the "throne of administration" and its insistence upon the right of Americans to enjoy in the process of peacemaking at least equal privileges with the Huns whom they helped to vanquish; not least of all in the patriotic breaking of party lines and the assertion of self-respect and independence by Democratic Senators who no longer fear the crack of the party whip or shrink from incurring the displeasure of the petulant pedagogue of the White House. It is heartening to know that a large majority of American Senators are, after all, Americans, and not mere rubber stamps. We can see now more clearly than ever what purposes the President had in mind when he demanded of the nation that it elect a Congress subservient to his will.

It will doubtless be a bitter and an exasperating reflection to the President, that he will be unable to plume himself in the proud privilege of being the first to disclose to the Senate the terms of the treaty which he will wish it to ratify, and the first to reveal to the American people the fate which he, in his secretly exercised wisdom, has prepared for them. Nor will he derive much consolation from remembrance of his promise to the Congress: "You will know all that I do,"

and his austere proclamation of the First Commandment of the Law: "Open Covenants, openly arrived at."

It would have been so easy for him to do the right thing. Had he only deigned to provide the Senate, or even the Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate, with one of the thirty-odd copies of the treaty which lie stored in the State Department safes, to be kept by it in confidence, for its information only, he would have escaped all criticism; the secrecy of his "open covenant" would have been as secure as it seems to have been under his own eyes in Paris. He would not. He persisted in screwing down the safety valve and sitting upon it, until the explosion occurred. He has only himself to blame.

An ancient and honorable authority assures us that there is nothing hidden that shall not be revealed; not even, might reverently add, an Open Covenant.

An Admirable Address

SENATOR HIRAM JOHNSON'S speech in opposition to the preposterous League of Nations covenant was memorably able. In vigor, in lucidity, in freedom from rant or oratorical splurge, it was quite up to the mark, not beyond, anything we have thus far had on either side of the question. Senator Johnson is never dull when he has the Senate floor. Now and then he is brilliant. This time he surpassed himself.

Particularly effective was his comment upon the President's exasperating riding of his League of Nations horse while the whole world was crying out for that peace which might have been consummated months ago, but for the obstinacy and vanity of a President of the United States without authority and without precedent and in contemptuous disregard of the wishes of the country, has absented himself for half a year from his post of duty. Senator Johnson said:

Another common expression is, "Half a loaf is better than none." But half a loaf poisoned is worse than none at all, this half loaf, as some of its protagonists describe it, that has given us is poisoned in its very creation by wrong, injustice, duplicity, and broken faith. It was neither fair nor just, humane, when the world wanted peace, to delay that peace by the territorial acquisitions, like those of Japan, should be for time guaranteed. When the peoples of every country, staggering under the terrible effects of war, were longing and praying for its end by the treaty, were begging and pleading that it might resume as best they could their normal lives, it was the worst sort of duplicity to intertwine and intermingle with the treaty of peace a document for the maintenance of existing arrangements and newly-acquired boundaries. Some day some one must answer to the soldiers who have been kept abroad, to the fathers and mothers at home, seven months of intermeddling that an English document guaranteeing the British and Japanese Empires and the Kingdom of Italy might be fastened upon the American people.

To attempt to epitomize Senator Johnson's speech would be to do it an injustice. It is a close, concise summary of the voluminous mass of reasons why the dangerous document in the elaboration of which Mr. Wilson has wasted over six months of incalculably precious time should not be accepted by the American people.

M. Clemenceau remained firm in his determination not to relax the demands upon the Germans.—*Associated Press dispatch from Paris.*

The best news of the week from over there.

Both Foolish and Fraudulent

WE take it that the Monroe Doctrine, Article 21 of the League of Nations covenant, is probably the most exhaustive summarization of what the Monroe Doctrine is not which has ever been presented. Senators Johnson and Lodge, in recent Senate discussions, have indirectly demonstrated with much force the great value of this surprising Versailles Monroe Doctrine covenant as a comprehensive and yet concise presentation of the wide field of international matters with which the Monroe Doctrine has absolutely nothing whatever to do. This remarkable Article 21, amendatory of the originally unamendable Smuts-British-Wilson League of Nations covenant, reads as follows:

Article 21. Nothing in this covenant shall be deemed to affect the validity of international engagements such as treaties of arbitration or regional understandings like the Monroe Doctrine for securing the maintenance of peace.

Now, eliminating the things which this Article indirectly affirms that the Monroe Doctrine is, and which, as a matter of fact, it is not, we may see how simple it would have been for the Paris Conference to have excluded the Monroe Doctrine from League of Nations jurisdiction had it desired to do so. The things in Article 21 which the Monroe Doctrine is not are these:

It is not international.

It is not regional.

It is not an understanding.

It is not for securing the maintenance of peace.

The Monroe Doctrine, as is well known, of course, by the statesmen of all nations, is simply a clearly defined policy of self-defense adopted by this country nearly a hundred years ago and since then many times affirmed and reaffirmed in terms quite beyond possibility of misapprehension. Had the Paris Conference wished to except it from League of Nations supervision all it had to do was to say so. How easy it would have been to say so is impressively shown by striking out of Article 21 the gross errors of definition by implication above cited, as follows:

Nothing in this covenant shall be deemed to affect the validity of.....the Monroe Doctrine.....

That would have been the straightforward, the honest, the honorable way to do it. The way not to do it was by adopting the evasive language, flatly false in its every inference and implication, which makes of Article 21 as it stands nothing more nor less than a contemptuous insult to American intelligence. It is a fraud on its face—a fraud, and, worse than that, a blunder, and a blunder all but Teutonic in its clumsy stupidity.

“Won’t Sign”—“Can’t Pay”

GERMANY, we have been told again and again, will not sign the severe terms of peace which the Allies have prescribed. Therefore those terms must be modified.

Germany, we have been told again and again, can never pay the enormous indemnity which the Allies demand. Therefore that demand must be abated.

Such is the unconvincing logic of the gentle art of encouraging opposition.

For there is not the shadow of a doubt of Germany's chief reason for her parrot cry of “Won’t sign” and “Can’t pay.” It is because the Allies themselves take it in good faith and themselves re-echo it, and with what should be incredible and impossible folly purpose to act upon it in accord with the German plaint.

Of course they won’t sign, and they will pretend that they can’t pay, just so long as the Allies are willing to listen to their whining and to abate their demands in accordance with it.

We cannot remember that when Germany was bleeding Belgian cities to the extent of millions of dollars, they ever took into consideration the question whether it would be convenient or possible for their victims to pay. We do not recall that in a single place they said, “Well, if you can’t pay so much, we will lessen our demand.” On the contrary, in every case it was “Pay; or be shot and have your town burned!”

We would not have the Allies follow that example. We would not place civilized men on the plane of Blond Beasts. But we do believe that if every threat of “We won’t sign!” had been met with “You *shall* sign!” and every lying plaint “We can’t pay!” with “You must and shall pay, or take the consequences!” there would have been mighty little such talk from the Huns. But when the Allies yield as they have been doing, and show such readiness to adapt their terms to the pleasure of the enemy, the Huns would be incredible fools if they did not persist in their clamor.

Austria’s “Death Sentence”

AUSTRIA naturally follows the example of her lord and master, Germany, in protesting against the peace treaty which has been presented to her as her “sentence of death.” In the words of the Down East Yankee sage,

No man e’er felt the halter draw,
With good opinion of the law.

But if ever a state deserved richly the inexorable drawing of the halter which it had itself made and placed about its own neck, that state is German Austria. It must be doubted if in all the history of the world there is record of another state which so eagerly and habitually lent itself to every evil cause which was presented, and which so flagrantly built itself up and maintained itself on a basis of injustice and iniquity, as the late domain of the Hapsburgs. Oppressor of the Netherlands, oppressor of Switzerland, oppressor of Bohemia, oppressor of Poland, oppressor of Hungary, oppressor of Italy, oppressor of Serbia—where is there a nation with which she has come into contact that she has not wronged or tried to wrong? There was an ancient epigram, bidding “happy” Austria to let others wage wars while she won her ends by matrimonial alliances. Rather was her growth through theft.

There can be no pity for her, therefore, in the plight to which her sins have brought her. For if we accept the theory

that the Serajevo murder was the actual provocation of the war, we must see in that nothing but the result of Austria's prolonged campaign for the oppression, spoliation, and extinction of another smaller neighbor. If now her prey escape her, and the peoples whom she has long held in bondage regain their freedom and leave nothing but her own petty provinces, there can be no sympathy with her in her loss.

Nor is there room for pity at her loss of all her ships, seeing that she never had a foot of frontage on the sea that was not flagrantly stolen. It is only justice that she should be reduced to the condition of a purely inland state.

While, however, we must regard with approval this meting-out of justice to a criminal Power, we must demur to the proposal to make the United States a party to the solving of all the national and international problems that may arise in the liquidation of the former Hapsburg estate. It is well to have the once subject peoples erected into independent states. But it is not well for the United States to dictate the map-making and to assume responsibility for the maintenance of the border-lines. It is certainly to be hoped that racial, linguistic and religious minorities in the new states will receive just treatment; but it is not for the United States to dictate bills of rights in their constitutions or to serve as a police force for the maintenance of domestic order, any more than it is for some European Power to dictate our policy toward Mongolian immigration or to take action to prevent the lynching of negroes.

The case affords another example of the grave mistake which was made in trying to put too much into the Treaty of Peace and in trying to make the United States the arbiter of the whole situation. We have been told again and again—our own Administration emphasizes it—that we are not one of the Allies, but merely an "Associate." If that was our status in the war, it should certainly be so in the peace.

Instead of insisting upon participating in every minute detail of the re-organization of Europe, we should have contented ourselves with making a peace treaty on the broad and general lines which were all that was needed for our own purposes, and should have left our European "Associates" to settle the rest as they pleased; precisely as we have always insisted upon settling our affairs in Mexico and Cuba and Panama and elsewhere without European participation.

That is the lesson of regret which the Austrian treaty teaches us.

Don't "Mar the Record"!

WE commend to most careful and most favorable consideration the words of Lord Robert Cecil; though perhaps not precisely in the sense in which he meant them.

He was speaking the other day about the League of Nations, and of the attitude of the United States toward it. Then, referring to the conduct of the United States in the war, he said:

That is a glorious record, of which, if envy between our

countries were possible, I should be envious. It would indeed be deplorable if at the end of the conference something happened to mar this record.

It would indeed be deplorable, most deplorable.

For example, it would be deplorable for the United States, having fought the war for the sake of vindicating the rights of national sovereignty and independence, to abrogate and betray its own national sovereignty and independence by abandoning some of its most essential rights to aliens.

It would be deplorable for the United States, having fought the war for protection from European attack, to subject itself to all sorts of European complications, intrigues, and assaults.

It would be deplorable for the United States, having fought the war to establish "guarantees of political independence and territorial integrity to great and small states alike," to commit itself to the detestable proposition that small states have no rights which the Big Five, or Four, or Three, are bound to respect.

It would be deplorable for the United States, having fought the war to make further wars less probable if not wholly impossible, to commit itself to a League which would be a hot-bed for hatching wars in every one of which the United States would morally have to be involved.

It would be deplorable for the United States, having fought the war—as the President says—for "open covenants openly arrived at," to acquiesce in secret covenants so secretly arrived at that even our own treaty-making power was not permitted to know what they are until everybody else in the world had passed upon them.

It would, in fine, be deplorable for the United States, having fought the war to "make the world safe for democracy," to make itself a party to the domination of the world by autocracy.

We don't suppose that Lord Robert Cecil meant his remarks in precisely that way. But that is the way in which they will be taken by innumerable thoughtful Americans, who are convinced that in no way could America's fine war record be more deplorably marred than by accepting and adopting the Covenant of the Smuts-Cecil League of Nations.

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BY GEORGE HARVEY

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German Disintegration

THE separatist movement in the Rhineland and Palatinate has set all Germany by the ears. Everybody is blaming everybody else for it, and everybody is vigorously disclaiming responsibility for it. There is to be a National League for the Punishment of High Treason, quite in the fashion of the mediæval *Vehmgericht*; which, by happy coincidence, was a Rhineland institution. Of course there is above all unlimited raging at the wicked Allies, particularly France, for conceiving, fostering, promoting and striving to consummate this quite unspeakable crime against Der Vaterland.

All of which confirms our conviction of the Huns' lack of a sense of humor. For if there has been anything more conspicuous than all others in German policy in the last couple of years, it has been a persistent propaganda for the disruption and disintegration of other lands, especially, for obvious reasons, of Russia. Everybody knows that the various separatist movements in the former Russian Empire, in Ukrainia, Lithuania, Courland and elsewhere, were chiefly of German origin and of German promotion. German agents and German money were employed there without stint to persuade the people to secede, with endless promises of German protection. "Divide and conquer"—objectively—has been the foremost German maxim. Now, however, what was food for Russia is resented as rank poison for Germany.

It is also well known that the German Empire is not and never has been a truly integral entity. In ancient times that region was occupied by a multiplicity of independent and widely differing tribes of barbarians, who kept themselves in practice by fighting and plundering each other when there were no neighboring nations which they dared to attack and loot. There were Saxon and Frank and Alleman and Wend and Avar and who not. Charlemagne, the Frank, first brought them into political union, a process which he began by waging a war of subjugation against the Saxons; but that union was purely artificial, like that of the Austro-Hungarian empire in later times, and so have been all German unions since. Half the history of Europe for centuries was the history of wars of German states or leagues of states against other German states or leagues of states. The present or late German Empire was formed only a few years after a bitter war among German states, in which one such state conquered, subjugated and ruthlessly annexed several others. Even down to a few days before Prussia began her war against France in 1870, it was problematic whether the next largest German state would ally herself with Prussia or with France; and it was only through notorious political bribery that Bavaria was finally persuaded to join the Empire. With such antecedents, talk of the intrinsic iniquity of German separatism verges upon the grotesque.

It may well be argued, moreover, that separatism should be welcomed and promoted, as calculated to serve the highest welfare of the German peoples. There is no fact in German history more conspicuous and convincing than that the highest degrees of German civilization and culture—not Kultur—were attained when Germany was divided into a number of practically independent states. Such was the case in the

great spiritual and intellectual awakening of the Sixteenth Century; and it was the case again during that marvelous era of the late Eighteenth and early Nineteenth centuries. The German Empire of 1871-1918 made mighty progress in the art of war and in some of the purely material departments of human activity; but it was not merely stagnant, but actually retrogressive, in respect of the spirituality and pure intellectuality—the "humanities"—of former years. From a benevolent point of view, therefore, the world might well regard not merely with equanimity but also with cordial and optimistic approval the resolution of an artificial military empire into a group of independent though of course friendly and cooperative states, divided on natural lines of race, character, tradition and inclination.

Certain it is that while of course we are not in any way to meddle in the matter, either to foment or to restrain German disintegration, we are thoroughly committed under the President's diplomatic decretals to the policy of permitting the Germans, as well as other peoples, to exercise the right of self-determination. We have not only permitted, we have actually encouraged and aided, the secession of various portions of the old Austro-Hungarian Empire—though only a year and a half ago we were protesting that we did not wish in any way to impair or to rearrange that congeries of incongruous communities. If now the old German Empire disintegrates in similar fashion, it is not for us to raise a hand to stay the interesting and auspicious process.

Canadian Bolshevism

THE Canadian "strikes," so-called, afford another illustration of the folly of any nation's supposing itself to be immune against the ills which afflict its neighbors. "All men," said Young, "think all men mortal but themselves." So all nations are prone to think all nations subject to revolutions but themselves. A little while ago Canadians would have laughed to scorn a suggestion that Bolshevism might gain a considerable foothold in their great republic. Today their Prime Minister admits that a widespread attempt at Bolshevik revolution is being made there, which it may take the utmost efforts of the Government to suppress.

We shall not undertake to explain the causes of this ominous development. It is plausibly suggested, and we are inclined to suspect that there is ground for it, that the movement was started through the use of Russian money. It is known that that country has freely used bribes for the propagation of political unrest and mischief in other countries. Lenine and Trotzky seized enough public and imperial wealth in Russia to be able to use millions for such purposes. Of course there are always some persons in a country who can be thus corrupted, and who may then be able to corrupt others.

This theory seems the more plausible because of the known circumstances of the case. The strikers are openly demanding establishment and recognition of the Bolshevik Soviet system, as opposed to the Democracy which now exists. Yet they are not Russian, there are very few Russians in that

country, there has hitherto been no sympathy or intercourse between them and Russia, and the system for which they now clamor is entirely foreign to their former spirit and to the genius of the Canadian nation. The whole thing looks as though it had been started artificially by a few designing leaders, and had been taken up by the rank and file thoughtlessly.

That certainly is the preferable theory to accept, unless and until it is disproved. It would be an immeasurably more ominous thing for a great number of the population to become convinced and converted to Bolshevism. We do not believe the latter of Canada. That country is not at heart Bolshevik, any more than is the United States; though its people are not, any more than our own, exempt from the dangers which are the common lot of mankind. We shall hope to see her suppress the last traces of Bolshevism within her borders.

Burleson Passes the Buck

SENATOR WATSON was the author of the apt suggestion which, we doubt not, rose spontaneously to innumerable minds at hearing of the Politicalmaster-General's action in partially returning the telegraph and telephone systems to their owners: Burleson was simply "passing the buck on the strike." Having demoralized and bedevilled the whole system, swamped it under a deficit, outraged the public service, and earned the detestation of everybody from the presidents of the companies to the messenger boys and switchboard girls, he found himself confronted by a threatened strike; whereupon he "passed the buck." At a moment's notice he issued an order which shifted to others the odium which he himself had incurred and which he deserved, while he retained for himself the control which was coveted by his sordid greed.

It would be difficult to imagine anything more insincere and more contemptible. The Politicalmaster-General does not relinquish one iota of his personal control over the management and operation of the lines. He nominally returns them to their owners, so that the officers of companies whom he summarily removed for not bowing the knee to him are now restored to their places. But they remain mere puppets in his hands. They cannot make the slightest change in wages of employees or in rates for service to the public without his permission and approval. In order to aggravate the case he announced his performance with a deliberate misstatement. His Publicity Bureau reported that he had "returned the wires to their owners"—an assertion true in name but false in fact.

The obvious intimation, the purport, was to make the dissatisfied employees who were about to strike suppose that the lines had been fully returned, that the owners had again been invested with full power over them, and that, therefore, the managers of the companies were entirely responsible for whatever conditions were intolerable to the employees. That would shift the blame for the strike away from the Government, or from the Politicalmaster-General, and place it upon the officers of the companies; and it would enable the Politicalmaster-General or his touts and press agents to point to

the bad results of taking the lines away from government control and restoring them to private ownership. Yet all the time the actual control would be just as much as ever in his hands.

It was a thoroughly characteristic trick. It was also thoroughly characteristic that as soon as his own press agents' falsehood had got so well started that there was no possibility of its being overtaken and counteracted by the truth, the Politicalmaster-General sought to "square himself in the record" by writing some of the facts in the case to Senator Cummins.

What he wrote about his not having relinquished control of the lines was perfectly true. What he wrote about the occasion for and the purpose of his order—well, he should have left that to his press agents. It would have been quite congruous with the other stuff that they did put out.

In arrogance and in peanut-politics trickiness the entire episode is Burlesonian to the core. For a while it confused those in Congress who are pressing the measure to take the wires out of Burleson's hands. A special meeting of the Interstate Commerce Committee was called. Before it appeared Mr. N. C. Kingsbury, Vice President of the American Telegraph and Telephone Company, who, in response to questions, explained matters. The following dialogue ensued:

"Then Burleson turned back the responsibility and kept control?" asked Senator Kellogg.

"The order merely means," replied Mr. Kingsbury, "that the companies will now operate their own wires for the Postmaster General. It did away with the Operating Board, but we still have to report to the Wire Control Board."

"The authority of the Operating Board is now transferred to the Postmaster General?" asked Senator Fernald.

"Exactly."

"Does Burleson still have the same powers over the companies that he had before?" asked Senator Kellogg.

"Yes."

In other words, Burleson has let go of nothing save the responsibility of handling the strike which he managed to bring about. He Politicalmaster-Generalled, in other words. He Burlesoned—that is, played a shifty Burlesonian trick in the usual clumsy, blundering Burleson way. And the moral is that legislation totally eliminating Burleson from any connection whatever with the wire service of the country should be rushed through at the earliest possible moment. That will confine his astounding endowments of all-around incapacity to the continental wreckage of the mail service.

But there is an end to all things, and eventually we shall have an end of Burleson in the Post Office Department.

Seeing that a reputable American citizen cannot go from this country to Cuba without having every scrap of manuscript in his baggage or in his pockets examined by a board of censors, we cannot help wondering how a correspondent could get through from Europe with a book eight by fourteen inches in size which, according to the President of the United States, he was "clearly not entitled to have." It takes a pretty big leak to let such a volume through.

Investigation or Farce?

THE country has a right to expect Congress to make a thorough investigation of the conduct of the war. Every one who lost a relative in France, Russia, Italy, or in an American camp has a right to know whether that life was paid as one of the inexorable demands of victory or as the price of neglect; whether, for instance, it should be charged to poor equipment, poor leadership, poor medical attention. Of course every one who saved and scraped to buy a Liberty Bond or to pay heavy taxes has a right to know how the money was spent—how much was wasted, and how much was absorbed in graft.

And there are thousands of others who would like to know the truth about various specific developments. There are many lonely women who want to know why their letters were never delivered, and why the comforts they addressed to their boys overseas were dumped on Hoboken side tracks. There are a great many people who would like to know why we had no American 'planes over the front after the expenditure of a billion dollars or so, and why, after we borrowed plenty of 'planes from the French, we had not enough available aviators, although thousands were at the rear and thousands of others were awaiting orders to sail from America.

Many will want to know why, after appropriating billions for ordnance, we had no American field guns at the front—that is, guns manufactured under these appropriations. And there are those who would like to know why the American army was the most poorly clad in France, and why many of our boys walked into Germany with soleless shoes and bleeding feet, despite the fact that Secretary Baker announced that the Americans were the best dressed army in Europe. In this connection it would be interesting to know how many millions were wasted in giving the men complete new outfits as they prepared to sail for America, and why it was essential to "dress them up" on the eve of demobilization.

We cannot even begin to list the things that people would like to know about, because we lack the necessary space. But one thing is certain: Unless the Republican leaders change their methods, the public will be deeply disappointed in the investigations, because they will develop into farces. Consider, for example, the committee appointed by Speaker Gillette. If the House had been canvassed for the least qualified Republicans to take charge of this all important task, it is doubtful if a more incompetent committee could have been assembled. Chairman Graham has neither the experience nor the qualifications for the work, and the same thing is true of the chairmen of the sub-committees.

The successful direction of this investigation will require the most skilful legal talent in the country, assisted by technical advisers who actually know what happened behind the Baker smoke-screen. There is no more adroit manipulator of facts in America than Secretary Baker. He has the added advantage of knowing the situation from the inside. Already he is preparing to balk the attempts that will be made to circumvent his evasions. The average Congressman is no better equipped for this task than the average small town lawyer.

There is no doubt that the committee, as now constituted, will fail to uncover the facts unless the chairman and his colleagues employ capable counsel and large numbers of experienced officers to direct the investigations. There are numerous men of both types available, but if experience is worth while, it is to be feared that they will be passed by, while a few hack politicians sorely in need of retainers, and a few reserve officers anxious to pay off a grudge, will get the preference.

"Frame-Up!"

"IT is a plant, a frame-up!" cry our Bolsheviks when their pals commit bomb outrages; apparently expecting us to believe that they believe that the simultaneous explosion of infernal machines in half a dozen cities was a "capitalistic plot" to throw discredit upon Bolshevism and to afford a pretext for repressive tyranny.

"It is a plant, a frame-up!" cry the claques of the Politicalmaster-General, when the whole country rouses and rages in indignation against his bedevilment of the telegraph and telephone services; while the claques tries to persuade the people that every time it takes a message twice as long to be delivered as a letter by mail, or "Central" gives you the wrong number, such action is part of a deep, dark and desperate conspiracy to discredit President Wilson.

"It is a plant, a frame-up!" cried the subservient apologists of the Administration, when the text of the treaty which was denied to the United States Senate was freely delivered to private individuals; insisting that if there were any such copies in improper circulation, they were in Republican hands; the wicked Republicans getting hold of them in order to cast discredit upon the President and his policy of "open covenants openly arrived at" which he so consistently maintains in practice.

We are not quite sure which was the most absurd of these pretences; though, on the whole, the last seems to deserve the palm. If it had been admitted that copies of the treaty had been surreptitiously or at least confidentially given out to some of the President's party friends and supporters, we should say that such action was scandalously improper, but might be explained as one of the inevitable exigencies of politics. But when we were asked to believe that prominent members of the opposition party were permitted to have copies, which they wanted to use against the President—no; that, as A. Ward once remarked, is "2 much."

Agents provocateurs are not a part of the American police system. The people who make such charges as those which we have cited merely convict themselves of folly and greatly increase the presumption of their client's guilt.

If Thomas Jefferson doubted the constitutionality of having the Vice-President sent abroad as a special envoy to France, what would he have said to having the President himself take up his residence indefinitely in that country?



THE INTE

Our countries, 'tis of the
Sweet lands across the sea
Of thee we sing;
Lands where our soldiers
Lands on the other side,
From ev'ry Piper Pied
Let school bells ring!

The Week

WASHINGTON, June 12, 1919.

WHAT will be disclosed by the Senatorial investigation of the "leak" of the Peace Treaty, we shall not undertake to predict. From one point of view, indeed, it does not greatly matter.

It would not be too much to say that the attitude and tone of the President's champions, both in the Senate and in the press, constitute a discreditable episode. Senator Hitchcock, for example, Mr. Wilson's official spokesman in the Senate on foreign and diplomatic affairs, manifested an impassioned zeal not so much for detecting the author of the "leak" as for discrediting and denouncing those who have called attention to it. The point at issue is not, as he seemed to think, whether some wicked member of the opposition committed theft or bribery, but rather—if such was the case—who guarded the Treaty so lightly as to make its theft possible, or who was the recipient of the bribe. We should say that the first thing to do, and the thing which the best friends of Woodrow Wilson should be most eager to have done, is to find out who in Paris was responsible for the leak. It is neither just nor prudent to allege that the thing was done by theft or bribery, and to attempt to slur a Senator by charging him with having been the temporary recipient of stolen goods. Charges of that gravity should not be made without full knowledge, such as we can scarcely suppose Senator Hitchcock, in advance of all investigation, to have possessed; and the reckless making of them without knowledge inevitably reacts upon the maker and upon the object of his championship.

Apart, however, from these unworthy attitudes toward it, the case is bad enough. Here is the most important treaty, perhaps, that has ever been negotiated by the American Government since 1783. There has been some imperative reason for withholding it for weeks from the inspection and knowledge of the Senate, the body which is coördinate with the President himself in giving treaties validity. So imperative, indeed, has been the reason for thus withholding it from the Senate that the President has most reluctantly been constrained to make an exception to the rule and practice of his First Commandment, "Open covenants, openly arrived at." Naturally we should suppose that with such a compelling reason for secrecy, the utmost vigilance would be exercised in guarding the treaty against surreptitious and illicit betrayal. Yet we have been told on the authority of two of the foremost Senators of the United States that several copies of it found their way into the possession of non-official and unauthorized persons. Nothing needs to be added to those facts to emphasize the magnitude of the scandal.

In the last analysis, obviously, the wrong has been committed against the President. As practically the sole American delegate to the Peace Congress, he has been in an especial sense the guardian of the Treaty; and since it was chiefly if not solely at his will that it was withheld from the Senate, the violation of its secrecy must be peculiarly offensive to

him. It is not difficult to imagine the concern which he feels, or the chagrin and annoyance with which he must regard the mistaken course pursued by those who in his absence have his interests here in charge. Had he been here to direct matters in person, Senator Lodge and Senator Borah, instead of being aspersed and contemned, would doubtless have been thanked for their service to him in exposing this defiance of his wishes.

One damning feature of the case, which no apologist of the American Delegate at Paris has undertaken to explain, was the inconsistency of refusing to disclose the exact text while freely giving out a partial and garbled synopsis. We are sufficiently used to old-fashioned diplomacy to understand that there are times when it is desirable to conduct negotiations confidentially and to withhold temporarily from publicity the terms of a proposed agreement. That is doubtless very shocking to the protagonists of "open covenants openly arrived at," but we confess the soft impeachment. But if it was desirable thus to keep this "open" covenant fast shut, why was the pretended synopsis given out? It is impossible to imagine any valid reason for withholding the text that is not equally valid against publishing a synopsis, unless, as we have said, the synopsis was purposely misleading.

The latest outbreak of Anarchist devilry is being widely charged against our immigration laws, and various proposals are being made in Congress for the amendment of those laws so as, it is fondly hoped, to prevent any more bomb outrages. With some of these proposals we heartily sympathize. The laxity of our immigration and naturalization laws have long been scandalous. It ought to be possible summarily to exclude any advocate of lawlessness, whether it be lawlessness for the acquisition of personal property, such as we call picking pockets, or lawlessness for the overthrow of the government. It ought also to be possible to withdraw citizenship from anyone who avows himself an enemy of our form of government and who agitates for its overthrow. We know of nothing in naturalization papers so sacrosanct as to exempt them from the same treatment that is given to other contracts or legal instruments when it is found that they were procured through fraud or that one party to them has repudiated the conditions on which they were made and based.

The Railroad Administration reports for April an increase of business but a much larger decrease of income. In comparison with the three years' period upon the average of which the Government's rental of the roads is based, there is a progressive increase of business and of gross receipts, and a progressive decrease of net earnings. Therefore there is a steadily increasing deficit for the taxpayers of the country to make good. If that sort of thing keeps on, we may have to seek from Congress "An Act for the Discouragement of Railroad Traffic and for Other Purposes"—the "other purposes" comprising the rescue of the Treasury from impending bankruptcy. If the more business the roads do the more money they lose, the obvious cure is to decrease their volume of business.

Mr. Taft protests against any change in the Treaty, because it would delay peace and hurt trade. The President once protested against any change in his Constitution of a League of Nations. But the thing was completely remodelled and rehashed, even its name being changed from Constitution to Covenant, and things being put into it which he had declared specifically would not, could not, and should not be inserted; after which he declared that it was much better than it was before. Is Mr. Taft quite sure that the Treaty could not similarly be improved?

The passage of the Woman Suffrage Amendment is a reminder that away back last year the President wanted it passed as an important if not an indispensable aid to him in winning the war. Congress declined to give him that aid, whereupon he went right on with the war without it, and the victory was won just as quickly and just as completely as though the amendment had been voted. Now that it has at last been adopted, let us hope that it will prove to be as great an aid toward making the treaty of peace as the President indicated it would be toward winning the war.

The President, we are told, will not intervene in the telegraph and telephone strike. Why should he? His Politicalmaster-General has saddled all responsibility for it upon the companies. And indeed why should the companies worry? If the strike costs them a lot of money, the United States Treasury is bound to make it good. So the only people who really have occasion to feel concerned are the Ordinary Citizens, who use the wires and who pay taxes. They may have the service bedevilled into worthlessness, to their immeasurable inconvenience and loss, and they may have to put their hands into their pockets to pay for having such bedevilment done. But what of that? They have no friends.

Again and again the positive evils and the potential dangers of inflation have been pointed out and emphasized; but to such warnings the late Congress was deaf and the Treasury either heedless or impotent to avoid the menace. Now it is pointed out that the per capita circulation of currency is \$56. Fifty years ago, at the close of the Civil War, it was only \$18. Yet those were regarded as days of excessive and dangerous inflation and accordingly and consequently of high prices. With inflation now more than three times as great, it is not to be wondered at that we suffer financial ills and are threatened with more. The argument that there has not really been any inflation, since the per capita wealth of the country has similarly increased, is not convincing. As a matter of fact the wealth has not increased in as great a ratio as the circulation, though in normal times it of course increases much more rapidly than the circulation. The significant point is, however, that during the dozen years before the war the circulation ranged from \$30 to \$35, while now, in four years, it has jumped to \$56. Of course there has been no such increase in per capita wealth. Obviously,

then, either there was intolerable contraction before the war, or there is great inflation now.

It remains to be seen whether the Peace Conference will comply with the Senate's request that it endeavor to secure a hearing for the Sinn Feiners who want Ireland made an independent republic. Logically there seems to be no reason why it should not do so. If the business of the Peace Congress had been confined strictly to settling terms of peace with Germany and her allies, as of course it should have been, any such request as this might have been ruled out as not pertinent, or as something with which the Conference was not competent to deal. But since the American Delegate, acting in his own name and by his own proper power, has insisted upon the Conference extending its jurisdiction to every conceivable topic, from the dropping of compulsory Greek from the A. B. course to the repeal of the luxury tax on strawberry sundaes, we cannot see why it should not take up the claims of Sinn Fein as well as anything else.

Fiume threatens to disregard the decree of the Big Four disposing of its destinies, even to "a war of life or death," and is quite capable of fulfilling her word. But if she should thus resist a disposition of herself which she does not want, the League of Nations would be in a pretty pickle. It would be interesting to have the Council of that illustrious organization request the United States to send armed forces to the head of the Adriatic to coerce the people of Fiume into repudiating the right of self-determination.

Unnamed witnesses told Dr. Rachmilevitz, who told the Prime Minister of Lithuania, who told the Lithuanian delegates at Paris, that the Poles wantonly robbed and massacred Jews at Vilna.

Mr. Hugh Gibson, the American Minister to Poland, on the strength of personal investigation, confirmed by Colonel Godson, of the American legation at Berne, and his assistant, Lieutenant Dewald, by an American newspaper correspondent, by representatives of the Relief Administration, by a general staff officer attached to the mission in Lithuania, by a representative of the Jewish Joint Distribution Committee at Vilna, and by the Jewish papers of Warsaw, declares that there was no massacre of Jews at Vilna.

We trust that it is not too chauvinistic to prefer, in case of contradiction, the testimony of American to that of alien witnesses.

Senator King, Democrat, is quite right in urging legislation for the exclusion of would-be immigrants who believe in the overthrow of this Government by force; just as right as a householder would be who refused to admit as a guest somebody who was known to be addicted to arson. Senator Sterling, Republican, is quite right in urging the expulsion and legal expatriation of those who obtained naturalization by fraud; just as right as the householder would be when he ejected some intruder who had obtained entry to his house under false pretences. A man's house is his castle. This country is this nation's castle.

Encouraging Bolshevism

HERE is as yet no intimation of a provision for an International Automobile Commission among the "open covenants openly arrived at" of the peace treaty. Yet we are inclined to think that it might be there just as appropriately as some things which are certainly there, and we are quite sure that it might be much more beneficent than some of them promise—or threaten—to be. Here is the logic of it: The treaty of peace, Covenant and all, has for its object the ending of the war and the avoidance of other wars. And war is to be ended and avoided in order that the world may no longer suffer its cost and its destructiveness and particularly its waste of human life. Now the automobile, if recklessly used, is a very destructive agency, taking daily its toll of human lives, and in the course of a year accumulating a total of fatalities rivalling many a considerable battle. Therefore, for the sake of avoiding waste of human life, it might, with strict logic, be dealt with in the peace treaty. *Quod erat demonstrandum.*

Seriously, the abuse of this invaluable invention is becoming one of the major evils of our civilization, especially of urban life. The streets of New York and of other large cities are becoming extremely unsafe for pedestrians. We are not thinking of those careless persons who walk along the roadway instead of on the sidewalk, or who cross the street in the middle of the block; theirs is the blame if they meet with disaster. We have in mind those law-abiding pedestrians who cross the street when they have a right to cross it, conforming to the designated crossings at street intersections. Motorists rush along at appallingly reckless speed, never thinking of slackening their pace or of swerving their course to avoid running a pedestrian down. The most they offer is a raucous horn-blast, which by startling and confusing the pedestrian often does more harm than good. The notion that the pedestrian has any rights never for a moment seems to enter the motorist mind.

It is a grave reproach to our civilization that this should be so. There are few modern inventions, since the telephone, which have come into such general use and have so considerably changed for the better the every-day conditions of human life as the automobile. Both socially and economically, for both pleasure and practical utility, the automobile is an inestimable blessing. Yet we have permitted it to become a scourge and a curse through perversion of some of the very features which make it so highly to be prized. Amid all the tumult and the shouting over Covenants and Prohibition and Price Control and what not else, it will be well if we spare a little time and thought, and give some very practical attention, to making our city streets somewhat safer than "No Man's Land" for the pedestrians who are, after all, the majority of the population.

A sinister aspect of the matter relates to those whose business it is to enforce respect for the speed-laws. We know of sections of the country where it is a matter of common and cynical knowledge that certain magistrates are lenient toward second and third offenders when these law-breakers are persons of impressive influence. That, we submit, is not the way to inspire respect for law and order. In a time when the main business of a presumably law-abiding

democracy like the United States should be to make our resident Bolsheviks, I. W. W.'s and anarchistic Socialists understand that the laws of this nation *are intended to be enforced, and will be enforced*, it is incredibly stupid to give these insidious internal enemies any ground for claiming that there are favored Americans who are exempt from the requirements of law, and who are privileged to disregard regulations whose observance is imperative for the common good. This is no time to give aid and comfort to Bolshevik propaganda.

"Cancelitis"

"CANCELITIS" in its most improvident and virulent form has been running riot in the War Department, according to a number of businessmen who are in a position to know whereof they speak. They charge, further, that Secretary Baker was directly responsible for inoculating the army bureaus with this malady, which is defined as "a hysteria of cancellation."

It is contended that improvidence and a complete lack of business sense characterized the sweeping orders of the Secretary of War to cancel all orders, once the armistice was signed; with the result that business has been unnecessarily disorganized, labor thrown out of employment, and great loss occasioned the Government. This loss has resulted from the reduction of excess profit taxes, as well as from the consequent necessity of going into the market to buy staples at higher prices than those of goods previously contracted for, and from purchasing, in haste, spot goods already made up, instead of those manufactured according to government specifications under strict military inspection.

It is pointed out, for instance, that in the case of a manufacturer of staples whose profits had amounted to \$1,000,000, and who had invested that sum in plant, equipment, and raw material, his taxes would have amounted to \$800,000 had not his contract been cancelled. Cancellation, however, resulted in his writing off a fifty per cent loss, which reduced his taxes to \$320,000, involving a loss of revenue to the Government of \$480,000—to which must be added the allowance made for partially manufactured material, and the further loss because of increased prices which it became necessary to pay for the same goods only a short time later.

It is asserted that in the case of shoes, clothing, and other staples, losses of this character have been extensive.

There were, of course, contracts for purely war materials—ordnance, ammunition, etc.—which had to be cancelled, but so violent was the hysteria of cancellation and so sweeping were the orders of Secretary Baker that officers were not permitted to limit cancellations to goods of that character, and as a result, much less favorable "rush orders" have had to be placed since the armistice was signed.

It is understood that the investigating committee appointed by Congress to enquire into excessive costs of the war will look thoroughly into this phase of the situation and it is contended that if they do so, they will be unable to avoid the logical necessity of an indictment against Secretary Baker for unwarrantably reducing the revenues and inexcusably augmenting the cost of the military establishment since the signing of the armistice.

Government by Instinct

WE have often had occasion to marvel at the mental processes by which the President is enabled to reach conclusions when the attendant circumstances make it seem impossible that he could possess the information necessary to the formulation of wise judgments.

In the old-fashioned days of government by law, administered by the most capable officials available, it was easy to follow the processes of the Chief Executive; and, while differences of opinion frequently confused the public, it was rarely difficult for the student of affairs to grasp the reasons for specific actions.

Although we have gradually become accustomed to the modern methods, we are frank to confess that we have been curious to know just what processes made the new system possible. At last our curiosity has been satisfied. We have the secret, and we gladly pass it along to those other observers of governmental affairs who, we fancy, have been as curious as we have.

It may be recalled that in February last, the President, on the advice of his Cabinet, cabled approval of the Industrial Board created for the purpose of stabilizing prices.

Here is the cable of authorization addressed to Secretary Redfield and dated Paris, Feb. 13:

After conferring with Mr. Baruch and others here, I give my approval to the plans suggested for appointment of committee to deal with problem of industrial situation. The only possible objection is that it may be in contravention of Sherman anti-trust law. Mr. Baruch is quite willing that Mr. Peek should undertake this work if he wishes to do so.

Pursuant to this order, the committee was formed, but almost immediately it struck a snag, because Mr. Hines, the railroad administrator, objected to the steel prices. They were not satisfactory, he asserted, to the corporations which owned the lines. The fact that Mr. Hines later accepted the prices proposed by the Board, bears little or no reference to the present subject.

The controversy raged for some weeks, and finally this message was received from Paris, dated April 18:

Tumulty, White House, Washington.

For Redfield: I am sincerely sorry that the efforts of the Industrial Board have met with serious check, but I am afraid that it is partly because the public and some members of the Board have been under the impression that they have been fixing prices and had been invited to do so, whereas, I am sure you yourself hold, the office of the Board was merely a court of mediation between buyer and seller. In view of this misapprehension, I think it would be wise not to extend the efforts into new fields. It is hard to think clearly about such matters at this distance, but I instinctively feel this to be a counsel of prudence.

(Signed) Woodrow Wilson.

Here, then, in the last sentence, we have the key to that system which has puzzled us for so long—the system which has made it possible to dispose of the most important governmental affairs in a manner that the uninitiated might call off-handed. The President states quite frankly that he cannot think clearly with the ocean intervening, and indicates that he is without the requisite information, but reaches his conclusion on an *instinctive feeling*.

But we would not have it appear for a moment that the President acts solely on his own instincts at all times. Note the following cable:

Have not delivered your cablegram to Redfield consenting to dissolution of Industrial Board. Have you heard from Hines indicating that it is impossible for him to co-operate along lines

suggested. Activities of Industrial Board have had such a tonic effect upon business of country that every effort should be made to continue it.

(Signed) Tumulty.

The Tumulty cablegram serves quite clearly to indicate that the President appreciates whatever casual suggestions may be forthcoming in furtherance or amendment of his own instincts; and it also shows how the President is protected from the danger attending the execution of impulsive instructions to his Cabinet officers by the highly prized intervention of his active Private Secretary.

Just how the Cabinet officers like the "instinct" system is a matter for them, not for us, to discuss.

Gutter Mail Delivery

IF you chance to find a special delivery mail parcel kicking around in the street, you become automatically a mail carrier of that Post Office Department which is one of the side lines of the Politicalmaster General's varied activities. You are drafted by the fact into letter carrier service. You are expected to deliver to the proper address the vagrant letter, or parcel, which the Post Office has deposited in the highway.

Under this arrangement, when the Post Office Department has deposited special delivery mail matter in the gutter, it has fulfilled its contract. It washes its hands of the entire transaction from that time forth. The job then falls upon the first person who happens along. He need not stop to see if the proper postage stamps are attached to the letter or parcel. The Post Office attests that fact, presumably by delivery in the gutter. Your duty as a drafted letter carrier is to deliver the letter or parcel promptly to the person to whom it is addressed. There is no salary for the service. Tips, however, are not specifically barred.

This gutter delivery mail service is comparatively a new feature of the Politicalmaster General's management. It was first applied, so far as we know, in Los Angeles, California, in the latter part of April last. Two special delivery parcels stamped and mailed in New York failed, as usual, to reach their Los Angeles destination many days after they would have been due there in the now distant times when we had a mail service. The parcels contained important business documents. After the delay had become more than ordinarily pronounced, inquiry was made at the Los Angeles post office. This resulted in the discovery of the astounding fact that the parcels had actually reached Los Angeles approximately on time. They had been turned over to special delivery mail carriers, who had casually dropped them in the street for the first carrier to pick up. The Los Angeles postmaster was surprised that they had not reached the persons to whom they were addressed. As quoted in the Los Angeles *Examiner*, he assumed, of course, "that anyone finding the parcels would deliver them." The Post Office also assumed, of course, that in delivering them in the street it had done its full duty in the premises. It took no further action. No penalty attached to the original carriers and none was inflicted, so far as the report in the *Examiner* reveals. The responsibility is hard to place, because it rests

at large upon the pedestrians in the busy streets of bustling Los Angeles.

It may be hoped that this case will serve as a warning to pedestrians everywhere. The failure to deliver the parcels in question caused great inconvenience. The business documents they contained had to be made all over again and reforwarded, by special messenger this time, let us hope. For this the pedestrians in Los Angeles streets are directly responsible. And let it be known from this time on that in the searching of city streets and gutters for mail matter dumped therein, and in the prompt delivery of them to the proper persons, the Politicalmaster General expects every American to do his duty.

Why Not Herron?

WE seem to have struck a snag in the matter of our taking mandatory charge of Turkey. It raises awkward alternatives. We must either recognize polygamy as a national institution, or begin a Holy War and fight all Mohammedandom.

Either course is unpleasant. If we recognize polygamy in Turkey and govern ourselves and the Turks accordingly, how about the Mormons? Are we going to recognize under our Government the right of the Turk to marry an unlimited number of wives, and refuse such a boon to our own American citizens? On the other hand, are we prepared to raise another army of a million or so men to prevent the Mohammedan hordes of the world from going in for the free and unlimited coinage of wives at a standard not even restricted to the 16 to 1 basis? The Mormons are numerically weak. The difficulty of enforcing upon them the generally accepted proposition that marriage means a home and not a swine sty did not present insuperable difficulties, although it was not precisely an easy task at that. With both the Mormon and the Turk, polygamy is interwoven with religious convictions. The Mormons were as stubborn in opposition to interference with their religious beliefs as the Turks. The only difference is that the Mormons number only tens of thousands, whereas the Mohammedans number hundreds of millions, and furthermore, most of these hundreds of millions would plunge into Holy War against us if we endeavored to force any large group of them to abandon their religious faith.

It is an intricate, and, on its face, an insoluble problem. But "may we not" suggest a possible way around it? Why not compromise? Why not make Herron the Turkish Mandatory? Herron's matrimonial views are broad and comprehensive. His poultry yard standard of morals might possibly be a little looser than the Turkish, but he would doubtless conform himself in theory and practice to the narrower Turkish matrimonial prejudices. The fact that he is only a titular Reverend should not identify him offensively as a Christian. Indeed, if it came to that, he could produce the record of his dismissal from the ministry, supported by the records of numerous Christian organizations condemning the President for appointing such a man to office. It is hardly too much to say that Herron could bring strong testimonials in the form of officially expressed loathing for him

and his views from most of the religious organizations in the United States. Neither in Herron's morals nor his religious principles, then, is there anything which should make him objectionable to the Turks. We unhesitatingly nominate the constructively Reverend Herron as Mandatory of the late Turkish Empire.

Wanted: A Bellwether

WE have received many communications from anxious readers asking if, in our opinion, Postmaster General Burleson will resign. To all of these we have been compelled to answer in the negative. At his time of life, we are informed, Mr. Burleson feels that he could not improve his condition by making a change.

On the other hand, a number of the younger statesmen in the Democratic Party, headed by Mr. J. P. Tumulty, are quite determined to rid the President of Mr. Burleson and three of his other trusted advisers, to wit: Messrs. Daniels, Baker, and Redfield. It seems that Mr. Tumulty and his aides decided, some weeks ago, to prepare a happy homecoming for the President. They planned to hand him as he stepped down the gangplank of the *George Washington* a tray holding the resignations of those four ministers. The President was to know nothing about it in advance—of course not.

It appears that, as originally planned, Josephus was to be the bellwether, but the latest information available indicates that he failed to fit into the part. Josephus, so it was planned, was to be informed that, having redeemed himself in the eyes of the country, he could afford to leave the Cabinet with the announcement that he was compelled to recoup his fortune in the interest of his family. By so doing he could lose nothing, and would do the President an incalculable favor, because other members of the Cabinet would thereupon naturally offer their resignations as a matter of form, and the President could accept those that he chose without suffering the embarrassment of actually discharging his faithful servitors.

Whether Josephus will eventually play the part arranged for him, we do not know; but if he intends to offer himself as the vicarious sacrifice, he has carefully concealed his intentions up to date. But then that is like Josephus. It is always hard to tell what he will do next.

We must confess ourselves to be sufficiently intransigent to sympathize with the "war mothers" of Maryland who have organized to prevent the distribution of German-made toys among the children of that State. On only one condition would we permit such toys to enter our markets and our homes. That is, that to every one shall be conspicuously affixed the image of an infant pierced with a Boche bayonet.

"The honor of the German nation," says Dr. Bernhard Dernburg, "is at stake. It is our primary duty to preserve that honor."

Alas, poor Pecksniff! Outdone at last!

The Old Army Salutes the New

HEADQUARTERS GRAND ARMY OF THE RE-
PUBLIC,

OMAHA, NEB.

OFFICE OF COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF

Sir,—Eminently proper and fitting indeed is your proposition for a monument upon the battle-fields of France.

The erection of a replica of the Washington Monument would be a departure such as the world has never seen before. Such a monument would not mark the place where states-

men, historians, philanthropists, kings and emperors sleep. But it would mark the spot where American freemen bled and died for world liberty.

It would stand unique in the full dignity, manhood, and glory of the American soldier, commanding the respect and challenging the admiration of the civilized world.

CLARENDON E. ADAMS,
Commander-in-Chief,
Grand Army of the Republic.

The Monument in France—Where?

I. CANTIGNY.

II. CHATEAU-THIERRY.

III. MEUSE-ARGONNE.

What Is Your Choice?

IV. BELLEAU WOOD.

V. ST. MIHIEL.

Many States Approve

A PRIVILEGE TO PARTICIPATE

Sir,—Your suggestion is a very happy thought, and I am sure the necessary funds could be raised by popular subscription without difficulty. Every American should feel it indeed a privilege to be able to participate in such an offering, and I hope nothing will prevent the execution of your project. The donors would feel an added obligation to you for the fulfillment of a desirable privilege.

Binghamton, N. Y.

J. J. BAYLES.

THRILLING PRIDE

Sir,—You ask: "Is the Washington Monument feasible?" Unquestionably. To have participated in the fruition of your inspiring idea will be a thrilling pride to millions.

Richmond, Va.

CARTER E. TALMAN.

SHOULD BE CARRIED OUT

Sir,—I approve most heartily of your plan for a soldiers' monument in France as outlined in your WEEKLY, and I shall be most happy to do my small part should the plan be carried out.

Catskill, N. Y.

WILLIAM PALMATIER.

A FINE IDEA

Sir,—By all means let us place a replica of the Washington Monument on the battlefields of France. A fine idea, conceived in the heart of a loyal American and dedicated to those who made the supreme sacrifice. I congratulate you and thank you on your farsightedness.

Washington, D. C.

PAGE McK. ETCHISON.

SECOND TO NONE

Sir,—Your plan appeals to me deeply and completely. Our country should have in France a worthy memorial to our men who fought and died there. A replica of the Washington Monument would insure its being second to none among the inspiring monuments of the world. Incidentally, we should avoid the risk of inflicting upon France something of which both countries would be ashamed.

Boston, Mass.

FRANCIS H. WILLIAMS.

PLEASURE TO TAKE PART

Sir,—Kindly accept my thanks for the opportunity to endorse and approve your idea and suggestion of a fitting monument to be erected in France in honor of the American men who fought in the cause of world democracy. I shall deem it a great pleasure to take part and do my bit to accomplish the project.

Blythe, Calif.

A. F. MASTERMAN.

SUGGESTS AN ORIGINAL DESIGN

Sir,—That a monument for the purpose you have in mind should be erected in France there can be no doubt, but by all

means let it be of original design and in no sense a copy of any existing memorial structure. Such an undertaking would afford stimulus to American genius and become a splendid inspiration for an expression of American art.

San Francisco, Calif.

THOS. W. HUNTINGTON, M. D.

MOST FITTING MEMORIAL

Sir,—I read with much interest your advocacy of the erection of an exact reproduction of the Washington Monument in France. Such a memorial would indeed be a most fitting monument to our sons who fought and died abroad.

Marietta, Penn.

JOHN J. REINHOLD.

HEARTY SYMPATHY

Sir,—I want to go on record as being in hearty sympathy with your proposition to erect a memorial to our gallant dead in the form of a replica of the Washington Monument to be placed on one of the battlefields of France. I shall deem it a great privilege to be a subscriber to this excellent suggestion.

Philadelphia, Pa.

LETITIA WHITE.

ALL WOULD CONTRIBUTE

Sir,—I certainly believe that the erection of a replica of the Washington Monument in France is feasible. I believe furthermore that the conception was nothing short of a stroke of genius worthy of its author. I believe that every man, woman and child in America should have an opportunity to contribute.

Steubenville, Ohio.

E. C. CHANDLER, D. D. S.

VETERANS HEARTILY ENDORSE

Sir,—We note in the WEEKLY that you advocate the erection in France of a replica of the Washington Monument as a testimonial to the boys who have made the supreme sacrifice for us, and we want you to know that we heartily endorse your idea.

Kalispell, Montana.

J. H. STEVENS,

Adjutant General, United War Veterans.

AN EXCELLENT MEMORIAL

Sir,—It is a pleasure to add my humble opinion that a monument similar to the Washington Monument would be an excellent memorial to have built in France.

Dayton, Ohio.

KLEON T. BROWN.

THE THREE MILLIONTH SUPPORTER

Sir,—I think your suggestion of a Washington Monument in France is the most pertinent and truly American idea that can be offered. When are you going to ask for subscriptions? I guess I am the three millionth person to comment favorably on your suggestion, and it appears that the time is ripe. I feel confident that the money for the project will be more than subscribed when you ask for it.

Zeeland, Mich.

WM. L. FUEHRER.

Letters From Our Readers

FROM PEOPLE TO PEOPLE

SIR,—President Wilson and Signor Orlando have in their manifestoes agreed upon the point that the American and Italian people have for each other a profound feeling of friendship. This double assertion seems to put the matter beyond dispute. For this reason, it seems incredible that the representative of the American people should take upon himself the responsibility of refusing to Italy, Fiume,—an Italian city which has freely declared its wish to be reunited to its mother country,—and Dalmatia, an Italian province, as much so as Lombardy, Piedmont or Venetia. It is hard to understand why American friendship should manifest itself in a manner so hostile.

In any case there are a great number of Americans who think differently and who believe that the proof of loyalty to our Allies should manifest itself in a very different manner, and who desire to protest and declare that it is not our custom to treat our friends as if they were our enemies.

Since the official sentiments of America have been thrown into the balance, it is the right and duty of every citizen to inquire whether the true feelings of the American people have been expressed by the Presidential declaration—particularly in view of the recent Congressional elections.

President Wilson is the first to cast suspicion as to the good understanding which reigns between a people and its Government. He has not hesitated to attempt to set the Italian Government, in the person of Signor Orlando, in opposition to the Italian nation, and to oblige Signor Orlando to appeal to his Senators and Deputies—why should not the same procedure happen in the United States? What reason have the French and Italians, in view of the recent elections in the United States, to believe that President Wilson is qualified to speak in the name of the majority of the American representatives and of the nation?

It is not the American people who oppose the Italian claims in the Adriatic. We wedded ourselves to the cause of France and Italy without reservation, and today we are not bargaining over the fruits of a victory bought by the blood of our children. The fruits are legitimate, we believe, because we can look at the matter from the point of view of the French and the Italians, who have suffered so cruelly, and because this is the most noble and simplest way of understanding what fraternity means.

Holding as we do to the Monroe Doctrine, we believe, in all simplicity, that everybody should mind his own business. Let the Italians, therefore, decide their own destiny! What would we say if the Italians attempted to regulate our difficulties with Mexico? The problem of the Adriatic is purely Italian.

Paris.

WHITNEY WARREN.

HOW THE A. E. F. FEELS

SIR,—I should like to add my voice to the multitudes that have been praising your virile publication. Not, however, the WEEKLY of every Saturday morning, which is read in such comfort and seclusion, but rather those few and precious numbers that reached us, tardy and travel-stained, while at the front. Now that one may write uncensored by human hands, I might express the thought of so many of the A. E. F., that we won this war not because of Mr. Wilson's "Most Efficient Public Servant," but *in spite* of him. Your condemnation of the handling—or mis-handling—of the nation's war business found a responsive echo in the minds of thoughtful soldiers, who, when the last Hun disappeared over the hills at Damvillers, looked with some concern on the domestic affairs of their own country.

I call to mind at this time the reading of Mr. Baker's New Year's greeting to those weary and impatient men, waiting at the embarkation area of Le Mans for transports to convey them home. He asked the men to be patient, for, said he, the programme for the repatriation of the soldiers was being carried out without delay and "without postponement." We were skeptical, however, of Mr. Baker's promises. I remembered distinctly how his representations and prognostications before the Senate Committee bore so little relation to the actual facts. And indeed, Mr. Baker's promise of early transportation "without postponement" did not materialize until after three months of unspeakable homesickness, accentuated by continued announcements of dates, followed by an equal number of cancellations and procrastinations. We have had enough of Mr. Baker; *you* have had more than enough of Mr. Bursleson; nevertheless, I have to thank the latter for two copies of the REVIEW and about a dozen copies of the WEEKLY, in nine months of service in France.

New York City.

AVEL B. SILVERMAN.

SPEAK OUT FOR THE UNITED STATES!

SIR,—A day or two since I overheard a gentleman (an admirer of yours) say that Colonel Harvey was doing penance for the part he played at Baltimore in 1912. May be so! If you are, no penitent ever rendered greater service. I, however, prefer to regard your work as prompted rather by a spirit of patriotism than of penitence.

You know we have a lot of patriots in America whose love of country is considerably divided. We have patriots who are looking after the freedom of Ireland, of Poland, of Armenia, of Roumania, of Jugo-Slavia, etc., etc., and we have a President whose love of country finds no national limitations. It is so great that it takes in the world.

It seems to me that at this particular time, we need a few real men like yourself who profess a real and abiding love for their own country. We need someone to speak out for the United States. You remember that old saying employed by the indolent and incompetent, "Let George do it." In this particular case, it's all right. You are certainly doing it. You're doing it right, doing it thoroughly and to the satisfaction of every patriotic American citizen. Keep at it. Don't let up!

New York City.

L. B. LONGWORTHY.

THE "FORGOTTEN ONES"

SIR,—The briefest way in which I can tell you what the WEEKLY is to my family is to say that one member in New York and another in Washington subscribed for it—but we cannot wait for mail delivery so we buy it Saturday and so have extra copies to send our friends.

I am enclosing a sheet of "The Watch on the Rhine" with an article which came to me marked with a green pencil, from a soldier who has been in every action in which our troops have taken part and is now with the Army of Occupation. Perhaps you will feel impelled to say a word for these "forgotten ones." They have borne the heat and burden of the day and we should give them no just cause for bitterness in the quiet evening.

Glencarlyn, Va.

M. E. ROBERTS.

FROM A NEW ENGLANDER

SIR,—I have just read your fine address, delivered at the 113th Anniversary Celebration of the New England Society, last December, in the last December Number of that Society's magazine, and I think that you should have the readers of your WEEKLY read it, in whole or part, for it is even more timely now, when political rodents are trying to gnaw away the foundation of our Republic. I am told you are a New Englander. So am I. This week's issue of your WEEKLY is a literary and journalistic Star Spangled Banner.

Boston, Mass.

DORCHESTER.

SEE "WHO'S WHO ON MT. ARARAT"

SIR,—Jaffer Koolis Khan has addressed a request to "the Imperial Representative, the Supreme President of the United States," that this country become the mandatory, under the League of Nations, of Nakhichevan, at the base of Mt. Ararat. Will you inform me if this Prime Minister is a relative of the late Akoond of Swat?

A. A. DENISON.

Oakland, California.

IT DOES, THANK YOU

SIR,—A friend to whom I have been sending your paper regularly since I became acquainted with it, wrote last week: "The WEEKLY is grand. I hurrah over it."

I thought this appreciation might interest you.

New York City.

W. J. BRADLEY.

CAP OR SERVICE STRIPE?

SIR,—Could you tell me if the President will wear an overseas cap on his return? I want to know so that I may put it in our local paper.

Nutton, Mass.

MARY B. FORBES.

AN OVERWHELMING MAJORITY

SIR,—Keep up the good work! You are expressing the views of an overwhelming majority of true Americans.

Louisville, Kentucky.

A. B. CAULDWELL.

HARVEY'S WEEKLY

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Spiked

JUST six weeks ago, writing under the title, "Let the American People Decide," we denied that President Wilson had succeeded in fulfilling his threat to so entwine the League with the Treaty as to render separation impossible, and we insisted that a way of disentanglement be found and enforced by the Senate,—to the end that so radical a departure from our established system of government should not be foisted upon the country without the country's full understanding and unequivocal assent.

That is what Senator Knox's resolution does and all it does. It provides for and virtually guarantees prompt ratification of the Treaty by simply designating "diplomatic commissions" to perform all intermediate acts allotted by the Covenant to the League on behalf of the United States. It does not reject the League. It does not raise a single point against the League. It simply reserves to the people the right of decision upon the adoption of the League.

Acceptance of this reservation by the other Powers is hardly conceivable since, in the words of the resolution, those Powers would be enabled to manifest "real respect for the wishes of a great people" such as "could not fail to cement the friendship already existing between ourselves and our co-belligerents." Even though they should be disinclined to extend this ordinary consideration freely and uncomplainingly, what of it? After all, this is a democracy whose government is of and by the people, and those who would do business with it must take cognizance of that fact just as surely as we in turn must recognize the forms and methods of a constitutional monarchy like that of Great Britain or of an empirical republic like that of France.

One would suppose that the advocates of the League would welcome this virtual referendum. Has not the President assured his colleagues in Paris that the scheme has overwhelming popular support in America and that in contradistinction to the Senate, "the people are in the saddle?" Has not the former President iterated and reiterated, over and over again, his sense of certainty that the Senators themselves would be compelled by their constituents to accept the proposal? Has not the sapient Administration leader, Mr.

Hitchcock, testified from his intimate knowledge that the final voting of his colleagues would be affirmative? Has not the Administration Press headed by the *Times* repeatedly scorned the suggestion that the result might even be in doubt?

Why, then, should any of these object to the procedure suggested? Are they secretly distrustful of their own judgment of the attitude of the people? We hardly think that. The President himself never expresses a mere opinion upon such a subject; he "knows" invariably what "the mind and heart of America" is. Moreover, we do him the credit of not doubting that he has been egregiously deceived by the timorous incompetents whom six months ago he left behind to supply him with trustworthy information. The former Republican President, we can readily surmise, may have overestimated his personal influence upon representatives of his own party just as, in 1912, he anticipated carrying more than two small States. To the Senator from Nebraska obviously the wish has been father to the thought from the beginning. The *Times*, so far as we can judge, has been guided largely by instinct, to the exclusion from consideration of patent facts. At bottom, all have felt that, whatever the temporary situation might be, ultimately the policy of terrorizing the Senate through constant acclaiming of a mighty popular clamor would win.

But now all is changed. With one stroke Senator Knox has deprived them of their most effective weapon by quietly demonstrating that acceptance of the League is not essential to peace, that in point of fact a settlement can only be delayed, not hastened, by retaining a provision that is highly controversial, to say the least, and provocative of prolonged discussion. And they find themselves in the position of refusing to let the people decide for themselves,—for that is the precise issue raised by the Knox resolution.

Not only that! Despite all of their proud and confident assertions, they do not dare even to face a vote in the Senate. Senator Hitchcock deceives nobody when, acting under orders from abroad, he announces that there will be no filibuster against the resolution but that necessarily a long time will be required for full discussion. Everybody knows what

that means. He fears the verdict and the President fears the effect of the verdict.

There is no reason why a vote could not be had on the resolution within a week. Long speeches can avail nothing upon such a subject. We venture the assertion that its advocates would and, as we hope, will be content to rest their case upon a single argument by Senator Knox. If the opposition would do likewise or even approximately as well, the question of a majority or a third or what-not against the League, without a mandate from the country, could be settled immediately and both the President and the other Powers would know precisely where they stand and what they must do to get results.

But no! Time is required,—time to enable the President to carry out his plan of coercion and present his document with “take this or nothing” as his ultimatum; time to revive and accentuate the policy of terrorism; time to expand the immense propaganda with the assistance of the international bankers; time to frighten business men by holding up appropriation bills and preventing revival of industry and return of prosperity. So time will be taken.

But the game will not work; it is too transparent both at home and abroad. News dispatches from Paris and London make the fact quite clear that eyes have been opening rapidly and widely of late and Senator Knox, speaking with his unique authority as former Attorney General and Secretary of State, has completed the operation. Neither Lloyd George nor Clemenceau nor Orlando nor their respective countries stand in need of further information respecting the present or future resolution of the United States to defy dictation which withholds from the American people real “self-determination” of their own affairs. And our own citizens are not likely to lose an undue amount of sleep in worrying over the legality of a proposition enunciated by Philander C. Knox and sustained by Elihu Root, William E. Borah, Frank B. Brandegee, David Jayne Hill, George Wharton Pepper, Charles Evans Hughes, Hannis Taylor and all other great lawyers of the land with the exception of the busy firm of Taft, Wickersham and Taft.

The true policy now is to obtain a test vote in the Senate as quickly as possible and then stand pat, leaving to the Leaguers the privilege of obstructing the passage of essential domestic remedial measures if such should be their fancy or the edict of their master.

Meanwhile let the galled jades of the Press and the stump continue to wince. For the present at any rate, thanks to Senator Knox, the League gun is spiked.

The “Hidden” Treaty

WE quite agree with the Boston *Transcript* that Mr. Root’s testimony at the “leak” inquiry was “very illuminating” and that our most distinguished elder statesman “greatly served his country in volunteering.” Indeed, when he got through there was nothing left for anybody to say. He not only cleared up the whole situation but uttered many words of wisdom.

Perhaps his most interesting judgment was to the effect that, while under no formal obligation to do so, the Presi-

dent would have done well at least to recognize the existence of the Senate as his prescribed partner in the making of treaties and even perhaps to have supplied the Foreign Relations Committee with bits of information from time to time. Tact and the frankness which he pledged upon the eve of his first departure would have saved the country no little worry and himself a heap of trouble.

So far as the “leak” itself was concerned, as Mr. Root pointed out, the moment the Treaty was published in Germany it became the property of the world. There was no reason why any citizen of any country should have hesitated to get and read a copy if inclined so to do. Whether or not Mr. Lamont, as a member of the President’s official caravan, should have heeded more scrupulously his chief’s passionate desire for secrecy seems to be a matter of concern only to themselves. Assuredly he broke no faith with his countrymen when he handed a copy to Mr. Davison to fetch to America and quite as obviously Mr. Davison violated no propriety when he accepted what was readily obtainable from any number of sources.

Our neighbor the *World* makes quite a sensation of the red-herring variety out of the startling discovery that Mr. Davison and Mr. Lamont are not Democrats. “Republicans All!” it shouts with deep significance. Well, we suppose they are; they naturally would be; but it was not as Republicans that they had access to copies of the Treaty; it was as members of the Government duly appointed by the President himself. What nonsense, then, to say as the *World* says:

Mr. Root got his copy from Henry P. Davison of Morgan & Co., and Mr. Davison is a Republican.

Mr. Davison got the copy from Thomas W. Lamont of Morgan & Co., and Mr. Lamont is a Republican.

If there has been an illegitimate or a partisan breach of the President’s pledge to secrecy given to the other great Powers at the conference, who effected the breach? If the confidence of the President has been violated, who violated it? If Mr. Lodge had a reasonable grievance on behalf of himself and his party associates in the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, who but influential members of his own party are responsible for the creation of that grievance?

As a matter of fact, there was no violation of confidence and there could be none in revealing a document which had already been made public. It was the President himself who erred when he declared that anybody who had the Treaty had something he had no right to have, and it was Senator Hitchcock who made himself ridiculous by saying that Senator Lodge “held stolen goods, held goods probably secured by bribery.”

The only real point was that raised by Senator Borah as to the propriety or even the moral right of the President to withhold from the Senate a treaty of which copies were being circulated privately throughout the country. As to that, honest opinions may differ. Ordinarily we should not take it very seriously as applied to an uncompleted paper, but as evidence of the President’s disregard of his own promises, of his contempt for the Senate and of his intention to jam through his pet scheme under whip and spur without allowing time for due consideration, it stands forth with impressive luminosity.

The chief immediate effect of the whole transaction is a reported lifting of the lid in Paris as indicated by the publication of the German reply—and that is all to the good, presaging possibly a closer approximation to “open covenants openly arrived at.”

A Word of Cheer

SO the Peace Treaty has been "entirely rewritten," and the Germans are to sign and the flags of all nations are to be unfurled to the breezes simultaneously over the historic palace the instant the signature "Honorable Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States, acting in his own name and by his own proper authority," is again appended and guns are to roar and bells ring while the delegates saunter forth arm in arm to watch the fountains play and listen to the band,—all by Monday of next week. And then our acting Premier, suitably accompanied, is to scurry across country to Brest, board the waiting *George Washington* and sail happily for home to resume his tasks and study his own report as Chief Magistrate of the Nation. That is the latest.

Well, maybe so; but we have our doubts. Ever since the first of April we have been cheered at frequent intervals by like announcements that on such and such a date the whole business would be completed and when the day arrived nothing happened. Frankly, we shall be greatly surprised if the curtain drops now at the hour fixed and determined; there seems to be such a lot to do in the meantime. Our Commission has to make a hurry call and sleep at least a night on a royal couch in Belgium for one thing, then the new presents will have to be packed up and Secretary Lansing will have to say that he never thought of resigning and Colonel House will have to receive his final whispered instructions in French and the servants will have to be feed and new hats picked up on the way to the station and the Lord knows what all. No, optimist though we are, our confidence in a breakaway in time to sign appropriation bills or even to lend a hand at the big fight is not strong.

Be that as it may, the rest of us will be here to witness the passing of John Barleycorn on the 30th and to raise Old Glory—and *only* Old Glory—on the Fourth. All's well, fellow countrymen; God reigns and Tumulty at Washington still lives.

Rounding Up Bolsheviks

SO a State instead of the National Government had to take the lead in rounding up the Bolsheviks who have been fomenting devilry in this country. It is not surprising. There is precedent for it. Some time ago, following a visit to Washington of the President's favorite candidate for the United States Senate, the Federal Government with noteworthy efficiency and success kept hands off a German who was controlling under false pretenses and contrary to law a metropolitan newspaper; until the State government butted in and arrested the Hun; whereupon, with its hand thus forced, Washington simply had to sit up and take notice, and do something. And now again it is the State that takes the initiative against a gang of alien conspirators to whose pernicious machinations the attention of the Washington Government has been called again and again.

We shall not say that it does not matter who does it so long as it is done, because in fact it does matter. The offence is primarily against the nation, and the nation's

Government ought to be foremost in abating it. Also, we must regard it as of dubious propriety for State authorities to intervene in international affairs. In the two cases which we have mentioned, such intervention was desirable. But it is quite obvious that the process might be carried too far, so as to involve us in unpleasant embarrassment. It would be dangerous to establish too marked a precedent for State intervention in diplomatic affairs.

The antecedents and the provocation of last week's raid on Bolshevik headquarters in New York are sufficiently notorious to indicate ample warrant for that action. So far as the international aspects are concerned, of which the Washington Government should have taken notice, it is to be observed that these men professed to be official representatives and active agents of a government with which this country is in fact at war, whose soldiers are from time to time killing ours and also getting killed by ours in battle. It is a government, moreover, which openly announces its hostility to our form of government and its purpose to destroy it if it can.

The monstrous impropriety of permitting the agents of such a government to conduct a propaganda in the United States should be convincingly obvious.

On the ground of morals, too, the thing has been offensive. These men were the agents and representatives of a government which had notoriously betrayed its allies, broken its treaties, and repudiated its pecuniary debts; a government which has attempted to practice the enforced "nationalization" of women as public property; a government which has admittedly practised murder and indiscriminate massacre as a means of establishing and maintaining its power. To permit the exponents of such practices to preach their doctrines here and to lay plans for making revolutionary attempts to introduce those practices here, is not creditable to a moral and civilized nation.

What complicity these men had, if any, in the recent bomb outrages, or in conspiracies for future violence or other trouble, remains to be disclosed. It is significant that they are referred to as exemplars by those who are convicted of such crimes, and that a New York Alderman who impudently pretended that the bomb explosions were nothing but a "plant" or "frame-up" was quick to denounce the arrest of the Bolsheviks as an outrage. There is reason to suspect, on the face of the case, that the Bolshevik "mission" in this country has been in close and influential touch with the Bolshevik "party of action" in various parts of the United States and in Canada. Testimony accumulates that the Bolshevik outbreak in Canada was incited and financed from Russia; and evidence is indisputable that it has from the first been the purpose of the Bolshevik leaders in Russia to conduct just such campaigns of disorder and violence in every country within their reach.

We have long been accustomed to observing "a certain condescension in foreigners" which moves them to regard America as a "soft thing" where they can concoct and carry out any devilry they please. We have not in the least become acquiescent in it, and we hail with sincere gratification every effort, whether by the national or, more frequently, by some State Government to prove by vigorous and effective action that America is not Bolshevik.

The Monroe Doctrine Again

IF we recur again and again to the menace to the Monroe Doctrine which is presented in the Covenant of the League of Nations, it is because of the supreme importance of that Doctrine to the tranquillity and general welfare of this nation, and because also of the peculiarly insidious and mischievous character of the attack which is made upon it in that Covenant.

Never before has there been an attempt to describe, define or interpret the Doctrine in any treaty or other international instrument. We cannot recall that hitherto any foreign Power has shown an inclination so to do. There have been discussions of it in diplomatic correspondence, but in such considerations of it nobody has ever spoken of it in any such terms as those which are applied to it in the Covenant. On the contrary, all who have discussed it, notably Great Britain and Germany, have agreed emphatically that it was not international law nor an international understanding of any kind, but was exclusively an American affair, an expression of American national policy. Its interpretation and application have been left entirely to the United States.

Now, for the first time in history, it is proposed specifically to define it, in an international treaty of the highest importance, to which we are expected to be a signatory party.

If the definition thus proposed were truthful, there might be no harm in it, though even then, thus to define it in such an instrument would be superfluous and impertinent, because purely national matters have no proper place in international treaties. But the definition proposed is not truthful. It is so entirely and ingeniously false, and the potential results of its acceptance by this country would be so unspeakably pernicious, that it is only by the exercise of an exceptional degree of restraint and charity that we can attribute its origin merely to ignorance and not to malice.

So long as the Doctrine remains in its present status, so long as it is—as Great Britain and Germany have so often said—not international law, but merely an American doctrine or policy—we are the sole interpreters of it, and no foreign Power can attack it without being regarded as manifesting an unfriendly disposition toward us. The moment we accepted this spurious definition of it and committed ourselves thereto, we should make alien Powers the interpreters of it and should make it liable to attack by anybody and at any time without offence to us. The foremost advocate—after, of course, the President—of that pernicious definition has specifically declared that after its adoption an alien body, and no longer the United States, would be the interpreter of the Doctrine. And without intending the slightest personal reflection upon a most estimable gentleman, it is pertinent to recall the fact of record that he is the son and political heir of a great British statesman who on a certain occasion, even at risk of seriously straining relations with the United States, insisted that the Monroe Doctrine was not internationally binding, but was merely an American statement of policy which had become practically obsolete.

Once before in our history, indeed, an attempt was made by at least one great European Power to compromise and vitiate the Monroe Doctrine through inveiglement of this country into an entangling treaty; as one of the personal

companions of the American Delegate at Paris ought particularly well to remember. In 1906 the Sultan of Morocco, at the practical dictation of the German Emperor, insisted upon the participation of the United States in the Algeiras Conference and the resultant treaty, the German scheme being so to involve this country in that purely European and African controversy as to violate the self-abnegatory principle of the Monroe Doctrine and thus render the whole of it vulnerable to destructive attack for the advantage of German schemes of aggression on the shores of the Caribbean Sea.

That scheme of the enemy failed, however, because the senior American delegate at Algeiras, Mr. Henry White, now at Paris, insisted upon signing the treaty with a reservation to the effect that this country accepted no obligation or responsibility for the enforcement of it, and the Senate of the United States ratified it with the additional expressed understanding that it did so “without purpose to depart from the traditional American foreign policy which forbids participation by the United States in the settlement of political questions which are entirely European in their scope.”

Whether intentional or not, the present attack upon the Monroe Doctrine is at once more subtle and immeasurably more dangerous than was that. If it is not a deliberate trap of which the authors intend to take advantage, it is none the less a device which if accepted by us would so entrap us that any member of the League—to which we are now told even Germany is to be forthwith admitted—could at any time take advantage, to our great embarrassment if not our positive disaster.

What is called the “final answer” of the Allies—and Associates—has been handed to the Germans. We hope that it is indeed the final answer, but we must be pardoned if “we ha’e oor doots.” There have been various finalities before, which did not prove final. They have been like our evening newspapers, which have last editions, and then final editions, and then postscript editions, and then sporting extra final editions, and so on. Or like the grocer with his “eggs,” “fresh eggs,” “newly laid eggs,” “strictly fresh eggs,” and “positively guaranteed eggs.”

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BY GEORGE HARVEY

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About Making Germany Pay

MR. CEDRIC ERLUND, an American financier resident in England, has put forward a detailed discussion of the question of making Germany pay full indemnity for her deviltry in the war, in which he argues that if properly managed she could be made to pay, within thirty years, not merely for the actual damage that she has done to the other nations, but also all the war debts which she compelled them to contract. Among the "enforceable claims" he names twenty-five billions American war debt, forty-two and a half billions British ditto, nearly thirty-nine billions French ditto, and so on down the line; over seventy and a half billions for loss of life and of net life producing power; et cetera, totalling two hundred and fifty-three billions seventy-five millions. Against this he would accept as an offset the value of the German colonies, seventy-five billions; leaving a balance of one hundred and seventy-eight billions seventy-five millions for Germany to pay in thirty years. And he argues that she can do it without being "bled white" either.

He may be right, or wrong. We do not undertake to pass upon the accuracy of his argument or the practicability of his plan; though we cheerfully insist that if he is right and if Germany could thus be made to pay all those items, she certainly ought to be made to do it. There is not an item on his whole tremendous list that is not valid and quite reasonable or which Germany is not morally and legally responsible for.

But what we want to welcome and to approve without reservation in Mr. Erlund's essay is this, that it is an attempt to show how much Germany is able to pay, and how she might be made to pay it; and that is the identical sort of thing that we ought to be hearing a great deal of, instead of the sentimental apprehensions with which we are deluged. Ever since the first intimation was made that the Open Covenant of Peace would require Germany to pay a considerable indemnity, people have been saying that Germany would never be able to pay much if anything, and have been building up arguments to prove it. They have been devoting their attention to trying to show how little instead of how much Germany could pay. They have even argued that it would be best not to make Germany pay as much as possible, because the more wealth she had left the better customer she would be in international trade.

All that has been false and pernicious policy. It may be—we do not pretend to know—that some, like Mr. Erlund and M. Clemenceau, have over-estimated Germany's ability to pay, and would thus impose upon her obligations which could not be fulfilled. But it would be far better to do that than to under-estimate her ability, and let her go free of debts which she justly owed and which she was quite able to pay. The proper rule is, In case of doubt, be hard on Germany. It is better to err in that direction than in the other. It is better to impose a penalty too heavy to be actually fulfilled upon a miscreant for whom no possible penalty could justly be too heavy, than to let innocent victims suffer unnecessarily for lack of reparation and indemnity.

Bear in mind that no matter what indemnity is collected from Germany, it will not be and cannot be sufficient to

repay France and Belgium their losses, and that therefore every dollar that Germany is permitted to retain will be a dollar withheld from those who urgently need it and to whom it rightfully belongs. Bear in mind, too, that every dollar Germany is permitted to retain will be used by her, in the unrepentant and truculent spirit which she is confessedly cherishing, to renew her efforts for the conquest of the world. Nor is the menace of such effort remote. We must remember that of all the important continental countries she is the one that has suffered least from the war. Indeed, in some of the most important respects she has not suffered at all. Her agricultural lands have not been ravaged, her orchards and forests have not been cut down, her factories have not been destroyed, her machinery and goods have not been stolen. She is immeasurably richer in her industrial resources to-day that she was at the beginning of the war, and is able to resume her competition for the mastery of the world with far greater advantage over her rivals than she ever before enjoyed.

In such circumstances, while of course cruel oppression, such as Germany herself has always shown toward those whom she has conquered, is not to be thought of, needless leniency would be criminal folly. The object of the peacemakers should be not compassion for the criminal, but reparation for the victims of the crime.

He Kept Us Out of Peace

(From The Sun.)

IN HARVEY'S WEEKLY for this week there is a cartoon portraying President Wilson in civilian attire decorated upon the left sleeve of his frock coat with the honorable military chevron of oversea service. The title of the picture is "His Service Stripe." Behind the superficially humorous intention of the exhibit there is a lesson of exceedingly serious import to every citizen of the United States.

Every intelligent observer in every civilized country on the planet's surface knows that since President Wilson reached Paris six months ago the main purpose of his efforts has not been to effect a speedy peace which would send our troops home and reestablish normal conditions in America but to make impossible any peace that does not include the establishment of his self-conceived league of nations project. Great Britain knows it, France knows it, Italy knows it, Japan knows it, every little tribal nation in his whole complex and fluid system of world reorganization recognizes his relation to the long delay of peace. * * *

How singly President Wilson has devoted to this his six months of opportunity in Paris while assuming to speak for the American people in the face of an adverse popular vote directly by him invoked everybody knows likewise. Whatever secrecy has attended some features of the President's participation in the Conference, there is no secret about this. It is a matter of common knowledge to all concerned. The extent to which Mr. Wilson has traded, bartered, sacrificed other people's interests, sidestepped Points of his own formulation, stultified himself broadly on proclaimed principles while working for a treaty that cannot be severed from his League of Peace is as apparent as anything in contemporary history.

And so he and his League of Nations have kept us out of peace for six months.

(From The Herald.)

HARVEY'S WEEKLY gives one service stripe to President Wilson, he having been in Europe more than six months. In Administration circles there is much chafing at the delay in reaching peace and a search for ways to put the responsibility for delay upon wicked Republicans. They can't be found. The delay in reaching peace is due solely to the injection of a League-of-Nations project into the business of peace making and to the President's insistence that everything else give way to that. He had his way. For the delay, and the danger involved in it, Mr. Wilson alone is responsible.

The Autocrat's Progress

THE unique and astonishing signature of the American Delegate to the Peace Treaty is susceptible of various interpretations, all highly significant. We are told that he wrote:

The President of the United States,—
The Honorable Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States, acting in his own name and by his own proper authority.

Now one of those phrases might mean that he was acting in his individual capacity as Woodrow Wilson, and not as the head and representative of the nation—not, that is, in the name of the nation. That would be extraordinary, however, seeing how frequently he has striven, under the security of the censorship, to convince European audiences that he always speaks in the name of the American people. So it seems more probable that he meant that he as President had appointed himself to be Delegate, without seeking authority or ratification from the Senate.

The other phrase, also, is susceptible of at least two meanings. It might mean that he was exercising a proper, that is, a fitting, an appropriate, authority, in accordance with custom and good taste. That is perhaps the most common use of the word, though of course it is a secondary meaning of it. While it is quite conceivable that the President does think that his exercise of authority in this matter is thus just and correct, however, we must recognize the possibility, especially since he is so great a purist in speech, that he employed the word in its primary sense, meaning that he was acting by his own personal authority, as President of the United States, and not by the authority of appointment by another or of Senatorial ratification.

In any case, these expressions appear to be significant of the progress which the President is steadily making toward the assertion of autocracy. We are all familiar with the preconceptions of the President which he had and which he expressed before he himself attained the office:

His is the only national voice in affairs. Let him once win the admiration and confidence of the country, and no other single force can withstand him, no combination of forces will easily overpower him. . . . His office is anything he has the sagacity and force to make it. . . . The personal force of the President is perfectly Constitutional to any extent to which he chooses to exercise it. . . . The president can never again be the mere domestic figure he has been throughout so large a part of our history.

Upon assuming the Presidential office, Mr. Wilson strove, with what in a less circumspect and politic man would have seemed audacity, to fulfil his own ideals of it. Not even the unfortunate example of a distinguished predecessor in appointing a "Commissioner Paramount" restrained him from entrusting various important diplomatic missions not to accredited representatives of the Government but to his own personal agents, accredited by and responsible to nobody but himself. Again and again he made appeals which were scarcely less than demands for the enactment of bills by Congress, not so much on the ground of national need as on that of their necessity for the fulfilment of his policies.

From that it was only a short and entirely sequential step for him to proceed to ask, almost demand, that the country should abrogate its right of free political choice and should elect a Congress of his personal choosing, which would be subservient to his will. And even when that was, of course,

most stingingly denied him, he did not hesitate to select himself, "by his own proper authority," to be the nation's representative at the Peace Congress, taking with him by way of form and convenience one authorized colleague and three entirely unauthorized persons whose diplomatic dickerings and philanderings can have no more significance than those of any other private citizens who happen to be traveling and visiting abroad. It was quite in keeping, then, that at a distance of three thousand miles from home and with the shielding interposition of a personally controlled censorship to prevent embarrassing challenges and contradictions, he should assure alien potentates and peoples that he was interpreting truly to them the practically unanimous wishes and will of the American nation.

There has been in our political history no comparable example of egotistic and autocratic self-exploitation, and there has never been a more fitting proclamation of personal preferment than that denoted in the extraordinary signature to the Treaty of Peace. It is impossible to deny, of course, the truth of the characterizations, or to dispute the technical legality of them if—which is not to be conceded—it be proper for a President of the United States to take up his residence and conduct the business of his office in a foreign land. But to the reflective mind there is in his words a not entirely agreeable suggestion of the words of another autocratic Chief of State.

"I act in my own name and by my own proper authority," says the President of the United States.

"I reign and rule by my own right," said the Kaiser of the modern Huns.

Plain Talk from Mr. Hays

THE almost incredibly unpatriotic and foolish challenge of the Democratic National Chairman to the Republicans, to make the League of Nations a party issue, receives a scathing rebuke at the hands of the Republican National Chairman; as it richly deserves. As partisanship in the war would have been detestable, so, Mr. Hays rightly conceives, there should be no partisanship in the making of peace. "It is an American question;" and it is to be solved "without sacrificing our own supreme nationalism, the preservation of which in its integrity is the greatest safeguard for the future." We don't suppose that Mr. Cummings wants to make the sacrificing of American nationalism a party issue; does he?

In the same spirit Mr. Hays demands that "We shall bring this Government back to the limitations of the Constitution in times of peace." Any criminal element, organized or unorganized, called I. W. W. or anything else, that goes about the country seeking what it can destroy, he would treat as a traitor, and nothing else. He is for Federal control of national utilities, but against Federal ownership. He is against what he most aptly calls pedagogic paternalism, and against any "zone of twilight" in politics or public affairs, holding that "right is right and wrong is wrong." "We will not forget that while we fight to make certain the rights of free government in the world, we have a Republic to preserve in this country; that we are a representative government, not a Bolshevik syncopation."

That, we apprehend, is a platform of principles upon which any loyal American could and every loyal American should stand. Its principles are too broad to be the exclusive property of any one party. Mr. Hays claims no monopoly of them for his party. It is perhaps within the power of any party or any politician to refuse to stand upon such a platform, and to regard such principles as partisan issues; but we should doubt the wisdom of so doing. The Democratic party suffers the disadvantage, the embarrassment, the misfortune, of having had its supreme head endeavor last October to identify loyalty to America with loyalty to himself; but seeing the whole-heartedness with which the nation rejected that intolerable pretension, we should think that it might now rid itself of that unmerited odium. There ought to be enough patriotism and wisdom and plain horse sense in the Democratic party to-day to reject the destable notion that peace-making and the maintenance of American national independence are partisan issues, and to place and to keep that party on a platform as broad and as enlightened as that indicated by Mr. Hays in his plain talk.

Light in the East

WHILE Bolsheviks are doing their pernicious worst in this country and in Canada, distinct improvement in affairs appears in Russia itself. The light shines, not unnaturally, from the east. Beyond the Urals there is hope. If the Russians who are there battling for Russia receive little help from the Allies and Associates, they also suffer from less meddling. The result is that Omsk to-day is the centre of the hopes of the Russian people, who look no longer to mediaeval ecclesiasticism or to an incongruous welter of Czarism and Anarchy, but to the sane and orderly rule of a real democracy.

Admiral Kolchak's reply to the Allied and Associated questionnaire is so complete and explicit that we must wish that he or one of his secretaries had been at Paris for the last six months to draft the documents which there have been so sorely bungled and muddled. He makes it clear that the horse is to be kept at the front of the cart. The first thing to be done is to crush and extinguish Bolshevism. That is imperative. Until that is done, there can be no negotiations and no popular constitution-making, for the reason that Bolshevism is intrinsically the negation of negotiation and the prohibition of popular rule. When a building is afire it would be folly to undertake restocking it with furniture. The first thing is to extinguish the fire. Then you can consider repairs.

The moment Bolshevism is disposed of, Admiral Kolchak pledges himself to summon a Constituent Assembly, chosen by the free suffrage of the entire Russian people, and to commit to it the determination of the future government of Russia. That is the very thing which the Bolsheviks and their Soviets have refused and opposed. It is the thing which every believer in democracy and the rights of man must heartily approve. Note, too, that Admiral Kolchak emphasizes the merely provisional and temporary character of his own government by remitting to that Assembly, or to the government which it creates, all serious diplomatic and international questions in which Russian interests are involved.

It is not for him, he says in effect, to determine Russia's frontiers and her external relations. Those are matters for the Russian people themselves to pass upon, through "a representative body which is the national expression of the people's sovereignty."

Pending that, however, and thus deferring details, he is ready at once to recognize in general terms the independence of Poland, and the *de facto* Finnish Government, and to prepare for a disposition of the various Russian provinces which are claiming autonomy; through the ultimate ratification of all that is done must await the action of the permanent Russian Government. He of course accepts responsibility for the legitimate debts of Russia, which the Bolsheviks repudiated, and he gives as full assurances concerning the equitable treatment of all races and creeds and concerning other matters of domestic policy as can decently be required by outside Powers. In brief, his whole statement is a straightforward and enlightened announcement of policy, worthy of the respect and admiration of all mankind, and worthy, too, so far as we have been informed of Admiral Kolchak's character, of a large degree of confidence in its faithful fulfilment.

It remains to be seen whether those who have been so fitfully backing and filling over their attitude toward Russia, and have been trying to philander their way into some sort of bargain with a corrupt cabal whose guiding principle is the repudiation of all bargains, will embrace the opportunity thus offered for at last aligning themselves with a just and rational settlement of the Russian problem, and a settlement for which the credit is to be given not to any Allies and Associates, but to the Russian people themselves.

England Must Act

THE New York *Herald* has the distinction of being the first newspaper in the United States to spread before the American people the full report on Irish conditions made by Edward F. Dunne and Frank P. Walsh and by them laid before the Paris Peace Conference, with the demand that there be an investigation to establish the truth or falsity of the terrible charges which Mr. Dunne and Mr. Walsh, conjointly, have formulated.

It is difficult to see how England can stand silent under accusations so appalling. For "appalling" is not a whit too strong a word by which to characterize them. If Irish political prisoners have been subjected by English authorities to a tithe of the atrocities which Messrs. Walsh and Dunne say have been perpetrated, then as between the horrors of which the Central and even the Turkish empires are accused and those perpetrated in Ireland, there is little to choose.

The Walsh-Dunne report sets forth seventeen accusations, any one of which, if substantiated, is enough to cover any Government authorizing or tolerating or condoning them with black infamy. Hundreds of men and women confined for months in the vilest prisons without any charges being preferred against them; prisoners confined day and night in narrow cells with their hands handcuffed behind them and wallowing in filth unspeakable; prisoners doused with ice-cold water as they lay helpless in their cells, and left to lie thus in winter, in their soaked clothing, until stricken with pneumonia; prisoners left in solitary confinement under

such atrocious conditions that they were taken out raving maniacs; prisoners pounded and beaten with clubs in their cells; and so on and on through a catalogue of horrors in some details all but unprintable.

The *Herald's* London correspondent says that when this ghastly document was at last printed in full by one London paper with the courage to do it, all England was stunned. And well might all England be stunned. The retort that the charges are "lies" will not do. Nothing short of a full, fair and free investigation demonstrating that they are lies will lift from England the obloquy under which the charges leave her.

This is precisely the investigation that Dunne and Walsh call upon the Peace Conference to make. They would have the Premier of England name three members of a committee; the elected representatives of Ireland, including Unionists, Nationalists and Republicans, by a majority vote, to choose three more; the six thus named to agree upon a chairman who shall be a resident and citizen of Japan, France or the United States. In the event of failure of the six thus to agree, then the chairman to be appointed by the United States Supreme Court.

On its face that is an entirely sound method of obtaining a fair and unbiased inquiry. Whether England accepts this plan or evolves some other, it is inconceivable that the English people will consent to rest under the shadow of such accusations without setting in motion some sort of an investigating body which will convince themselves and the world of the truth or falsity of these accusations. Thus far nothing has been done save to shriek that Dunne and Walsh are "liars." That will not satisfy the fair-minded people of England, still less of the civilized world.

The Legislative Situation

PROPONENTS of the League of Nations have assiduously circulated reports that the Republican Congress has "neglected" the public business since assembling in extraordinary session while devoting virtually all of its time to "attacks" on the President. Party politics, we are told, is the motive. Serious embarrassment to business, if not an actual breakdown of the machinery of government caused by a failure to provide funds before the end of the fiscal year, will be, it is said, the inevitable result.

Space requirements forbid the analysis we should like to make of this type of propaganda. It so happens, however, that a mere recital of the work done by the Congress since the President grudgingly consented to call it on May 19, disposes of the entire subject.

During the four short weeks it has been in session the Congress has handled its business with unusual efficiency. Its methods have been a relief from those of the J. Hams and the Claude Kitchins. Incidentally it has already lopped off approximately \$1,500,000,000 of the expenditures proposed by the Bakers, Daniels and Hurleys. We are inclined to think that the country will not be altogether ungrateful to a Congress which in one short month reduces annual expenditures by a sum greater than that which was required to finance the entire Government in the years preceding the war.

When the Congress convened, seven great appropriation bills carrying expenditures of \$3,821,725,962 remained on the calendar as having failed of passage in the last session. It was essential that these bills be passed before the end of the fiscal year, else there would be no funds available with which to finance the various departments.

Important measures affecting the immediate financing of the railroads and legislation for the permanent control of the carriers; woman suffrage; revenue; wire control, and various other measures affecting reconstruction, awaited consideration.

Unless there is some altogether unexpected hitch, every bill left over from the last Congress will be passed before July 1. The Agriculture and Army appropriations have passed the House and are now in the Senate. The Deficiency, Urgent Deficiency Bills and the Indian Appropriation Bill await the President's signature. The Navy appropriation bill is before the House. The Railroad Finance bill has been passed. This, then, disposes of the really pressing legislation.

The Senate has passed the wire control bill and it should be passed in the House without delay.

No sane person assumed that the Congress would dispose of the revenue or railroad legislation before July 1. At the rate which they are now progressing with hearings, a permanent railroad bill undoubtedly will be evolved before Fall. This is all that was expected.

It is impossible to frame revenue legislation until Congress has some means of knowing how much money will be required for the next fiscal year. Senator Smoot estimates that a large bond issue or series of short term securities will be required to meet the deficit. The amount cannot be estimated precisely. At the rate the Congress is now cutting estimates for next year, it is impossible to reach a definite conclusion on the subject. Legislation providing for repeal of the luxury tax will doubtless be passed within the next few days, and thereafter preparations will be made to meet next year's expenditures.

Of course there has been an unnecessary amount of talking, as there always was and always will be so long as we live under a democratic form of government; but the most casual examination of the record of the present session will show that the new Congress is actually taciturn compared with its immediate predecessors. This is particularly true of the House where general debate on some of the appropriation bills was eliminated altogether—a Godsend which has not been vouchsafed to us since before the Democrats took control of that body in 1910.

The Case of Dr. Ellis

IT is desirable in every way that the full facts in the case of Dr. William T. Ellis be made public. If Dr. Ellis has been wronged, as charged; if the English authorities in Egypt by and with the advice and consent of the American Consul General at Cairo, Mr. Hampson Gary, have improperly restrained the movements of an American citizen going about his lawful business in a lawful way, also as charged, then we should know it, and our State Department should bring the matter to the attention of the British Government, in which case, no doubt, that Government would take the

proper remedial steps; and thus one more cause of unnecessary friction would be removed.

Dr. Ellis is the accredited correspondent of the New York *Herald*. He is, furthermore, a gentleman of high character, a noted world traveler and an authority on Palestine. He was sent by the *Herald*, because of his especial fitness for the task, to investigate post-bellum conditions in Egypt, Palestine and Syria. He was in Egypt at the time of the recent political outbreaks there. Adopting the only way there is to get at the facts of any controversy, Dr. Ellis "saw both sides." He got the viewpoint of the English administration from the English authorities. From the leaders of the disturbances he got the aims and claims of those in revolt. He wrote both sides and the *Herald* published both sides.

Then the heavy hand of English officialdom in Egypt fell upon Dr. Ellis. He was made virtually a prisoner. He wished to go to Syria and Palestine, where his intimate knowledge of the peoples and the countries would have made his studies of great value. This the English authorities in Egypt peremptorily forbade. In so doing, as the case on the surface appears, they interfered not only with the freedom of movement of an American citizen, but they interfered very drastically with the freedom of the press.

By and large, it is a complication which needs clarifying without any unnecessary delay. This is evidently the view in Congress, and resolutions from both Senate and House asking the State Department for full details are in process of passage. As matters stand the situation is distinctly provocative of the suspicion that there is something going on both in Egypt and Palestine which somebody in authority there wishes to keep covered up. There are also in the situation germs of a regrettable international irritation. It is a clear case for open covenants openly arrived at, to be exposed to the full glare of pitiless publicity,—notwithstanding the presumptuous assertion of the President that he spoke not only for himself but for "the American people" when he declared that Egypt should continue under the British yoke.

Maybe the President signed the Peace Treaty "in his own name and by his own proper authority" because the others used some hifalutin dewdads and he didn't want the United States to be outdone. That reminds us of sturdy old Edmund Roberts, when he went to negotiate a treaty with Anam. The court flunkies asked him what his titles were, and he modestly pleaded not guilty to any. Then, they said, he could not do business there, for no Minister of State would receive anyone who had not as many titles as he. "Oh, well," said Roberts, "I have a few, but they are so insignificant that I hated to mention them." So he chipped in: "Tell your Ministers that I am Special Envoy of the United States of America, Citizen of New Hampshire, Citizen and Freeholder of Portsmouth; of Rockingham, Coos, Grafton, of Nashua, Concord, Manchester, of Merrimack, Amonnoosuc, Androscoggin, of Monadnock, Kearsarge, Chocorua, of Umbagog, Sunapee, Winnepesaukee," and so on through a condensed gazetteer of the Granite State, till the Cochin Chinese shouted, "For the love of Mike, stop! You've got the Emperor himself beat a mile!" Still, Roberts didn't make the treaty. Is it an omen?

Reversal By Strike

THE sound sense of Secretary of Labor Wilson's address before the American Federation of Labor convention at Atlantic City is refreshing. Particularly to be commended is his advice concerning the proposed Fourth of July strike in the interest of Mooney, convicted of murder in California. Mr. Wilson put it mildly when he said in effect that such a demonstration would be a serious blow at trial by jury. It would be rather more than that. It would be a blow at our entire judiciary system. It would be tantamount to an effort to introduce the labor strike as a court of last resort. It would aim at placing within the hands of labor union leaders authority to reverse the decisions of all our courts, including the Supreme Court of the United States itself.

The fact that an organization of such standing as the American Federation of Labor could for a moment contemplate such a step is all but incredible. That it did, none the less, seriously meditate the plunge into the attempt at sheer revolution which an act of this kind would involve, is, unhappily, only too evident from the very earnestness of Mr. Wilson's appeal to the Federation's patriotism and good sense to avert the calamity.

For a calamity it would have been. A calamity, not to our social system as organized, but a calamity to organized labor. That the contemplated strike would have had the slightest effect on the orderly processes of our judicial proceedings is quite impossible. Our system of trial by jury would go right on as usual. Our courts as usual would go right on in their established processes of adjudication. If Federal and State constitutions are to be so amended that a labor strike shall have the effect of reversal over conclusions of law and fact reached by judges and juries, such amendments will come in the ways made and provided by the Constitutions themselves. If, in the opinion of the people of the United States, it is better that an Amalgamated Bench of Walking Delegates have revisionary discretion over our court decisions, the people of the United States doubtless will compass that end by their own deliberate and orderly methods. It is just as certain that they will not be coerced to that end by strikes, or threats of strikes, as it is that our courts, as constituted, will not be swayed by the breadth of a hair from the performance of their sworn duty by any such overt processes of intimidation.

When we reach that bridge we shall cross it. We shall cross it in our own time and in our own way. Very certain it is that we will not be stampeded and hustled over it by any such coercion as a nation-wide strike. Such a strike, based on such a purpose, would be a set-back to the country, but the country would speedily recover the lost ground. To organized labor it would be a disaster. It would mean a loss of prestige which many years might not suffice to recover. It is a misfortune to organized labor that such a project could even be suggested by responsible labor leaders. In temperate, but none the less weighty language, Secretary Wilson impressed these facts upon his Labor Federation hearers. The Federation's good commonsense, apparently, has endorsed and accepted his excellent advice.

The Week

WASHINGTON, June 19, 1919.

SAY the Huns, in their latest whining, "We want to be considered as good as any other nation, right away." Say the Allies, in their latest—please God, may it indeed be their last!—reply, "You shall not; until we think you are fit for it."

Say the Huns, "We want a vote of the disposition of Alsace-Lorraine, and we want to keep the Saar Valley." Say the Allies, "You shall have neither."

Say the Huns, "We want to surrender only the truly Polish parts of Posen." Say the Allies, "Yes; but we shall be the judges of what are truly Polish parts."

Say the Huns, "We want to keep all of East and West Prussia and Dantzig, and to have our colonies back." Say the Allies, "You shall surrender such parts of East and West Prussia as we select, Dantzig shall be a free city, and you shall not have one of your colonies back."

Say the Huns, "We want a general and considerable easing of the reparation terms." Say the Allies, "There shall be none."

Say the Huns, "We want to keep exclusive control of all our railroads, canals and rivers." Say the Allies, "You shall not, but they shall be opened to international use."

Say the Huns, "We want the All-Highest and all his fellow criminals to go scot free." Say the Allies, "We shall let you know in thirty days whom of your murderous crew we purpose to arraign at the bar of justice."

Say the Huns, "We think you are unjust to us and are trying to destroy us!" Say the Allies, in the stern words of Georges Clemenceau,

"In the view of the Allied and associated Powers the war which began on the 1st of August, 1914, was the greatest crime against humanity and the freedom of the peoples that any nation calling itself civilized has ever consciously committed. . . .

"Justice, therefore, is the only possible basis for the settlement of the accounts of this terrible war. Justice is what the German delegation asks for and says that Germany has been promised. But it must be justice for all. There must be justice for the dead and for the wounded and for those who have been made orphans and bereaved that Europe might be free from Prussian despotism.

"There must be justice for the peoples who now stagger under war debts, which exceed thirty billions, that liberty might be saved. There must be justice for those millions whose homes and lands, ships and property, German savagery has spoliated and destroyed. . . . Reparation for wrongs inflicted is of the essence of justice."

Now let us hope and pray, please God, that the Allies and Associates will stick to it!

We would suggest, as one of the most pertinent and significant reflections upon the transmogrification of the treaty, this: That if the treaty, as at first drafted, declared complete and insusceptible of change, and presented to the Germans for their signature, was in fact so imperfect that it would never have done to sign it in that condition, and that it had to be entirely rewritten, there is no assurance that in its new form it is entirely satisfactory and insusceptible of profitable amendment; and if the Germans have been permitted to discuss and criticize and debate it week after week and prescribe changes, many of which have been accepted and adopted, it would be intolerable to deny the Senate of the United States the same privilege. We do not

believe that the self-respecting American nation will agree to let the Germans compel wholesale rewriting of the treaty and not let the Senate amend it, or at least add to it a proviso that will protect American principles, American nationality, and American independence from fatal impairment.

"It is generally admitted," says a well-informed Paris dispatch to the *New York Sun*, "that the Allies are much worse off as the result of the last ten days' delay" [in signing the treaty.] And yet "if Count Rantzau announces that a few days more are necessary, the feeling is that the additional time would be granted." That is to say, the requests of the Huns are to be granted, no matter how bad it may be for the Allies. The convenience of Germany must always be considered first. The welfare of France and other Allies is of secondary if not quite negligible importance. Has nobody the acuteness to see that one of the chief reasons why Germany asks for so many postponements and so much delay is that she knows how much damage is thus being done to the Allies?

Lord Robert Cecil is an estimable and accomplished statesman, who holds an important office under the British Crown and is, we believe, an accredited representative of the British Government at the Peace Conference at Paris. Colonel Edward M. House is a well known citizen of the State of Texas and of the United States, possessed of much political acumen and adroitness, but holding no public office whatever. These two gentlemen are reported to have issued an omnium gatherum request, demand, or what not, calling upon Governments everywhere to provide them with information, at the earliest possible moment, "of all political, financial, social, economic and other relevant considerations in all parts of the world." We must confess ourselves to be at a loss to understand by what right they issue such a call. Of course, if they are publishing an almanac or year book or annual cyclopedia, they have an excuse for thus seeking information; provided that they enclose return postage. But we had not heard of their being engaged in any such enterprise. If they want the information just for the gratification of personal curiosity, or for the furtherance of some scheme which they hope some time in the future to put into operation but which at present has no authoritative vitality, their request verges unpleasantly near to the impertinent.

Covenanters are plaintively arguing that even if the Senate does not like their Covenant, it ought to accept it because to do otherwise would make trouble for the whole Peace Treaty, with which it is so closely related. There would be more force or at least more grace in that plea if it were not that the President, according to his own declaration, purposely intertwined the Covenant and the rest of the Treaty so as to make them just as inseparable as possible, and so as to compel the Senate to ratify a thing which it did not like, rather than sacrifice a thing which it wanted to ratify and which the nation wanted it to ratify. When a man deliberately and spitefully plays such a trick, the bad consequences, if any, should fall to his charge and not to that of those who refuse to be tricked.

We should hate like the dickens to see one of the chief organs of the Administration hauled over the coals for lèse majesty, but there seems to be danger of it. Here is the *New York Times* simply raging against the Senators for the "blundering" and "childishness" of the investigation into the "leaking" of the Treaty. Yet that investigation was made at the initiative and on the insistence of the President's chief spokesman in the Senate, after he had conferred with the President as to what to do, and it was strongly approved and encouraged by the President himself, "acting," we suppose, "in his own name and by his own proper authority." Was it Senator Hitchcock's "blundering" and the President's "childishness," or vice versa?

The thing has been done at last. Where the intrepid Hawker failed, though through no fault of his own, Alcock has succeeded, with equal daring and skill and with better fortune. The aerial journey from Newfoundland to Ireland has been made without a stop, without the reassurance of a guard ship, in a single flight. We shall not fear a challenge if we record it as the greatest achievement of the kind in the history of the world.

There is especial pleasure in thus testifying of it because of the previous performance of our own countryman. It is not necessary to analyze minutely the differences between Read's flight and Alcock's. They were not intended to be alike. They were not in competition. Each was unique, unprecedented, unrivalled. But the fact that an American made the first flight across the sea, though in entirely different circumstances, and the memory of the thrilling appreciation and reception which were given to him in England, entitles Americans with peculiar fitness to applaud Alcock's achievement.

To drive a flying plane through nearly two thousand miles of air, in less than a thousand minutes, amid cutting sleet and blinding mists and all the mysterious mazes of the unchartered void, was a deed which for both physical and moral courage, for endurance, and for the conquering qualities which we tersely describe as "nerve" and "sand," has probably never been surpassed. The plaudits of the world are its just due.

In the first four months of this year the railroads, under government control and operation, hauled freight 2,258,000,000 fewer ton miles than in the same period before the Government took over the roads. Yet that greatly diminished volume of business cost the roads in operating expenses \$611,797,000 more than the larger volume before government control, and it cost the shipping public in increased freight rates \$447,950,000 more. Since the taxpayers of the nation must make good the deficit in railroad accounts, these two sums added together make a total of \$1,059,747,000 as the cost to the public in four months of government control and operation of the railroads; or \$3,179,241,000 a year. What was it that Ben Franklin said about paying too much for a whistle? A little while ago it was reported, as we observed last week, that there had been an increase of business in April, yet a decrease in profits. So it appears that, under government control and operation, when business decreases, expenses increase, and when business in-

creases, profits decrease. If that is not economic bedlam, we lose our guess.

It is not surprising that the Director-General of Railroads has felt it necessary to exhort all officers and employees to exercise the strictest economy in the use of supplies and equipment, so as to keep the losses of the Government as small as possible. There was once a college man who was noted for the profusion with which he spent, wasted, and lost money in everything that he did, and who kept up the practice for some years in business after he left Alma Mater. He disappeared for a few years, and when found again, he was working a farm. A friend asked how he was getting on, and he replied with enthusiasm:

"Splendidly! Top wave of prosperity!"

"But, man, you don't mean that you're making money on this farm?"

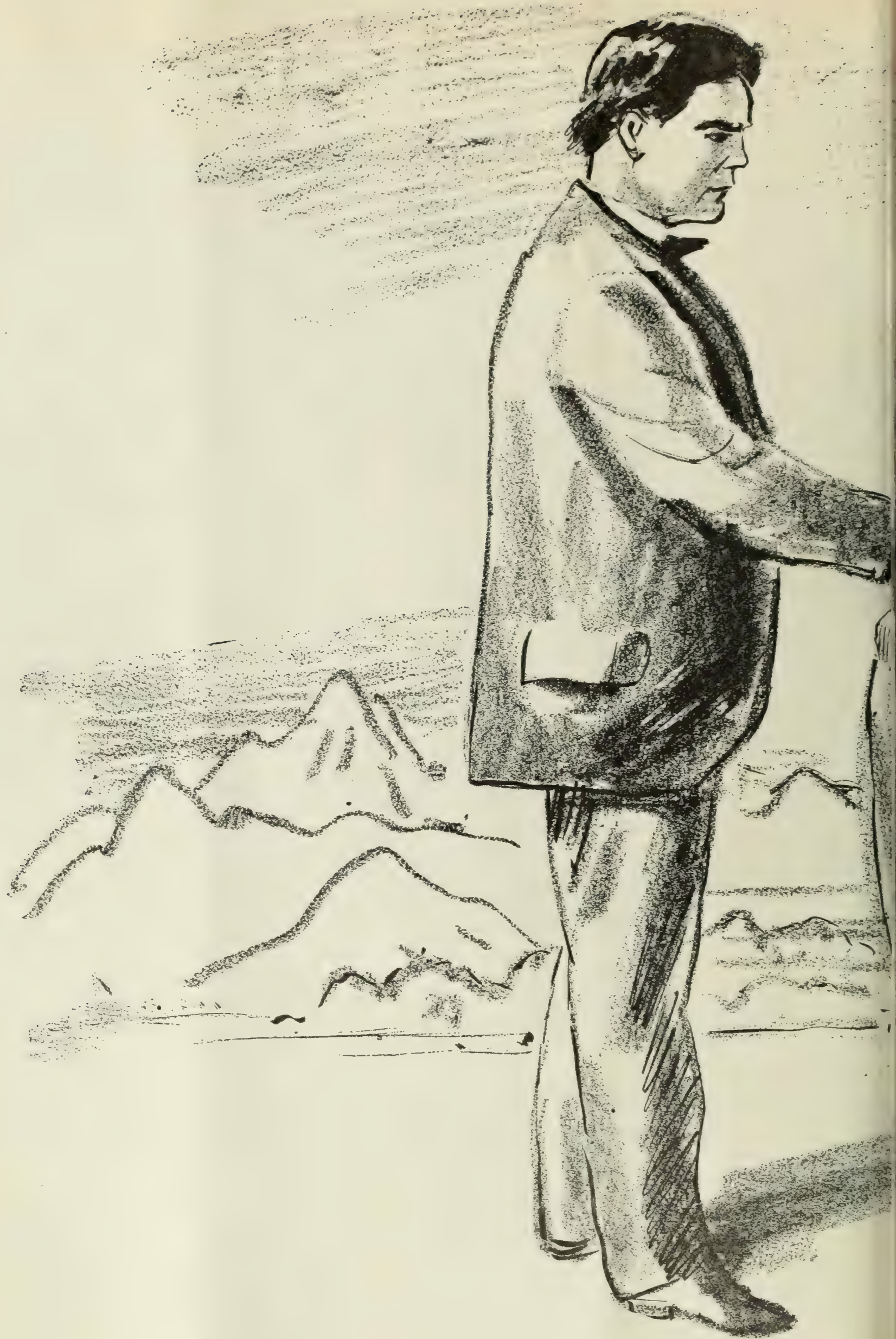
"Lord, no! But I'm losing it slower than I ever did before!"

If Mr. Hines can slow down the rate at which the Government is losing money on the railroads, we shall be grateful.

Good things are sometimes done in a bad way, and bad things are done in a good way—at least, an orderly and legitimate way. But here is an attempt to do a bad thing in a bad way; which means that it should be doubly damned. It would be a bad thing to abolish the so-called "daylight saving" arrangement, no matter how it might be done. It is a bad thing to pass any measure as a "rider," no matter what the measure may be. But to pass this "daylight repeal" proposal as a rider is, as we have said, doubly evil. If the short-sighted advocates of it want to try issues upon it, let them put it up as an independent measure, to take its chances according to its own deserts. In that form it would probably be overwhelmingly rejected; which is why they do not dare to try it, but instead "sneak it in" as a rider. In its present form it ought to be all the more surely and strongly beaten.

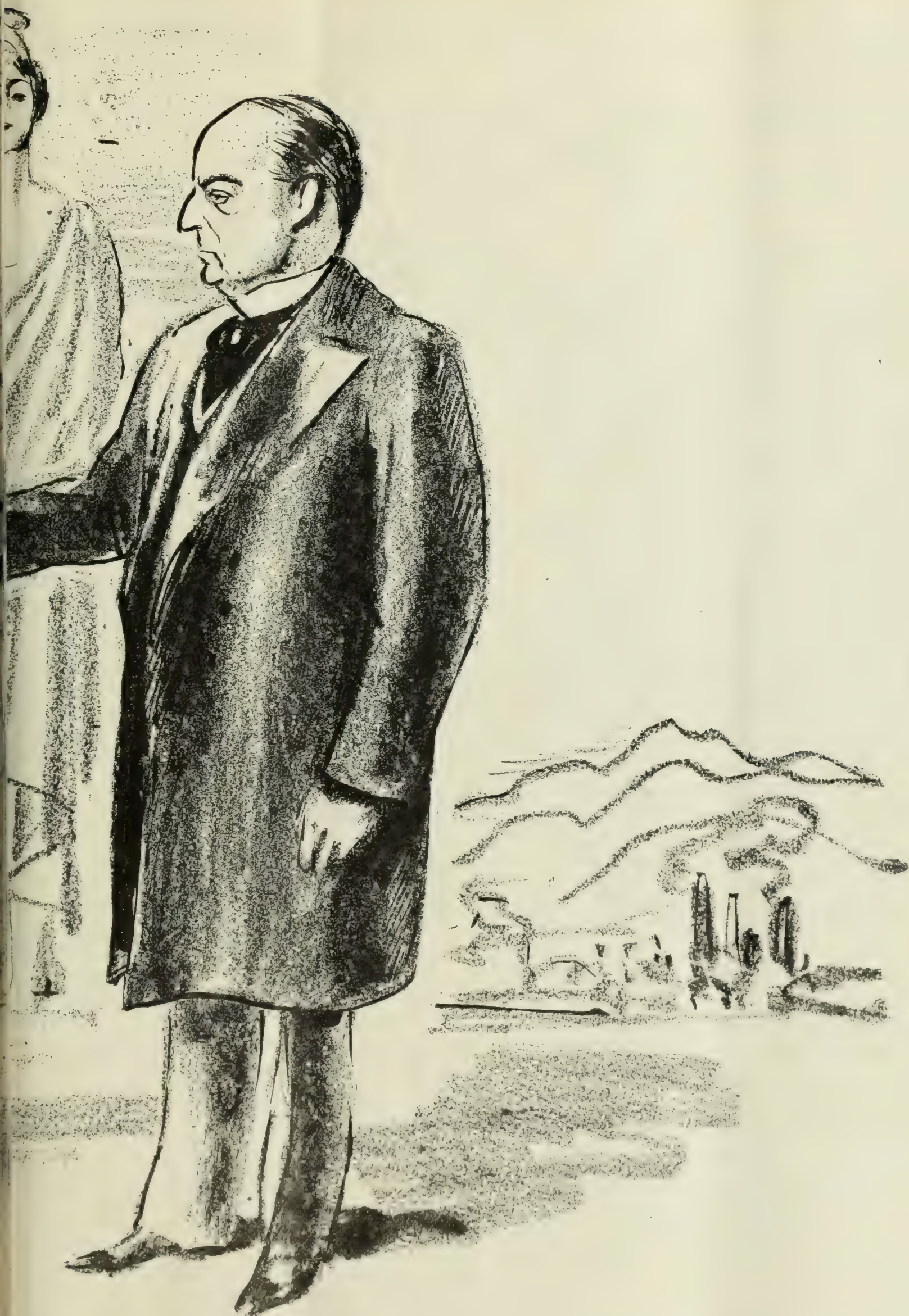
Why should the Government purchase at a high price the sites of camps and cantonments which it no longer needs and is not likely ever again to need? It is said that if it does not, the owners of the land will be put to some loss through the disturbances which they have suffered. If they can prove loss, they should be and doubtless will be fairly reimbursed. It will be better to indemnify them than to buy at high prices, land that we do not want, to sell it soon again at low prices.

Herr Victor Berger, "speaking with a strong German accent," insists that the House of Representatives has no authority to prevent him from taking the seat to which he was elected. The Constitution of the United States provides that "Each House shall be the judge of the elections, returns and qualifications of its own members." Herr Berger may not think that any authority. If so, that is just another point of difference between him and American citizens.



KNOX

“East is East and West is V



BORAH

but both are for AMERICA

SENATOR KNOX'S GREAT SPEECH

Let the People Decide Whether America Shall Join A League of Nations

(Delivered in the United States Senate on June 17, 1919)

The Resolution

IN the Senate of the United States, June 10, 1919, Mr. Knox submitted the following resolution; which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations:

Whereas, The Congress of the United States in declaring, pursuant to its exclusive authority under the Constitution, the existence of a state of war between the United States and the Imperial German Government, solemnly affirmed that the Imperial Government has so "committed repeated acts of war against the Government and the people of the United States" that a state of war had been thrust upon them by that Government, and thereupon formally pledged the whole military and national resources of the country "to bring the conflict to a successful termination"; and

Whereas, The Senate of the United States, being a coequal part of the treaty-making power of this Government, and therefore coequally responsible for any treaty which is concluded and ratified, is deeply concerned over the draft treaty of peace negotiated at Versailles by which it is proposed to end our victorious war and is gravely impressed by the fact that its provisions appear calculated to force upon us undesirable and far-reaching covenants inimical to our free institutions under the penalty that failing to accept these we shall continue in a state of war while our cobelligerents shall be at peace and enjoying its blessings; that it is proposed to make us parties to a league of nations, under a plan as to which the people of the United States have had neither time to examine and consider nor opportunity to express regarding it a matured and deliberate judgment, whereas the treaty may be easily so drawn as to permit the making of immediate peace, leaving the question of the establishment of a league of nations for later determination; and that the treaty as drawn contains principles, guarantees, and undertakings obliterative of legitimate race and national aspirations, oppressive of weak nations and peoples, and destructive of human progress and liberty; Therefore be it

Resolved, That the Senate of the United States will regard as fully adequate for our national needs and as completely responsive to the duties and obligations we owe to our cobelligerents and to humanity, a peace treaty which shall assure to the United States and its people the attainment of those ends for which we entered the war, and that it will look with disfavor upon all treaty provisions going beyond these ends.

2. That since the people of the United States have themselves determined and provided in their Constitution the only ways in which the Constitution may be amended, and since amendment by treaty stipulation is not one of the methods

which the people have so prescribed, the treaty-making power of the United States has no authority to make a treaty which in effect amends the Constitution of the United States, and the Senate of the United States can not advise and consent to any treaty provision which would have such effect, if enforced.

3. That the Senate advises, in accordance with its constitutional right and duty, that the great paramount, if not sole duty of the peace conference is quickly to bring all the belligerents a full and complete peace; that to this end, the treaty shall be so drawn as to permit any nation to reserve without prejudice to itself for future separate and full consideration by its people the question of any league of nations, that neither such an article nor the exercise of the rights reserved thereunder, whether at the time of signature, the time of ratification, or at any other time, shall affect the substance of the obligations of Germany and its cobelligerents under the treaty, nor the validity of signature and ratification on their behalf; and that any indispensable participation by the United States in matters covered by the league covenant shall, pending the entry of the United States into the league, be accomplished through diplomatic commissions which shall be created with full power in the premises.

4. That this resolution indicates and gives notice of the limits of the present obligations against the United States in which the Senate of the United States is now prepared to acquiesce by consenting to the ratification of a treaty embodying peace conditions that may be found otherwise acceptable to its judgment, and that the adoption by the peace conference of the foregoing reasonable limitations and positions will facilitate the early acceptance of the treaty of peace by the Senate of the United States, will in no wise interfere with the league of nations as between these countries prepared to ratify the treaty without further consideration and will afford such a manifestation of real respect for the wishes of a great people as can not fail more firmly to cement the friendship already existing between ourselves and our cobelligerents.

The Speech

MR. PRESIDENT: One point I must make at the outset, for it is vital and fundamental not only to all that I shall say but likewise to all that any other Senator has said or shall say during this debate: The Resolution before us does not call for a vote for or against the League of Nations; it does not call for even an expression of an opinion either for or

against the League. On these points, this Resolution is wholly colorless. This resolution asks merely and solely that the treaty embodying the League shall be in words so framed that the Senate may advise and consent to that part of it which shall bring us peace, and that it may reserve for further consideration that part of it by which it is proposed to make us a part of a projected League of Nations; and this is done in order that the Senate, the co-equal partner in the treaty-making power of the United States, may have time to consider the League in all its aspects, and that the sovereign people of the United States, whose agents and representatives the Executive and ourselves are, shall have opportunity maturely to deliberate upon it, before by our votes we fasten it upon them. For, whether good or bad, this League, once entered upon and perpetuated, will under the compelling force of the combined armies and navies of the whole world, control our destiny from now down through the full remaining period of recorded time.

It can not be that this mere request by the Senate for an opportunity fully to study and consider this tremendous question is unreasonable, nor can it be that a request that the sovereign people of the United States shall have full and equal opportunity calmly to deliberate and decide upon this measure, is unreasonable. This being the situation to which this Resolution brings us, a vote against it is a vote to deny the right of the Senate to have time to consider this momentous question, is a vote to deny the right of the people calmly and fully to consider this great problem, the greatest which has been put before them since, through the terrible arbitrament of the sword, with all its attendant miseries and woes, it was determined that this Union was one and inseparable.

That such is the effect and the only effect of the Resolution no one will, I take it, attempt successfully to deny; and it is my purpose to do what I am able to the end that the people of our great nation shall be equally advised that this is the full and the only issue now before us. This is the whole question. You may take it, Senators, and make the most of it.

On word more before I begin my discussion proper: charges are made here in the Senate and elsewhere that it is planned to make of the support or opposition to the proposed League a party issue; it is said that such a situation would be both unfortunate and iniquitous, because the adoption or the rejection of the League, being a matter touching our foreign relations, and intercourse, should be approached and disposed of free from party bias, on the grounds of the broadest and most unselfish patriotism. With this in mind there are those who, failing to perceive the precise issues involved in the adoption of the Resolution now before us, have made like charges as to the support or opposition to it.

Somewhat experienced in the ills and embarrassments suffered by the Executive Branch from opposition (for partisan purposes) to legitimate national activities, I fully sympathized with the position that in foreign affairs we should present a firm and united front. If, therefore, opposition or support of the League becomes a party issue in this country, it will not be upon my initiative nor with my partisan support. But if the Senators on the other side continue as a party to oppose all efforts to secure full consideration of

this great matter, if they do not cease to listen to and to obey the mere fiat of a partisan Executive, if they remain firm in their stand against the constitutional right of the Senate fully and fairly to consider this question upon its merits, and if they persist in the denial of the sovereign right of the people to deliberate upon and reach a determination concerning it,—if this, Sir, is to be the party attitude of the Senators who oppose, then I say here and now, in all soberness, I shall be the last to shrink from the issue which they so force. And I will say further, if to stand for the rights of the Senate as a co-equal part of the treaty-making power is a manifestation of partisanship, then I am a partisan; if to demand that the people of the United States shall have a right to make up their own minds as to whether or not we shall put ourselves under the domination of the balance of the world; if to regard our free institutions as the greatest instrumentalities of Government which the world now possesses and therefore worthy of preservation over all others which exist in the world; if to love my own country and our own people with my whole heart and soul, and above and beyond all other countries and peoples of the world,—if these things are manifestations of partisanship,—then, thank God, I am a partisan. Senators of the opposition, you may make this a partisan issue if you choose, but if you do you must pay to the American people and to their posterity throughout all time, the penalty which they will exact.

But, Mr. President, I come to the subject at the present time wholly and simply as a plain American citizen filled with a zeal to do what is best and wisest for his country. I am at this time concerned only with the simple issue before us,—shall we have time to consider this Covenant before we advise and consent to its ratification? This is our present problem, and all of it. With the wisdom or the unwisdom of the treaty covenants, I am not now concerned. I shall not attempt to peer into the future either to fathom the abysmal depths to which it may sink us nor to explore the transcendent heights to which we may by it be raised. These are for future consideration. It is for time and opportunity to go to the depths or to climb to the heights, that I am now urging this Resolution to the attention of the Senate.

What I want now to secure is what the whole people of the United States ardently wish,—peace, immediate, permanent peace. Six long weary months have been consumed by the Peace Conference at Paris in merely drawing the peace terms that are to be forced upon our enemies,—six long weary months of secret quibbling, bartering, and quarrelling. There have been times when it seemed that we nations who entered the Conference sworn friends would leave it bitter enemies, and this unhappy contingency is not yet put from us. To these six months must be added another during which our crushed and fallen enemies have been considering whether or not, at the penalty of an invasion and occupation of their territory, they would sign the treaty so drawn. And still we wait. Meanwhile Europe is in turmoil, to the point of anarchy and chaos. Our own country remains in a status of war, under irksome laws inimical to our freedom. Influences hostile to our Government and its institutions thrive and propagate; socialists, bolshevists, and anarchists,

feed, fatten, and grow to threatening proportions on the fears of the people. The people themselves are torn by uncertainties and dread, and industry and commerce lag and wait. We must, Sir, have peace,—a wise and permanent peace, and to get this we must have the wisdom of the Senate as well as the wisdom of the Executive. As the Resolution before us has been proposed, to facilitate and insure, so far as this is humanly possible, the making of such a right peace, I shall pass now to its consideration.

The first paragraph of the preamble recites merely the fact of the declaration of war, the reason why we went to war, and the ends sought by the war as stated in that declaration. The first paragraph of the Resolution proper states that the Senate "will regard as fully adequate for our national needs and as completely responsive to the duties and obligations we owe to our co-belligerents and to humanity, a peace treaty which shall insure to the United States and its people the attainment of those ends for which we entered the war and that it will look with disfavor upon all all treaty provisions going beyond those ends."

I can not conceive that these paragraphs can be the basis of serious objection on any score. The sovereign people of the United States have placed the exclusive authority to declare war in the hands of the Congress. An exercise of this power necessarily and inevitably involves the power to pass upon the reasons and the motives for going to war, as to the sufficiency of which Congress alone can judge. It is a necessary corollary to this, that Congress alone can determine and declare what the ends sought by the war shall be. Moreover, no other branch of government is concerned in the exercise of this function of government. War being declared, the Chief Executive must, on the one hand, conduct it as the Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy, and he must also, as the Chief Executive, enforce under his peace time powers the laws of the United States. On the other hand, the Judiciary exercises its regular functions in judging the laws which may be passed either in due course or by virtue of the status of war. But neither of these branches of Government, has any necessary constitutional function to perform in determining whether or not we have a cause of war, what that cause is, or with declaring war or declaring to what ends it shall be prosecuted. These I repeat are matters for Congress, and for Congress alone. This being true, it is not possible for the Judiciary or the Executive to determine what shall be the ends sought by the war. Members of those branches of Government may in the exercise of their rights as American citizens express their views on these subjects, but such views or expressions are binding neither upon the Congress, nor the nation.

In the present instance, Congress declared that by the repeated acts of war against the Government and the people of the United States, the Imperial German Government had thrust upon us a status of war and we pledged the whole military and national resources of the country to bring the conflict to a termination. These acts of war committed against the United States and its citizens were, all of them that were of substance, incident to a violation of the rights of navigation as established under international law,—rights flouted by the Imperial German Government, which announced its deliberate intention to continue the course it had

begun. The rights violated and this declaration of intention to continue the violation made it indispensable that a "successful termination" of the war involved removing forever the German menace to our peace. Therefore, these were the things and none others for which Congress declared war, for which we sent our sons to the battlefields; and the people, through their duly elected representatives and agents, have declared this to be our war aim. This is the full limit which they have authorized their Government or any branch of it to go. Efforts of some months since to secure plenipotentiary powers from the people to go further and beyond this, ended in conspicuous failure amounting to repudiation.

In view of these circumstances I take it that this part of the Resolution can not be the subject of fair and honest criticism.

I pass now to a consideration of the second Resolution which provides:

"That since the people of the United States have themselves determined and provided in their Constitution the only ways in which the Constitution may be amended, and since amendment by treaty stipulation is not one of the methods that the people have so prescribed, the treaty-making power of the United States has no authority to make a treaty which in effect amends the Constitution of the United States, and the Senate of the United States can not advise and consent to any treaty provision which would have such effect if enforced."

I can not believe it necessary on this point to take the time of the Senate to read the provisions of the Constitution governing this matter, nor to labor an argument upon the fundamental soundness of the principle involved, which indeed is a constitutional axiom. Some question, however, has been raised as to the nature and extent of the application of this principle to the present situation.

In my remarks of March 1st last, concerning the League of Nations, I asserted that certain of the league provisions were unconstitutional because containing unauthorized derogations from our sovereignty. I am advised that the soundness of this position has been challenged, and that my challengers have reasoned the matter in this wise: Since absolute sovereignty involves an uncontrolled exercise of the arbitrary, unreasoning sovereign will, any and all of the limitations imposed upon sovereignty by reason of the necessities of international intercourse and relations is a derogation of that sovereignty; that since the treaty-making power of the United States is endowed with authority to make treaties governing our relations with other countries in matters which derogate from our absolute sovereignty, therefore the treaty-making power may legitimately and constitutionally make treaties which may derogate from our sovereignty; and that finally, the foregoing premises being viewed as sound, the conclusion is drawn that since the treaty-making power may so make treaties which derogate from sovereignty in certain matters, it may make treaties which derogate from sovereignty in all matters.

The difficulty, Sir, with this argument is that it proves too much. The syllogism is a false one.

It is perfectly true that Congress can make treaties which derogate from our national sovereignty, can bind us to do

things and not to do things, as to which as sovereign we lay, prior to the treaty, under no obligation. It is also true that the line between what the treaty-making power may do and what it may not do is in many places indistinctly traced. It passes through regions of twilight, which it has not thus far been necessary to explore. But there are certain definite things which we all concede that the treaty-making power may do and there are certain other things which I take it we will all agree the treaty-making power may not do. For example, I assume that no one will be bold enough to say that the Executive and the Senate could by treaty provide that King George of England should be President of the United States; or that the House of Lords should stand in lieu of and perform the functions of the Senate of the United States; or that the House of Commons should take the place of the House of Representatives of the United States with authority "to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts and excises," "to regulate commerce with foreign nations," "to coin money," or "to declare war," "to raise and support armies," "to provide and maintain a navy," or "to make rules for the government and regulation of the land and naval forces;" and if the treaty-making power may not by treaty confer such authority, upon the House of Commons, it may not by the same token confer it upon any other body which may exist in the world. I am not now concerned with the situation which would confront us if under the heel of a victorious foe, imposing upon us his will and his sovereignty, the treaty-making power of the United States should in the dire necessity of defeat act as a constituent assembly, and, as the functioning government instrumentality, make a treaty which should surrender our sovereignty, because, Sir, this is not our position now, and pray God, it may never be. When that unhappy time comes we shall face it as we must. We stand now victorious, and as victors, our constitutional bodies move in their regular and appointed orbits. We have now only those powers with which the sovereign people of the United States have endowed us. Standing in this position and having these limitations, it is right that we should proclaim to the people, whose servants we are, that we know our powers and the extent of our authority and it is but fair to those who negotiate with us at the peace table that they should likewise be made aware of the extent of our power and of the limitations of our authority, as they are set forth in this resolution.

In this view I take it there can be no question as to the propriety of the inclusion of this clause.

Before passing to the discussion of the third clause of the Resolution, I wish to say a few words regarding the final clause of the second paragraph of the preamble which declares "that the treaty as drawn contains principles, guarantees, and undertakings obliterative of legitimate race and national aspirations, oppressive of weak nations and peoples, and destructive of human progress and liberty."

Senators have asked me to designate those features of the treaty which justify this arraignment. I hasten to give some of them, sufficient to demonstrate that the charge as drawn is true.

As the Covenant is now framed, it contains the pernicious provisions embodied in Article 10 which are designed to fix through all time—and merit is made of this purpose of the

provision—the boundaries set up by the treaty of peace. It is no secret that these boundaries are already, though not yet fixed other than in contemplation, the subject of serious complaint and even of dispute. Peoples are objecting to their disposition by this treaty which once more hands them about as mere pawns in a game of chess, and those who are so objecting are not our sworn enemies over whom we stand victors, but our friends, our allies, our equals in this undertaking and in their rights to enjoy the benefits of its happy fruition. No matter what may be the desires of these discontented peoples in the future, no matter what race affinities may be hereafter worked out, no matter what their real interest may demand or a wise statesmanlike handling of their affairs would counsel, their boundaries stand fixed, subject to readjustment under such Covenant procedure as would make futile any hope of change.

Could any scheme more "obliterative of legitimate race and national aspirations" be concocted?

Moreover, word has within the last weeks come from Paris that upon complaint of certain of the smaller Balkan powers, as to provisions of the treaty affecting them, our own Chief Executive has warned them that it was proposed under the Covenant so to control their domestic affairs that minorities within their jurisdiction should be handled as the League saw fit and not as the States themselves might deem expedient. In other words, the proposal is to set up this League as a mentor over the small nations of the earth with power to compel them to do as the League wishes, to travel along the roads that the League points out, and to reach that destiny alone to which the League consents. Is not such a plan sufficiently "oppressive of weak nations and peoples?" And in this connection it may be well worth while to have in mind the announcement from Paris that our President has declared the Irish Question—the political dynamite of the whole Anglo-Saxon race—might properly be the subject of consideration by the League when established, and of the suggestion heard in the United States that by a parity of reasoning, it may be contended that the Negro question of the United States—for we have such a question, vital, far-reaching, and ominous—might receive a like consideration.

I come now to the third clause of the Resolution which asks for and shows how we may be given time fully to consider the far-reaching plan which is to be placed before us for our action. In the first clause of this paragraph "The Senate *advises*, in accordance with its constitutional right and duty, that the great paramount, if not sole duty, of the peace conference is quickly to bring to all the belligerents a full and complete peace." Question has been made in some quarters of the nature and extent of the advisory powers of the Senate in treaty making. As it is a subject not without difficulty and not without previous discussion and explanation, I would commend to the attention of the Senators on the other side, the views expressed by the late Senator Bacon of Georgia in 1906. It will give enlightenment, even though not comfort, to those who contend for a ministerial paucity of senatorial right in the making of treaties.

This is not the time, nor is this the occasion, to enter into an extended discussion of this subject, but I assure you, that an examination of the records will show that from the earliest days of our Republic, the Chief Executives, beginning

with Washington, have not only regarded the Senate as possessing real functions of deliberation over the terms of a treaty, but have also regarded it as proper, desirable, and consistent with the mutual rights involved, to consult the Senate even before negotiations have been undertaken. Such was the course followed by Washington in 1790 before negotiating treaties with the Creek Indians and with the Cherokee Indians, and as to the boundary treaty with Great Britain, and a treaty with Algiers in 1792 for ransoming American captives. In 1818, President Monroe asked whether the Senate thought he could make an agreement regarding armament on the Great Lakes and in case they thought he could not, he asked them to advise and consent to an agreement, and they so consented.

In 1830, Jackson inquired whether he should sign a proposed treaty with the Indians and the Senate advised him not to make or to ratify the treaty. Jackson again approached the Senate in 1831 as to protesting against an arbitral award regarding a boundary dispute with Great Britain, and the Senate advised the President to communicate to Great Britain that the United States declined to adopt the boundary awarded. In 1864, President Polk submitted a British proposal regarding the Oregon treaty for the Senate's "consideration" and "advice," stating that he would "conform" his "action to their advice." He likewise in the same year approached the Senate regarding peace negotiations with Mexico, suggesting a certain course which the Senate stated "receives the approbation of the Senate."

In 1861, President Buchanan submitted to the Senate a British proposal to arbitrate our northwest boundaries, with a statement that "before accepting this proposition I have thought it wise to take the advice of the Senate" and asking "Will the Senate approve a treaty" incorporating certain terms specified. Later in the same year President Lincoln repeated Buchanan's inquiry regarding this arbitration. In 1862, Lincoln submitted "to the Senate for its advice" a copy of a proposed treaty for a loan to Mexico, upon which the Senate resolved that the "Senate express the opinion that it is not advisable to negotiate a treaty" of the kind suggested.

In 1873, President Grant submitted a British proposition regarding an adjustment of differences in connection with the Geneva Convention of 1873 and requested an "expression by the Senate of their disposition in regard to advising and consenting to the formal adoption of an article such as is proposed by the British Government," the President declaring that he desired "counsel in advance in agreeing to the proposal of Great Britain."

In 1874, Grant again communicated with the Senate, this time regarding a draft reciprocity agreement with Canada. He expressed an "earnest wish that the Senate may be able to consider and determine before the adjournment of Congress whether it will give its constitutional concurrence to the conclusion of a treaty with Great Britain for the purposes already named, either in such form as is proposed by the British Plenipotentiaries or in such other more acceptable form as the Senate may prefer." And in 1884 President Arthur transmitted "for the consideration of the Senate and appropriate action thereon" a report of the Secretary of State containing a proposal from Hawaii to extend the period of the reciprocity treaty of 1884. The President deemed "it

fitting to consult the Senate in the matter before directing the negotiations to proceed."

Moreover, whenever and so often as the Senate itself proposes amendments to a treaty already negotiated and signed, it *advises* by such act the Federal Executive before a treaty is concluded, and, moreover, thus gives in advance its advice and consent to a treaty negotiated in accordance with the terms which the Senate itself lays down.

In the face of these precedents running over practically the whole course of our history, I deem it unnecessary further to contend for the constitutional right of the Senate to *advise* the President in the present negotiations as to the sort of treaty which it regards as desirable. I must therefore assume that no constitutional objection can be raised to these clauses.

The next clause of the third resolution which requires our attention, reads "that to this end," the bringing of an early peace to all belligerents, "the treaty shall be so drawn as to permit any nation to reserve without prejudice to itself for further separate and full consideration by its people the question of any League of Nations, that neither such an article nor the exercise of the rights reserved thereunder, whether at the time of signature, the time of ratification, or at any other time, shall affect the substance of the obligations of Germany and its co-belligerents under the treaty, nor the validity of signature and ratification upon their behalf."

This clause is designed to set out the diplomatic procedure, the treaty mechanism, by and through which we may be able to secure without embarrassment to ourselves or to our allies, and without advantage to our enemy, the time and the opportunity to discuss the Covenant of the League of Nations. Thus this is the real crux of the entire Resolution.

To proceed with the discussion of the Resolution:—I have been asked about the meaning of the final clause of paragraph 3, reading "that any indispensable participation by the United States in matters covered by the League Covenant, pending the entry of the United States into the League, be accomplished through diplomatic commissions which shall be created with full power in the premises." The answer to that question is this: If it should be the duty of the United States as one of the co-belligerents and a party to the treaty of peace to co-operate with the other co-belligerents to enforce any of the terms of peace that would require our co-operation as a co-signatory, and if by the terms of the treaty there is delegated to the League of Nations any function, in respect to such terms, that should require the co-operation of the United States, then under this resolution our country's co-operation with the League would be accomplished through a commission or other diplomatic agency which is wholly in accord with existing international usage.

As to the whole of the third paragraph, I admit that the course proposed would result in a separate consideration and treatment of the peace terms as distinguished from the Covenant of the League, but in explanation and as sufficient justification I adopt as quite adequate the statement of an unnamed American Delegate to the Peace Conference who, (so reports the Associated Press), "in replying to an inquiry why the Covenant of the League of Nations had been published, said that while the Covenant was part of the Treaty, it does not actually deal with the terms of peace and consequently is essentially of a different character."

I submit that to this point I have demonstrated, first that the only issue reached by this Resolution is whether or not the treaty should be so drawn that without interfering with the terms and the making of peace, we shall have full opportunity to deliberate upon the Covenant of the League of Nations. That the Resolution offered with the view to bringing such a situation about, is sound and accurate in its recitals; that it sets forth as to the ends and purposes of the war only what the Congress has declared in its exclusive authority; that it lays down a fundamental constitutional principle by which the people of the United States have declared that we must act in our treaty making capacity; that it offers to the Executive as to the conclusion of an early peace, advice in strict accord with the Senate's constitutional prerogatives; and that it points out a definite way by which the end sought, deliberation upon the Covenant provisions, may be facilitated.

In this view the only question remaining for our consideration is whether or not the Covenant for the League of Nations contains any provisions requiring that maturity of thought and deliberations for which an opportunity is by this Resolution requested.

In a certain aspect the answer to this question is not without difficulty. When the Covenant in its original form was first proclaimed to the American people it was heralded by its proponents as a plan for the organization of a great world state which was to compel the obedience not only of its constituent members, but of all others who might be outside and beyond its pale. We were told "Armed force is in the background of this program, but it is in the background, and if the moral force of the world will not suffice, the physical force of the world shall. But that is the last resort, because this is intended as a constitution of peace, not as a league of war."

But when the people of the United States and when we here in the Senate began calmly to consider the plan proposed and to look beneath the unctuous phrases in which it was couched, some apprehension began to be felt that possibly after all there was a legitimate question as to whether this was "a constitution of peace, not * * * a league of war," and I myself had the honor of pointing out that in this alleged instrument of peace, war was legalized in seven cases and made compulsory in three. The result of these investigations and discussions by those who had no personal or selfish ends or ambitions to serve by an advocacy of the League, caused its proponents to veer in their course, and they then began to speak of the League as a purely deliberative organization without any considerable administrative or executive powers. Indeed so far did these expressions go that one could believe the Covenant created nothing but a debating club in which eloquent members might exhibit to an admiring world their forensic or other abilities. At the same time, an impression was insinuated into the minds of the people, that if and in so far as the Covenant failed to provide for such an organization, it would be so amended as to insure it. In other words, while the plan had been heralded to the war-sick peoples of the world as a guarantee that war should come no more, it was now proclaimed as a society in which men might deprecate the horrors of war.

Of course, if the proposed plan is not what its terms on

their face would seem to indicate, if after all the peoples of the world are being misled in this matter by a hope which it is not even intended they should realize, if this is a cheat, a trick, and a swindle, with its promoters conscious that it is such, it must be contemptuously tossed aside without further consideration. It is because of this possibility which has been gradually insinuated into the minds of the people, that I have said the matter was not free from doubt.

But if on the other hand the plan is intended to be a living plan, instinct with mighty powers—whether for good or for evil—then it behooves us to face it as men and carefully and calmly to deliberate upon its provisions and determine our course with respect thereto. I am proceeding on the theory that the Covenant is not to be a cadaver, but a living, operating body.

I have already on a previous occasion taken the time of the Senate in pointing out that the plan as first proposed not only did not abolish or prevent wars but sanctioned and commanded them thus giving the lie to the hope of the people that the covenant was to make future war impossible; I have shown how it strikes down our great constitutional principles, bulwarks of our protection; how it robs us of most vital attributes of sovereignty and threatens our independence and life.

Since then the covenant has undergone a reconsideration and a redrafting, and thus refurbished it is again presented semi-officially to the people of the United States for their consideration. Once more I have carefully examined the covenant in its new form, but only to find that instead of having my previously expressed doubts removed, those already entertained are much augmented and others not heretofore held are raised.

But it seems not necessary now to take the time of the Senate to discuss these matters in their detail, for it is my sole present purpose to do no more than support my contention that the treaty is overflowing with matters which demand a consideration that shall be full, calm, and free from passion and that shall be characterized by a spirit of deep and unselfish devotion to one's country.

I now ask for time, Sir, merely to consider whether or not under the covenant as drawn, the power to put us at war will still rest with us or be placed in a body outside our own government, and, if placed outside, whether or not such lodging of this sovereign power is desirable?

I now ask only for time to deliberate whether or not we shall put it beyond our power to increase the size of our army or our navy in times of dire emergency, without first consulting the wish or desires of other countries, some of whom may not be wholly disinterested in the conclusion they reach.

I ask simply that we be given a breathing pause after we finish our battles before we obligate ourselves to maintain for all time the territorial status quo which is to be set up by this treaty, time to know whether we are prepared to say there never can be such a change in circumstance or condition, such a change of sympathy and of ideal as would make improper this partitioning of the world to which it is proposed we shall now become a party and a sponsor, and as to which we shall be guarantor.

And in this connection let me observe that my friend the

Senator from Montana, Mr. Walsh, for whose opinion as a lawyer and wisdom as a statesman, I have the most profound regard, like Jove occasionally nods, and is not fortunate in his defense of the tenth article of the Covenant in citing the United States as guarantor of the independence of Panama. That guarantee was intended to protect the Panama Canal and was intended, as the Senator so well said, to give notice that "we would go to war with any country that attempts to reduce the Republic through whose concession we built the Panama Canal."

It is a far cry from this Covenant to protect our own interests and from the like treaty of 1846 with New Granada, to the proposition embodied in the tenth article of the Covenant, wherein we are *asked* to guarantee the integrity of the newly swollen British Empire, the enlarged territories of France and Italy, the acquisitions of Japan, and the newly created states of Europe in which we have no interest.

From the time when the sweep of Balboa's vision from a peak in Darien comprehended the waters of the Atlantic and Pacific, the construction of a canal to join those mighty oceans has been the ambition of various nations. It was decreed that we should accomplish the feat and in all our treaties contemplating this gigantic task we have made sure that its immediate environment should not be vexed by war.

I ask further for time to deliberate whether it is wisdom for us and for the world that we shall enter into a superstate where notwithstanding we are the most powerful nation in the world, with the most advanced and enlightened government, we nevertheless shall become subject to the control of a body, a good part of which will be made up of the representatives of Imperial Governments and Kings who have dynastic and other interests to serve alien to us, and with a further number who are representatives of nations that are inevitably under the domination and control of these autocracies.

I ask for time to bring to bear any power of prescience which we possess, upon the question of whether or not we wish to submit to the control and domination of the League bodies, questions involving our own purely internal affairs; for while under the covenant as originally drawn it was open to argument that such matters were excluded from the purview of the League bodies, yet I submit there can be now little doubt that under the treaty as redrafted such matters are not only not withdrawn from the jurisdiction of the League but are actually and positively placed within the scope of its activities.

Moreover, inasmuch as this is a point which I have not heretofore discussed because not a direct issue under the Covenant as first drawn, I may be pardoned if I take sufficient time to indicate the grounds on which my request is based.

It is provided in Article 15 of the new Covenant that "if the dispute between the parties is claimed by one of them, and *is found by the council* to arise out of a matter which by international law is solely within the domestic jurisdiction of that party, the council shall so report, and shall make no recommendation as to its settlement.

"The council may in any case under this article refer the dispute to the assembly."

Now it seems clear from this that the council has the power and the jurisdiction to determine that any dispute brought before it does not arise "out of a matter which *by international law* is solely within the domestic jurisdiction of that party," and having so determined the council may proceed to pass upon the dispute, no matter what the dispute may be, nor how vital its issue to the party raising it. Moreover, if the council wishes to refrain from passing upon this question as to the domestic or other character of the dispute, it may refer the whole subject including this question to the full assembly, which may make a like determination and disposition. It seems, therefore, clear that by joining the League, not we but the council shall determine whether any matter is solely within our domestic jurisdiction; and as affecting the decision of the council and as indicating the principle by which it will be guided, we must bear in mind the provision of article II that "It is also declared to be the friendly right of each member of the League to bring to the attention of the assembly or of the council any circumstance whatever affecting international relations which threaten to disturb international peace or the good understanding between nations upon which peace depends"; of the provisions of article 3, which provides that "the assembly may deal at its meetings with any matter within the sphere of action of the league or affecting the peace of the world"; and of article 4, which provides that "the council may deal at its meetings with any matter within the sphere of action of the league or affecting the peace of the world." I must, therefore, ask for time to consider whether or not such vital matters as our right to regulate immigration, our right to make alliances with other nations, our right to make reciprocity treaties upon such terms as we see fit, our right to make with our adjacent neighbors treaties such as we have with Cuba incorporating the Platt amendment, our right to intervene diplomatically to protect the lives and property of our nationals in other countries, and our right to intervene and adopt means and methods necessary to protect the people of our own borders from the encroachment of robber bands from adjacent unsettled countries, shall remain within the sole determination of our will and purpose or shall be subjected to the determination of a league body.

I must also request the attention of the Senate to another provision of the newly vamped Covenant. Much deserved criticism was urged against the first draft of the Covenant on the ground that if we adopted the plan therein proposed, we took from the Monroe Doctrine its life, thus leaving us no longer able to control the destinies of America, with the consequent loss, perhaps forever, of that great national security which had for a century been ours.

Seemingly to meet this objection—as we must assume if we are to give the negotiators credit for honesty,—there has been incorporated in the new Covenant a provision reading as follows: "Nothing in this Covenant shall be deemed to affect the validity of international engagements such as treaties of arbitration or regional understandings like the Monroe Doctrine, for securing the maintenance of peace." Now for our purposes this provision must, as a matter of grammatical construction, be read as follows: "Nothing in this Covenant shall be deemed to affect the validity of international engagements such as * * * regional un-

derstandings, like the Monroe Doctrine, for securing the maintenance of peace."

I am bound in all soberness to say that the author of this language either had a profound ignorance of what the Monroe Doctrine is or is determined to make out of it something it is not and ought not to be. In either event the result of the league provision is the same,—it completely wipes out the Doctrine as it has been accepted and enforced for a hundred years, as my further observations will show. In the first place, the Doctrine is not an "international engagement," nor is it an understanding, *regional* or *otherwise*—all of which are of necessity reached by international agreement, formal or informal, by and between two or more nations. There is nothing in the circumstances attending the framing and proclamation of the doctrine, nothing in the various discussions and pronouncements concerning it, which even remotely resembles the making of an International agreement. It is no more such an agreement than is the pronouncement of Washington against entangling foreign alliances, or our nation-old practice of neutrality, or our labor protecting Chinese exclusion, or our protective tariff, or our regulation of immigration.

The Monroe Doctrine is, and, if it is to perform the service it has heretofore rendered, must continue to be *merely a policy* as are all those others I have named. Its precise character, the extent, method, and time of its application, the means of compelling its observance, all are matters of our high and uncontrolled will and sovereign prerogative. We the United States, can not answer to anyone else in respect of it. We use it when, as, and to the extent we need it. There can be no limitation upon it, except our requirements, our will, and our force of arms. Whatever security we may need within its purview, it must give if we ask it.

But if we embody this provision in the League, the Monroe Doctrine will cease to be a policy, and it will become in truth a formal agreement. Thereafter others besides ourselves will have a voice as to it; not we alone, but the League, must determine the meaning and scope of this "regional understanding," must pass upon the occasion and extent of its use, and the means of its enforcement, just as the League will pass upon any other "circumstances whatever, affecting international relations which threaten to disrupt either the peace or the good understanding between nations upon which peace depends."

The Covenant adopted, we stand shorn of this powerful means of defense not only for ourselves, but for our sister republics of the whole hemisphere. That I may not be thought to be taking a prejudiced view of this matter, I shall take the time of the Senate again to call its attention to the official commentary of the British Mission at Paris upon this provision.

This commentary states:

"Article 21 makes it clear that the Covenant is not intended to abrogate or weaken any other agreements, so long as they are consistent with its own terms, into which the members of the League may have entered, or may enter hereafter, for the further assurance of peace. Such agreements would include special treaties for compulsory arbitration, and military conventions that are genuinely defensive. The Monroe Doctrine and similar understandings are put in the same category. They have shown themselves in history to be not instruments of national ambitions but guarantees of peace.

The origin of the Monroe doctrine is well known. It was

proclaimed in 1823 to prevent America becoming a theatre for the intrigues of European absolutism. At first a principle of American foreign policy, it has become an international understanding, and it is not illegitimate for the people of the United States to ask that the Covenant should recognize this fact. In its essence it is consistent with the spirit of the Covenant, and indeed the principles of the League, as expressed in Article 10, represent the extension to the whole world of the principles of the doctrine; *while, should any dispute as to the meaning of the latter ever arise between America and European Powers, the League is there to settle it.*"

But the British Mission is not alone in understanding that this will be the effect of the League upon the Monroe Doctrine. Other British writers and authorities declare the article destroys the Monroe Doctrine by redefining it, thus making the Covenant recognize the doctrine merely for what it is not. International engagements and international understandings are terms of European diplomacy synonymous with alliances. We do not make alliances to affect the balance of power, Europe does. By this article of the Covenant, we in spite of the maledictions of our representative in Paris against the old world system of balance of power, agree specifically to its recognition and practice. This article instead of protecting our national policy of defense, will legalize Europe's alliances which our representative has so emphatically condemned. A writer in a British magazine that for more than a century has expressed the thought of the dominant British mind, has this to say of this provision of the Covenant and its effect upon the old system of balancing powers: "We feel that once more we are our own masters, free to enter into alliances behind the League's back and to insure our supremacy by strengthening our navy. If there be one doctrine in America there shall be another doctrine in Europe, and as the League will manifestly be of little use in checking the ambitions of Germany, France and England, knit in a close alliance, will know very well how to protect their own borders. In brief the hands of the clock have gone around the circle. The old world has been recalled into being to redress the balance of the New."

But even if all the foregoing were not true and even if we still held the full control of the occasion and the extent of the exercise of the Doctrine as a true policy, yet it has been so curtailed by covenant definition as to rob it of most of its value. It has now become a "regional understanding * * * for securing the maintenance of peace."

It is difficult to speak calmly of a perversion such as this. It is hard to conceive of any man traditioned in Americanism lending his sanction to such a monstrosity. Never before has the Monroe Doctrine been a mere measure of spineless pacifism. It has until now been a strong means of self-protection and self-preservation. It was designed first to preserve our own life, liberty, happiness, and institutions and next to preserve the liberties and institutions of our sister republics of the western world that "government of the people, by the people, and for the people should not perish from the earth." It was aimed to keep monarchy from this hemisphere: Kings, Princes, and Emperors were to have no place on this side of the world. But under the new doctrine, if Mexico should agree peaceably to allow to Japan a strip of her western territory; if Guatemala should make an alliance with Great Britain, or Brazil with Germany, or Argentine with Italy, or if they should grant to them regions or strips of territory or concessions or zones of influence, how could we say that "a

regional understanding—for securing the maintenance of peace” had been violated? Would not the answer be,—No hostile activity has occurred, none is contemplated, and none shall occur unless you yourselves, America, undertake or threaten them? And, if we did threaten them, no matter how great the menace to our existence they might ultimately prove, we should merely bring ourselves within the restraining hand of the whole league itself.

The Monroe Doctrine in its Covenant form, is a sanction and an invitation to colonization by monarchies (one of the precise things to avoid which the Monroe Doctrine was declared), for in the great emancipated brotherhood which the league professes to set up, what brother can accuse his fellow of so ignoble a thing as a design upon the power and integrity of his own dominion—a thing made holy by the league itself?

Thus Sir, one question which the Covenant presents for the solemn consideration of this body and for the matured deliberation of the American people, is the question whether or not we are to surrender the Monroe Doctrine as it now is and adopt a doctrine, misnamed Monroe, such as is proposed. Are we not entitled and are the people not entitled to whatever time may be necessary for our reaching a wise determination upon this matter?

One further point and I shall have enumerated all which the necessities of the present occasion seem to require that I shall mention. The criticism leveled at the first draft—that it provided no method by which a member once a party to the League could withdraw therefrom—has been met in the new draft by a provision that “any member of the League may, after two years’ notice of its intention so to do, withdraw from the League. *Provided that all its international obligations and all its obligations under this covenant shall have been fulfilled at the time of its withdrawal.*”

It is difficult to believe, Mr. President, that there is not here some error in wording, that those who drafted the provision have failed to understand the meaning of the negotiators, for it would be hard to draw a provision which purporting to give a right to withdraw should at the same time make withdrawal so completely and absolutely impossible. No nation may withdraw unless *at the time* of its withdrawal, notified two years in advance, *all of its international obligations and of its obligations under this covenant* shall have been fulfilled, and the party who determines the question of fulfillment or non-fulfillment, is the League itself from which the nation is to withdraw.

Are we or are we not entitled to time to deliberate whether it is wise that we tie ourselves in a covenant which so completely binds us to the will or whim of other partners? For it must always be remembered in respect of these things that affirmative action by the council—and release from the League would, I take it, be affirmative action—must be unanimous, and any one power in the council, whatever its motive and whatever its ends, might under this provision as it stands make us permanent members of the League, our will to the contrary notwithstanding.

For almost a century and a half our foreign relatives have been trained to meet the principles of that political religion which Washington laid down in his Farewell Address, his

benediction upon the nation to which he himself had given life.

“The great rule of conduct for us,” said he, “in regard to foreign nations is, in extending our commercial relations to have with them as little political connection as possible. So far as we have already formed engagements let them be fulfilled with perfect good faith. Here let us stop.

“Europe has a set of primary interests which to us have none or a very remote relation. Hence, she must be engaged in frequent controversies, the causes of which are essentially foreign to our concerns. Hence, therefore, it must be unwise in us to implicate ourselves by artificial ties in the ordinary vicissitudes of her politics or the ordinary combinations and collusions of her friendships or enmities. * * *

“Why forego the advantages of so peculiar a situation? Why quit our own to stand upon foreign ground? Why, by interweaving our destiny with that of any part of Europe, entangle our peace and prosperity in the toils of European ambition, rivalry, interest, humor, or caprice?

“It is our true policy to steer clear of permanent alliances with any portion of the foreign world, so far, I mean, as we are now at liberty to do it, for let me not be understood as capable of patronizing infidelity to existing engagements. * * *

“Taking care always to keep ourselves by suitable establishments on a respectable defensive posture, we may safely trust to temporary alliances for extraordinary emergencies.”

I am quite aware of the fashion now to regard everything that comes to us from the past as outgrown or inapplicable or wholly bad. Even honor, integrity, and virtue must now belong only to conservative stand-pat reactionaries. And in line with this new thought attempt is made to bring this all but infinite wisdom of Washington into disrepute, for it has been assumed by some and accepted by others that these words were merely the speculative fiat of a mellow old man about to leave this world to enjoy the reward to which his sterling character and inestimable service entitled him; that behind his words there stood no lessons of experience. But before we so dismiss them in this critical hour of our history, let us recall that Washington had himself lived through two colonial wars and that there had come to him in recent tradition, the trials, losses, and horrors of the other two that had gone before. The Colonies as a whole had been engaged in four wars. Four times they had sacrificed their sons, three times for causes in which they had no concern whatsoever, war coming to them with its curses merely because the mother countries in Europe were in conflict. Each of these three times the Colonists were required by the terms of a treaty negotiated in Europe to give up to the enemy without compensation whatsoever of advantage their suffering and sacrifices had wrung from him. In the fourth and last war only did the colonists reap any advantage from the war, and even here those advantages went, not to themselves but to the Mother Country. Washington well knew the effect of embroilment in the politics of Europe, and he spoke to us not the dreams of a speculative mind, but the sober realities of a hard and costly experience.

The Covenant now proposed calls upon us to abandon these principles which he thus laid down and under which we have prospered. Is it an unreasonable request to ask that before they be discarded, we shall have time to weigh the consequences and discover so far as possible the end of the new path we are about to begin to treat?

And here let me again state my abhorrence of war with all its attendant woe, misery, and crime. I loath it more than I loath anything else except that which is worse than war, because dearer than life, namely, the loss of our honor

and our freedom, for unless we are sunk to such ignobility that we had rather live slaves than die free men, we must face the grim reality of fighting to live. But we do want to blot out the miseries of the world as far as we can. We do want to live free and happy, enjoying the association of our friends and kindred. Therefore, whatever there is of good in the League we want to save, and the whole people want it saved. But we must have the opportunity fairly to decide what is worth saving.

To deny a hearing in a cause is contrary to fundamental principles of Anglo-Saxon law. To deny a hearing in this cause is to give substance to the suspicion already abroad in the land that those to whom we gave our sons and our substance in the hour of their need and distress are now, in adjusting their terms of peace with the Central Powers, attempting to force upon us the harsh alternative of choosing, on the one hand, between a treaty of peace with which are intertwined denationalizing covenants relating to the distinctly separate subject of a League of Nations, or upon the other hand the necessity of concluding a separate peace or continuing a status of war. We must not increase the already growing distrust by any deliberate act of ours.

To deny a hearing in this cause will be to convince many beyond change that the Covenant of any League of Nations must include so much that is strange toward our traditional policy, contrary to our fundamental principles of international intercourse, destructive of our treaty rights, and subversive of our constitutional principles, that no League is to be accepted under any view.

If this Covenant be a good thing, surely its merit will be the better appreciated after careful study. If the debate that preceded our Declaration of Independence raged for almost a decade before the Revolution; if the debate over the meaning of the Constitution as to the powers of the Nation and the rights of the States lasted for generations and is not yet ended; if every great question in every free country has required a long period of discussion and thought before the people could reach a conclusion upon it, should not this, one of the most fundamental and far-reaching proposals ever made to the American people, also receive careful and extended examination before the people are called upon to give their assent?

If the Covenant be not a good thing, certainly the agitated days following a great war should not be seized upon to burden the country with a policy which it has not examined and which is no necessary part of the making of peace.

Why then this undue haste? Do those of you who wish to prevent the people from deliberately considering this proposition mean to suggest that pending such consideration we would neglect any duty we owe to the world because we had not by formal writing bound ourselves to its performance? If so, I ask, where was the treaty obligation that bound us to rush to the rescue of a conflagrant world? Shall we be less sensitive of our duties during the months of sober contemplation of the momentous questions involved in this new step?

And, Sir, have they thought out, they who are unwilling we shall have time to debate this matter, have they considered if America had not been what she is as the result of Washington's policy, we could not have done the mighty

work of this war. It has been our aloofness that has made us great, mighty, and strong. But for the policy of Washington we should hardly have escaped disaster in the Napoleonic wars; but for it our youth also would have perished by thousands in the Crimea; they might also have been among the dead at Solferino, at Sedan, and at Plevna.

But in addition to all this we would have failed to possess that impartial and disinterested attitude which enabled us to see the right in the conflict now closing, and to throw the weight of any great resources in the right side of the balance. We must have time, and the people must have time, to consider whether we are to give up that position; whether we are to remain free hereafter to choose the right as we see it, the best as it appears to us; or whether we shall bind our discretion, our judgment, and our freedom of action and become merely the tool of other powers who have different interests, aims, ambitions, and ideals. Shall we or shall we not have time to consider whether we shall go on through history the masters of our own fate, confident in the superiority of our own institutions and civilization and able and willing to give to humanity the blessings which we ourselves possess, unhampered by the jealousies and bickerings of a world to which we do not belong and with the aspirations of a good part of which we are not in accord?

We saved the liberties of Europe and in order to insure them for the future we have acquiesced in our associates absorbing the gigantic spoils of the common victory.

Perhaps we may be willing to guarantee their perpetual possession of those spoils as is proposed in article ten of the covenant. Perhaps we may be willing to surrender our liberties to foreign domination. But let us think it over and know the full import of our act.

This resolution asks no more than to request the peace conference while the negotiations are still open and subject to change by a single line to concede our right to consider what we are asked to do without delaying peace. What Senator can justify a negative vote? Beware of the possible consequences of haste. God forbid that "the war that was to end all war shall conclude with a peace that may end all peace."

Said the President in his Fourth Commandment:

"Adequate guarantees given and taken that national armaments will be reduced to the lowest point consistent with domestic safety."

Says the Chief of Staff of the United States Army, speaking in explanation and support of the President's military policy, in effect:

The United States must have an army at least five times as big as it was before the war; England has fixed her peace army far in excess of the old pre-war and pre-League days; France has fixed her army at a figure larger than that of Great Britain; and Italy has made no move toward reducing her army at all.

All right. But—to "reduce" an armament: that means greatly to increase the size of an army; does it not?

Are there copies in New York? Was the Senator from Massachusetts justified when he came in here and charged that they were in New York? My resolution provides for finding out whether they are there, and how they got there, and who put them there.—*Senator Hitchcock*.

He found out.

Letters From Our Readers

HOW THEY VIEW US

SIR,—I spent five years of my early life in Brazil, where my father was Minister, and where I learnt various languages other than my own. For the last thirty years, excepting the interval from 1914 to date, I spent, on an average, five months of the year in travel. I have kept up the acquaintance and friendships made in my diplomatic career and am, therefore, perhaps in a position to state that I know the foreigner and am able to put myself inside his skin.

America is the Ishmaelite of the nations. We are hated and despised by everybody. There is but one impression of America in Europe, and this impression exists in every class of the community. It is shared by all alike—high and low, rich and poor, ignorant and educated. America is looked upon as a country of vast wealth, filled with a vast number of idiots only too anxious to spend that money upon other people. This belief has been enormously strengthened by the fashion in which we have conducted this war, the lavish use of money, the vast sums loaned to different nations, the enormous amounts given in charity, the reckless squandering of hundreds of millions of dollars in fatuous experimenting, notably the hideous waste in connection with the Shipping Board and with everything with which Mr. Baker had anything to do, more especially the aviation fiasco. Europe does not admire our achievement. On the contrary, she hates us with a good, solid hatred, founded upon jealousy, fear and contempt. Europe is not grateful to us for our intervention. She knows perfectly well that we were kicked into the war, that we went into it through no generous impulse, but simply because we had to go in to save our own skins, and now that the war is over, they hate us doubly because they are so largely our debtors.

Now, putting aside all questions of our loss of sovereignty, of Europe dictating to us as to the size of our army and navy, the output of our munition factories, the questions of emigration, the sending of our young men to do police duty in alien lands at alien behest, the mandatory silliness, and dozens of other objectionable features, there is just one reason which, it appears to me, should once and for all prevent our joining the league: and that is the dead certainty that once in it, we could not withdraw from it without bringing upon ourselves the enmity of the entire world. Once in, we should be assessed out of all proportion to our population, and in proportion to our supposed ability to pay in time, energy, men and money. France has twice, through the Minister of the Budget, gravely proposed to pool the entire cost of the war and divide it among the nations. America's share was to be 36%, France and England's 5% each. Does this appear to have any significance?

Why, whenever you go to Europe—and there are no exceptions to this rule—the cry is "Let the Yankee pay." If there is a meal or spree or anything else, "is there an American present, let him pay."

Let us assume that we have joined the League and have been a member thereof for two or three years; that we have placed at the service of the rest of the world our vast resources (and here mark the touching unanimity with which every nation in the world is clamoring to have us join). Something arises which renders it imperative for our safety or our dignity that we should leave the League. Can you imagine for one moment that we would be permitted to do so without a fight? Do you suppose that they would permit us to withdraw the inestimable gift of our assets from the general pool? What chance would we have in a world war, with England on our north, Japan on our west, Mexico occupied by foreign forces on our south, and all Europe on our east, and, in the meanwhile, our army and navy reduced to a size that may suit the convenience of Europe?

Let us remember that one serious plan was afoot not so long ago to divide us up. Said Lord John Russell to the House of Lords in 1861, after the Battle of Bull Run: "Not into two republics, my Lords, must the late United States of America be divided, but into, at least, five, in order that, with their conflicting interests and jealousies, England may be able to control their financial destiny."

The proponents of the League have a lot to say about the justice of the scheme, but, up to date, nobody has specified just what benefits are to accrue to us for the loss of our national sovereignty and independence of action. The opponents of the League can show a hundred reasons why we should not join it. Its friends talk such slush as humanity, altruism or duty to our neighbor, etc., but they fail to name any positive and tangible benefit that is to come to us in return for the terrible expense we shall be put to. They fail to mention the "something"—to quote the President—that we will get in return "for giving up something."

New York City.

G. CREIGHTON WEBB.

WHY THEY FOUGHT

SIR,—You did well, in your issue of June 7th, to contrast President Wilson's Decoration Day address with that of General Pershing. The soldier surpassed the scholar and rhetorician in felicitous utterance.

As for President Wilson's speech, his idea that our soldiers went over to fight and possibly die for a League of Nations is preposterous. If one could analyze the sub-conscious motive of the average American soldier, he would find it illustrated in a story which a British officer told me. This officer commanded a brigade, which, in the final drives on the Hindenburg front near Cambrai, occupied a position next to the American division, which acquitted itself so gallantly. He told me that, as the American boys went into action and passed their British comrades, they called out: "We'll show you that we're not too proud to fight!" The British officer spoke with the greatest admiration of the courage and power of the drive, and as the decimated ranks returned when relieved by supports, the British soldiers, who had watched the attack, broke forth into cheers.

I believe that the average American soldier, so far as he was conscious of any moving motive, fought to wipe out the stain upon American manhood of President Wilson's policy of neutrality, and especially the unworthy suggestion that America possibly might be "too proud to fight."

New York City.

J. M. B.

STILL AT IT

SIR,—I thought I was getting callous to autocracy, as now practised in this country; but I certainly received another jolt when press despatches informed me that Mr. Wilson had appointed Raymond B. Fosdick as a *permanent* official in the League of Nations!

The League is not even accepted by the Senate; when accepted, laws must be enacted by Congress providing for American representatives; presumably, according to our Constitution, as in similar cases, they should be appointed by the President for a specified time, and confirmed by the Senate. Yet it seems Mr. Wilson has actually appointed a man to an office that does not exist, as member of an organization, officially unknown to our Government (except in the mind of Mr. Wilson). It seems incredible.

Another thing: The present Congress was elected by majorities of 1,200,000 as an emphatic refusal to grant Mr. Wilson the powers he asked as "unembarrassed spokesman" for this country, which, nevertheless, he has assumed. If Congress fails to bring us back to Constitutional government then retribution will fall, sure and swift.

Pueblo, Colo.

J. L. WOODBRIDGE.

AN UNTIMELY DECEASE

SIR,—So it appears that Father Wilson noticed his son's umbrageous and tortuous style, eh?

It will be recalled that Great Teddy said, when asked his opinion of one of the latter's labored effusions, "Great, Fine—but what does it mean? An admitted master of the language, if he have a clear idea, should be able to express it clearly; failing that, the conclusion is inevitable that the idea is nebulous."

I have not the slightest doubt but that your readers, in one great chorus, will agree with Alice and deeply regret that the old gentleman did not live out his century.

Philadelphia, Pa.

H. O. NORTON.

THE REASON

SIR,—Permit me to offer a suggestion: Your WEEKLY is eminently readable and deserves a wider circulation and influence than it now has. Why not make its price such that the multitude can buy it—say two (or three) cents a copy and one dollar a year? Now don't plead "the war" and "price of materials," as all our profiteers are doing, but think of the good such extension would accomplish.

Westerville, Ohio

H. M. KINGERY.

[We can't afford it.—EDITOR.]

APPRECIATION

SIR,—I desire to express my high appreciation of your writings, which I read constantly in HARVEY'S WEEKLY and *The North American Review*, and to offer my sincere congratulations for the successful manner in which you are discussing vital public questions.

Los Angeles, Cal.

JOSEPH H. CALL.

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Good Work, Well Done

THE Senate has done well. After the wind, the earthquake, and the fire, comes the still small voice of patriotic judgment. Seldom in all the history of that body has there been so fine a passage as that which has just recorded the successful campaign of reason over passion, of patriotism over partisanship, of American nationality over denationalizing fads.

The triumphant turning point in the great conflict was Senator Knox's resolution and his masterful speech in its support, advising the divorcement of extraneous and incongruous matter from the Treaty of Peace, and indicating with unerring logic and the force of great authority the way to peace without the sacrifice of American independence or the compromising of those principles upon which our national tranquility and integrity depend. His action in that matter will henceforth rank among the epochal public services which have been rendered in great crises by members of the senior chamber of the national legislature. How deep was the impression which he made and how hard hit were those who fatuously sought to barter our national birthright for a mess of alien pottage appeared in the agitation which was roused in the Administration ranks and in the partisan press, the storm of wind and earthquake and fire, raging against the resolution and its supporters. Happily it appeared also in the prompt and increasingly strong response which was given by the citizenry of America, without regard to party. Seldom has any comparable proposition so unequivocally and overwhelmingly commanded public favor. Never has one more fully merited it.

If anything were needed to complement and

to confirm the proposition of Senator Knox, it was supplied in ex-Senator Root's masterly analysis of the situation and his unqualified support of the resolution and its purpose. The three chief grounds of objection to the League Covenant were restated with convincing force, and with the added reminder, too greatly overlooked, of the incompatibility between our composite population and any policy of universal meddling in the affairs of the world. It was a startling reminder that more than one-third of the people of the United States are of alien birth or alien parentage. "We can call upon these people," said Mr. Root, "to stand by America in all American quarrels; but how can we control their sympathies and their action if America interferes in foreign quarrels and takes sides in these quarrels against the countries to which they are attached by tradition and sentiment?"

There is no question that the majority of the Senate would at once have stood firmly behind Senator Knox and his wise and statesmanlike resolution; and that the people of the nation would have stood behind the majority of the Senate. Moreover, Senator Knox was entitled to demand precedence for his resolution in Senatorial consideration and action as a matter of the highest possible privilege—not personal privilege but patriotic. Doubtless he would have done so had he been a man of less magnanimity and of less comprehensive vision. As it was he realized that the best interests of the nation, which were what he supremely cared for, would be best served by another course. It was so highly desirable as to be almost imperative that the great appropriation bills and other urgent business, which had been so scandalously

neglected by the absentee Administration and its former subservient Congress, should be properly disposed of before the end of the fiscal year. Congress should do its duty to the business of the country, no matter who else might neglect and shirk it.

Even the transaction of that important business should not, of course, be undertaken at the expense of the supreme interest of national integrity and independence. But the latter sacrifice would not be made. On the contrary, Senator Knox and his colleagues saw that his resolution and the cause which it represented would actually be strengthened by postponement in favor of these other matters. Every day was confirming it in popular favor. Every day was giving added opportunity for the unmistakable sentiment of aroused Americanism to make itself heard and felt. Every day was more fully divesting the proposed action of even the suspicion of hasty judgment and endowing it with the authority of mature deliberation. We may well believe that it was on this account that the fluttered and demoralized opponents of the resolution were so eager for a speedy division upon it. But that was not granted to them. The main end was already achieved, in getting the matter before the public in proper form. That was the last thing that was desired by the President, with his irresponsible desire to have for himself and his echoes a monopoly of appeal to the peoples of the world. But it was effected by Senator Knox; and with that done, he could afford to bide his time. So the neglected work of the late Congress will be disposed of promptly, and then will come the disposition of the scrambled Treaty—mayhap with the American Peace Delegate himself here to see.

For this memorable achievement it would be difficult to pay too high tribute to the leadership of Senator Lodge, and to the loyalty with which he has been supported by his colleagues. Keen, alert, resourceful, resolute, endowed with the authority of knowledge and inspired with the passion of pure patriotism, he has again shown us what a Senator of the United States should be in a great national occasion. He, and Senator Knox, and Senator Borah and others represent varying shades of political opinion, but they are all such opinions as are compatible with whole-hearted devotion to American interests and with unwavering loyalty to those principles upon which this Republic was founded and to the constant cherishing of which it owes its growth, its strength, and its enviable status among the nations of the world. Nothing could be finer than the unity of purpose which these men have displayed, and their generous suppression of all consideration of selfish personality and petty partisan advantage.

Their constant and unswerving aim has been to serve the highest interests of the American nation, at once by protecting and vindicating that principle of independent sovereignty upon which depend not alone the integrity of the Republic but also its usefulness to the world-wide cause of democracy and humanity, and at the same time by not delaying but rather expediting a satisfactory conclusion of that peace for which the nation and the whole world long.

Months ago it was confidently declared in *The North American Review* that whatever might be some of the details of its terms, the coming peace would be a Peace with Victory—with victory, that is to say, for American ideals and for the maintenance of American integrity. The fulfillment of that word is now assured. In whatever form or at whatever time the Treaty may at last be ratified, be sure of this, that it will not sacrifice nor compromise the nationality of the United States of America.

Whether or not the unholy and malign wedding of incongruous and discordant elements shall be entirely divorced, does not yet appear and does not in fact greatly matter. What does appear, unmistakable and irrevocable, is that there will be impregnable reservations of American sovereignty, under which the United States will be exempted from the obnoxious rôle of a universal meddler, under which the Monroe Doctrine and other fundamental policies of this nation will remain policies of this nation and not become the pawns and playthings of alien and potentially hostile Powers, and under which this Republic will be free at its own volition and without waiting on bended knee the assent of any other Power "to levy War, conclude Peace, contract Alliances, establish Commerce, and to do all the other Acts and Things which *Independent States* may of right do."

For this assurance, for this superb achievement, the American people owe inestimable gratitude to the Senatorial leadership and loyal cooperation which have transmuted expectation into fact and have enabled us to say, and have made it sure that we may hereafter say, despite all the doctrinaire fads and covenants in the world, "We are a Nation yet!"

Representative Gallivan, Democrat, of Massachusetts, declares that the Politicalmaster-General is virtually in great part responsible for the "radicalism and anarchy" now affecting the country; and that the same Cabinet officer is "the biggest and most complete failure as a public official that the country has ever produced." Quite true. But who is responsible for the Politicalmaster-General?

Mr. Root's Great Service

THERE was never any more stupid pretence on the part of the League Covenanters than that which they were last week so confidently making and so fatuously chuckling over—that Mr. Elihu Root was satisfied with the Covenant and disapproved the Senatorial opposition to it. It is difficult to believe that any of them really believed it. If they did, it was presumptively on the ground that Mr. Root was asked some time ago to suggest changes in the original Covenant, or Constitution as they then called it, which would remove his objections to it; and that then some changes were made.

It is true that Mr. Root was asked to do so, though it does not appear whether he was thus appealed to as one of the President's "pigmy minds," one of Mr. Taft's men who were not to be trusted, or one of the Rev. Dr. Van Dyke's "insects." Of course, it must have been as one of the three, since everybody who opposed the sacrosanct thing came under one if not all of those categories. However, Mr. Root waived that point, and patriotically responded with suggestions of more sound sense than had ever been applied to the thing before. Then, it is also true, changes were made. But they were not the changes which he had suggested. On the contrary, the suggestions which had been solicited from him were thrown into the waste-paper basket, and some other changes were made which really made the Covenant worse than the Constitution had been. Maybe some cheerful Covenanter can tell us why that should have made Mr. Root satisfied with the thing.

Now, plain and unmistakable, three salient points appear in Mr. Root's masterful letter to Senator Lodge. The first is, that he is inexorably opposed to the Covenant. The second is, that he unqualifiedly approves the Senatorial opposition to the Covenant, and especially approves Senator Knox's statesmanlike proposal for the separation of the Covenant from the Treaty of Peace. And the third is, that he is in favor of definitely making peace just as soon as it can be done in accordance with justice and the welfare of this Republic. To which three propositions, let all the people say Amen!

The chief grounds of Mr. Root's disapproval of the Covenant are identical with those which have again and again been named by Senators and in the press. One is that pernicious Article X, with its provision for the implication of the United States in all the wars of the world. Another is the lack of satisfactory provision for withdrawal from the League. We might speak of this as the provision for preventing any nation from withdrawing, since as Mr. Root suggests, under the Covenant as it now stands any nation might prevent any other nation from ever getting out of the League. A third is, of course, the passage about the Monroe Doctrine which Mr. Root with fine moderation calls "erroneous in description and ambiguous in meaning." A less courteous diplomat might well have applied to the "erroneous description" a "shorter and uglier word." A single word would suffice. And to that false description, which if accepted would nullify and destroy the Doctrine, the President of the United States asks us to subscribe!

These three grounds of objection Mr. Root earnestly urges the Senate to maintain. If it seems impracticable to exorcise the Covenant altogether from the Treaty—Mr. Root does not say that it is impracticable, but merely if it is—and if therefore it is necessary to ratify the Treaty with the Covenant included—he does not say that it is necessary, but merely if it is—then there should be adopted by the Senate as a part of the act of ratification three resolute and uncompromising reservations. These should make it plain to all whom it may concern that in consenting to the Treaty for the sake of securing at last the peace which the nation and the world so greatly need and which the President in his wilful faddishness has so long delayed, the Senate—and therefore the American nation—does not consent to that malign Tenth Article nor accept its obligations; that it insists upon the right of withdrawal from the League upon due notice without depending upon the consent of any other member; and that it insists upon the unimpaired maintenance of the Monroe Doctrine and the traditional policy of this nation, regardless of the gross and mischievous representation thereof which the Covenant contains.

Mr. Root has done the nation and the world a great service in this proffer of constructive statesmanship; a service which admirably complements that which was done by Senator Knox in his resolution and his notable speech supporting it. The two have made it unspeakably absurd for anyone hereafter to charge the critics and opponents of the Covenant with mere obstruction, with personal spite, with shortness or narrowness of vision, or with unworthy motives of any kind. Their attitude is marked with a generosity which makes their vilifiers seem contemptible, with a constructive statesmanship which makes us realize what the nation has lost in not having such men to represent it at the Peace Congress; and a breadth and penetration and elevation of vision beside which those who can see nothing beyond the exploitation of some dubious and untried doctrine seem petty indeed.

Mr. McCumber as a Covenanter

THE Covenant of the League of Nations, protests Senator McCumber with all the impassioned emphasis of which he is capable, does not discriminate against the United States. It does not impose upon this country any obligation or burden that is not equally borne by every other country. That is the supreme argument which he makes in its favor. It is, he admits, vague in parts, and objectionable in parts. But it has the more than compensating virtue that it does not treat the United States any worse than it does everybody else. So, according to Mark Twain, the eulogist of "Buck" Fanshawe assured the officiating clergyman that while the late lamented was in many respects a pretty bad man, "he never shook his mother."

Now Senator McCumber's speech on the Covenant derives its interest not so much from his erudite authority as a great constitutional and international lawyer as from the accident of his party affiliation. The Administration is desperately desirous, apparently—goodness knows why—of making it appear that the contest over the League of Nations is a party matter; wherefore in getting one Republican

Senator to speak in favor of the Covenant it imagines that it can make capital by pointing out that there is already secession from the ranks of that party. So the North Dakota statesman was put forward as the first protagonist of the Denationalization League. 'Yet out of courtesy we must consider his arguments on the ground of their own merit, and not as samples of political camouflage.

It is obvious that, supposing for the moment that it is true, the Senator's statement imputes to the Covenant merely a negative virtue, the virtue of not being guilty of an intolerable fault. It merely assures us that the Covenant does not contain something which we may assume would, even in Senator McCumber's mind, be a cause for its rejection. It gives not the slightest assurance that the Covenant does not contain other things no less objectionable. The possession of that negative virtue is—or would be—no recommendation. It may be true that "misery loves company," but we have never heard that advanced as a reason for inflicting misery upon the community. If a man protests against the Health Board's negligence in letting communicable diseases go unquarantined, it is no answer to say that all people in town are equally exposed to the contagion. The point is that nobody ought to be exposed. So the indictment of the Covenant is not merely that it discriminates against this nation, but also that it imposes burdens and obligations which no country should be asked to bear, and provides for the doing of things which no nation should be asked or should be permitted to do; and therefore if Senator McCumber's defense were entirely true we should still have ample ground for opposing the Covenant.

We are opposed to having the United States called upon to bear some of the burdens and obligations which some other states are bearing, just as we are opposed to asking or permitting other states to bear ours. We are not at all surprised that the Administration is said to regard not unfavorably the proposition to give Great Britain an international mandate to deal with Mexico. That is at par with the proposal to give America a mandate over Armenia and Constantinople. We are opposed to both. We object to this country's being made a party to all the international wrangles and wars of all other nations of the world. This Union was founded upon the principle of complete separation from and abstinence from the European system. That was the basis of Washington's policy, and of the Monroe Doctrine. Senator McCumber concedes by implication that the Covenant reverses that policy and abrogates that Doctrine. It mixes us up in no affairs that other nations are not involved in. Conversely, then, it involves us in everything that they are involved in; and, as a corollary, it equally implicates them in all our affairs. That is one of the things to which we most object.

But the argument of Senator McCumber is not true. The Covenant may be in letter impartial; it is not so in spirit. It does as a matter of fact very seriously discriminate against the United States. It might, without paradox, be argued that its very lack of discrimination against us was an invidious discrimination. If it would be unfair to lay upon us burdens which others did not bear, it would also be unjust to deprive us of blessings which others do not enjoy but which we rightly and without injury to others possess. It

is as odious to take from a man that which he wants as to impose upon him that which he does not want.

It may also be regarded as equivalent to discrimination to invest others with powers and privileges which are denied to us, and which might be employed to our disadvantage. There is no possibility of wrong being done to another Power by our enjoying the special privilege of remaining aloof from conflicts which do not concern us; but there is much possibility of harm to us through giving five or six votes to one nation when we ourselves have only one. In a company where all are supposed to be equal, to discriminate in favor of one is to discriminate against the others.

Still more positive and direct is the discrimination against the United States which is involved in the reference to the Monroe Doctrine. No great principle of state of any other country is thus singled out for misrepresentation and practical repudiation. It alone is selected for such treatment. It alone is named and is defined in a manner which is grotesquely false in every respect and detail, and in such a way as to make this nation's acceptance of it tantamount to abrogation of the Doctrine. If that is not discrimination, pure and simple, then words have lost their meaning. It would be interesting to have Senator McCumber tell us what other nation is asked thus to repudiate one of its most fundamental principles. Until he can show us that all other nations are asked in the Covenant to do that, his protest of "no discrimination" rings hopelessly untrue.

There is really a gleam of hope for mere worms of the dust. A Judge, a most extraordinary Judge, at Pittsburg has refused to grant a charter to a corporation whose object is to prohibit the use of tobacco in any form by any person for any purpose at any time and in any place—or something to that effect. We had supposed that charters for such delectable purposes were to be granted as a matter of course, *magna cum laude*, and were just looking for the organization of an International League for the Prohibition of Galluses. But the Pittsburg jurist inspires us to thank God and take courage. Can it be possible that we are to be permitted to enjoy a few rights, after all?

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BY GEORGE HARVEY

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Then and Now

IN 1876 there was an overwhelming Democratic majority in the House of Representatives and Samuel J. Randall, of Pennsylvania, was the Speaker. On April 3rd of that year, this Democratic House, under suspension of the rules requiring a two-thirds vote, passed the following resolution without a single dissenting vote from either the Democratic or the Republican side:

Resolved, That the President of the United States be requested to inform the House if in his opinion it is not incompatible with the public interest, whether, since the 4th day of March, 1869, any executive acts, or duties, and if any what have been performed at a distance from the seat of Government established by law and for how long a period at any one time, and in what part of the United States; also whether any public necessity existed for such performance, and if so of what character; and how far the performance of such executive offices, acts, or duties at such distance from the seat of Government established by law was in compliance with the act of Congress of the 16th day of July, 1790.

General Grant was President at the time. His health was far from satisfactory and he had ventured to spend a few weeks in the hot midsummer months at Long Branch.

This Jersey Coast resort was then, as now, only a few hours' journey from Washington. There was no telephone service then, but there was an excellent telegraph service, and with a special wire run into his Long Branch house, President Grant was in close touch with Washington all the time, and, in an emergency, could have got there so quickly in person that the possibility of public business suffering from his absence was so remote as to seem quite negligible.

None the less, Long Branch was not the seat of government of the United States, and it was not the post of duty prescribed by law for the President of the United States. There were then no precedents for the President of the United States being away from his post of duty while Congress was in session and the important business of the country under discussion. That the Democrats, and the Republicans too, for that matter, looked upon even the brief sojourn of the President at a near-by resort as of questionable propriety, if not of actual illegality, is evidenced by the searching character of the resolution for which Democrats and Republicans alike, in the House of Representatives voted

without a single dissenting voice. In the absence of any express provision in the Constitution against a condition which, presumably, the framers of the Constitution did not contemplate as among the possibilities, the stern tone of all but reprimand in which the resolution addressed to General Grant is enunciated shows how firmly rooted was then the conviction that the post of duty of the President of the United States was at the seat of Government of the United States and not somewhere else.

How widely different are the views of statesmen then as compared with now!

Now, the President of the United States, in opposition to the expressed wishes and the best judgment of the people of the country, including many of his own party adherents, absents himself from his post of duty at a time when matters of grave import to the nation's welfare are under consideration. He does not go to a nearby place within a quarter of a day's run from the seat of Government. He goes to a foreign country 3,000 miles away and over a quarter of a month's journey distant. He roams on speech-



STARTLING NEWS

—From the Cheyenne (Wyo.) "Tribune"

making and festival reception tours to the capitals of many of the countries of Europe. He does not absent himself for a few short weeks, as did President Grant at Long Branch. He stays away nearly seven months. He spends a full eighth of his entire term of office in distant foreign lands. He summons to his side the heads of three or four of the Executive Departments. He surrounds himself with a vast retinue, and all at enormous expense to the taxpayers of his country.

As to any public necessity for his taking so unheard of a step, he makes himself the sole judge. The natural thought that so radical a departure from custom, if not of law itself, might well be submitted to the judgment of the legislative and judicial branches of the Government for formal approval or the reverse, he does not even for a moment consider. His decision is not the decision of a Democratic President of a Democratic country. It is the decision of an autocrat at the head of an autocracy.

Whether Mr. Wilson's strange course in this matter would stand the unbiased scrutiny of our highest court is matter for grave doubt. But that it should have such scrutiny is of vast importance. The precedent that Mr. Wilson has established is a far-reaching and a dangerous one. The enactment of such legislation as will make its repetition an impossibility is a matter well worthy of early and exhaustive consideration by our national courts and legislators.

Advice and Amendment

TWO strange pretensions of the Administration and its supporters in its League of Nations campaign have been very thoroughly disposed of by reference to indubitable records. They are, that the Senate is not to be consulted in advance or to see the unfinished draft of a treaty, but must wait until the President has completed and signed the instrument; and that then the Senate must either accept it exactly as it stands, without the dotting of an i or the crossing of a t, or else reject the whole thing.

In respect of the former of these pretences, which the President himself is reported to cherish, it has been pointed out that in at least half a dozen cases Presidents have consulted the Senate in advance of making treaties, or during the process of negotiation. This was done twice by Washington, and at least once each by Polk, Lincoln, Johnson and Grant. In its very inception this practice had the approval and, indeed, the strong recommendation of no less an authority than Thomas Jefferson, who while he was Secretary of State wrote to Washington that it was advisable whenever possible to consult the Senate concerning a proposed treaty before beginning the negotiations for it. That, of course, is only a rational interpretation of the constitutional prescription, that the President shall make treaties "by and with the advice and consent of the Senate." If the Senate is to know nothing and to say nothing about the treaty until the President's share in making it is finished, it is difficult to see how it can give advice as to the making of it, or how the President can be said to have made it by and with the advice of the Senate.

The other pretense, that the Senate has no power to

amend or modify a treaty, but must accept or reject it as it stands, is if possible still more absurdly untrue. Senator Lodge pointed out the other day that the very first treaty made under the Constitution, Jay's treaty with Great Britain, was amended by the Senate before ratification, and that the President and his advisers regarded it as a perfectly legitimate and proper thing to do. Again and again the Senate has exercised that right, with the acquiescence and approval of the President; one of the most noteworthy cases in late years being that of the first Hay-Pauncefote treaty concerning the Panama Canal, which was very radically amended by the Senate, and in that form was accepted by the President.

This power of the Senate has, in fact, been specifically affirmed by the unanimous opinion of the Supreme Court of the United States. "The Senate," said that tribunal, "is not required to adopt it or reject it as a whole, but may modify or amend it."

It is significant that these two false pretensions have been put forward for the first time in American history in behalf of a treaty which the President took extraordinary pains to conceal from the Senate until its complete negotiation, and which the President threatened and boasted he would put into such form that the amendment which he anticipated the Senate would desire to make could not be made, but the thing would have to be accepted or rejected as it stood. But false pretenses cannot successfully bolster up a bad cause.

The Voice of the Robin

THE profound impression which was produced some time ago by the signing of a so-called "round robin" by a large number of United States Senators appears to have inspired some zealous citizens of New York to emulate the example. They have accordingly addressed themselves to the two Senators from that State on the subject of what they call the Constitution but which is officially known as the Covenant of the League of Nations, respectfully urging, first, that the thing should be considered on its merits without any "political partisanship," and second, that it should be swallowed instant, hook, bob and sinker, without any exercise by the Senate of its constitutional right and long-established practice of advising in the making of a treaty and of amending a treaty whenever in its judgment the national welfare is thus to be served.

Concerning the first of these requests, it is to be observed that it is addressed to the wrong shop. The signers call themselves Republicans, address Republican Senators, and ask that the Republican party shall not be committed to partisan action in the matter. Bless their dear unsophisticated souls, their plea was granted long before it was made. The Republicans have all along been insisting that the issue of national integrity and independence was entirely too big to be the property of any one party, but was for the American people to deal with. It was the leader of the Democratic party who first tried to make it a partisan issue when, last October, he begged the nation to elect for him a Democratic Congress which would do all his biddings without demur; and it is his deputy who has been suggesting that the Cove-

nant ought to be made a strict party issue. The song of the robin should have been addressed to Mr. Simmons and not to Senators Wadsworth and Calder.

The second request was one which anybody is entitled to make. But we must express at least a mild degree of wonder that gentlemen of such legal acumen and judicial deliberation should have asked the Senate of the United States to ratify something which had not yet been laid before it for that or for any purpose, which it had never so much as seen, of the contents of which it was supposed to be ignorant, save by hearsay, and of the contents of which these respectful petitioners themselves were, according to the President of the United States, entitled to know nothing, save also by hearsay. We have heard of "buying a pig in a poke," but really we did not expect a former Attorney-General of the United States and all his distinguished associates in this "round robin" to ask the United States Senate to perform that trick in connection with what we have been assured is the most important international instrument the world has ever known.

Forensic Courtesy

SENATOR JOHN SHARP WILLIAMS caused to be printed in the *Congressional Record* an editorial from *The Living Church*, a religious journal published in New York, Chicago and Milwaukee. In making his request, Mr. Williams said:

Some parts of it I have stricken out, and I hope the reporters will note the fact. I have run a lead pencil through them, because I thought they were a bit too severe and perhaps personal.

We regret that we have not at hand a copy of this religious journal containing the editorial in question. The elisions which Mr. Williams made before he considered it printable in the chaste pages of the *Congressional Record*, would be an interesting guide to Mr. Williams' views of the proprieties in characterizing those Senators who are of opinion that a covenant overthrowing all our precedents and traditions should not be made binding upon us until it had been subjected to the deliberate scrutiny of the American people and of their chosen representatives.

It must be assumed that the language and epithets of this religious publication were of so violent and outrageous a nature that they outran the by no means restricted vocabulary which Mr. Williams has established as his own standard of propriety, in characterizing those of his Senatorial Colleagues who hold other views than his own on this momentous question. Speaking recently in the Senate, Mr. Williams referred to Senator Knox, Senator Lodge and his other Senatorial colleagues who are not in accord with his views on the Knox resolution, in these terms:

"Any man who says you are merely pleading for further time to think, when, if you had any capacity to think at all, you would have thought long ago, is simply untruthful and insincere and dishonest. You are trying to defeat the League of Nations, and you know it. I mean this whole infernal gang."

The language of the religious journal must have been severe indeed, almost coarse, if it was of a character to shock the sensibilities of the gentleman whose standards of Senatorial, and even extra-Senatorial, courtesy may be measured by

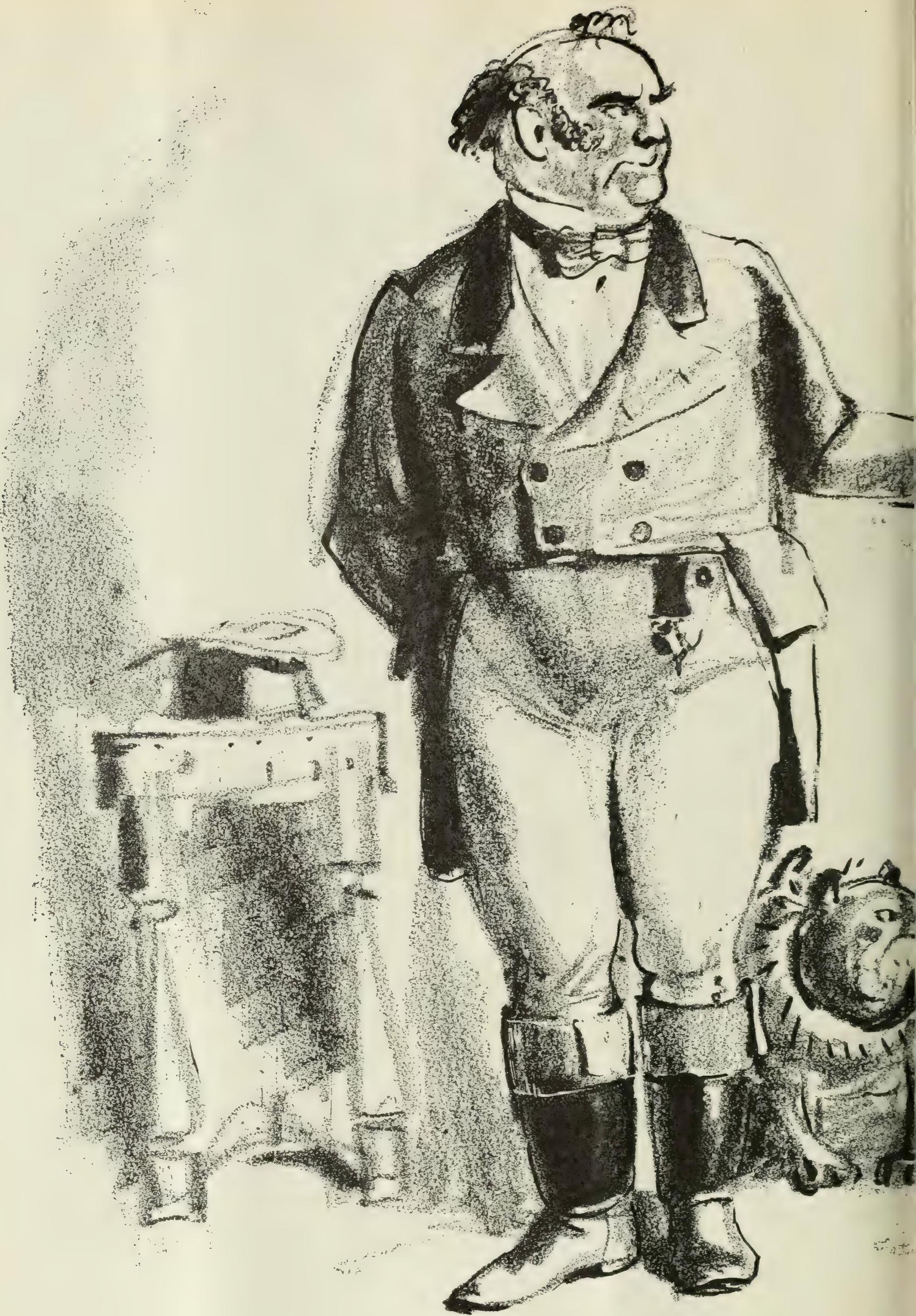
the remarks of Mr. Williams above quoted. An "infernal gang," by dictionary definition, is a gang "pertaining to hell; hellish; diabolical; fiendish." To call a third or more of his Senatorial colleagues "a gang" would in itself seem to be sufficiently emphatic. To call them a "hellish, diabolical, fiendish gang" might even strain Senatorial traditions of courtesy. The language of the *Living Church* editorial, if it exceeded this, must be painfully nearer to sheer billingsgate than one would expect from an organ representing the sweet reasonableness of Christian charity and benevolence. Mr. Williams stigmatized his fellow Senators as "infernal," that is, "hellish, diabolical, fiendish." He also characterized them as untruthful and dishonest. Doubtless he felt restrained by Senatorial traditions from calling his colleagues "liars and crooks." To ears attuned to the sonorous melody of a constantly flowing flood of beauteous rhetoric, as those of the American people have so long been, these shorter and uglier words might have been jarring and harsh. Besides, they might be regarded as personal, and it was the personal nature of the editorial to which Mr. Williams objected. The euphemistic terms employed by Mr. Williams, although they mean precisely the same thing, are incomparably more delicate.

Journals, both secular and religious, should take warning from this indirect stricture of Mr. Williams'. In characterizing Senators who favor careful consideration of the League of Nations covenant, they must adapt their language to established standards of propriety. They may impute to such Senators "pygmy minds." They may say of them that they should be hanged heads down higher than Heaven. This has the endorsement of Exalted Authority. They may call them hellions, liars, crooks, fiends. That has the authority of usage established by Senator Williams himself. They may even call such opposition Senators "boors," for that term in the editorial, as admitted to the *Record*, passed the severely critical revision of Mr. Williams. But, under no circumstances, may they speak of opposition Senators in terms of contumely, under pain of violating forensic ethics. And, above all, they must refrain from being even constructively "personal."

"May we not" trust that our valued religious contemporary, the *Living Church*, will take note of the rebuke of that Chesterfield of the Forum, the Senator from Mississippi, and govern its future utterances accordingly?

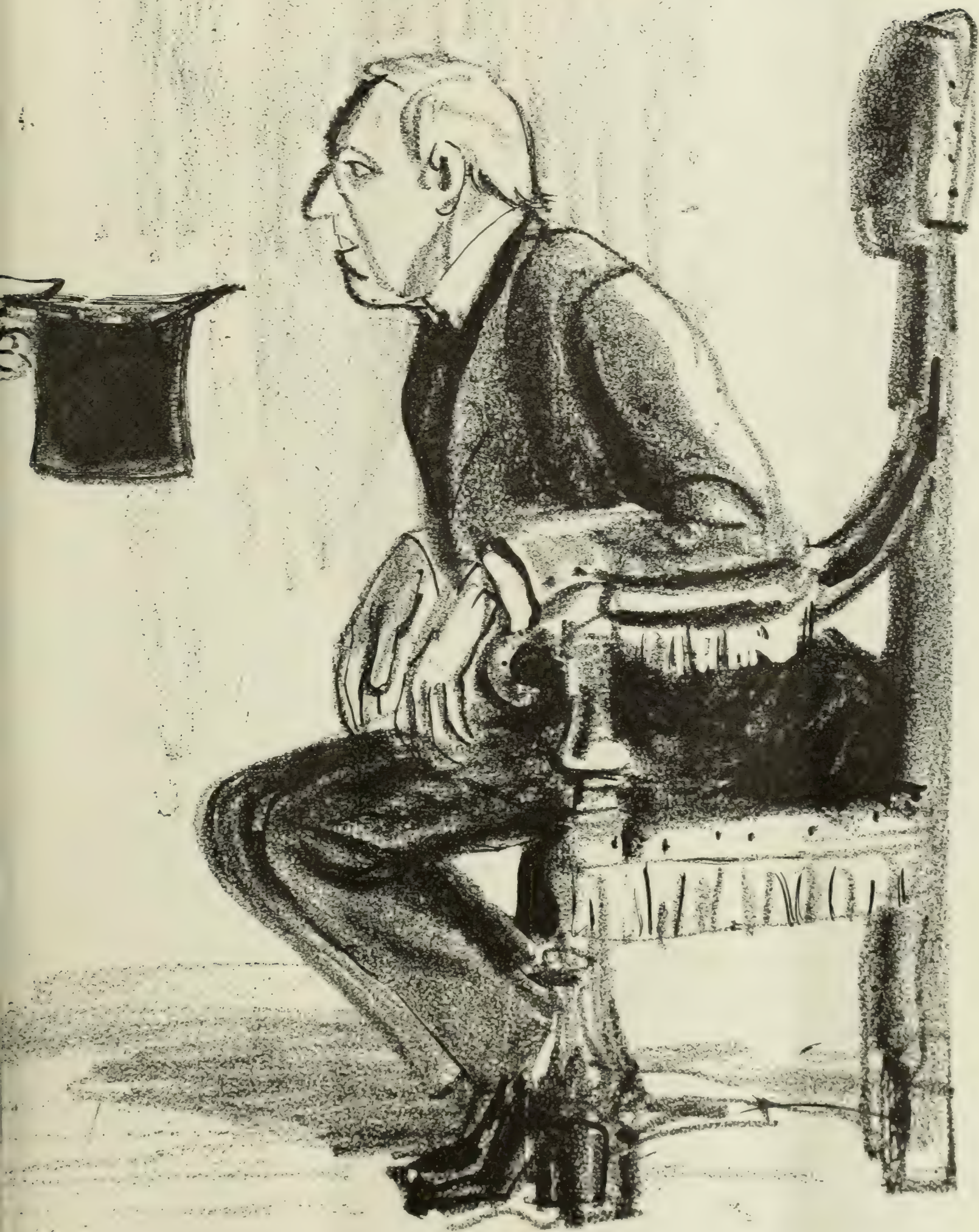
With the President appointing an authoritative commission to investigate, at Mr. Paderewski's request, the alleged Jew-baiting in Poland, and with General Heller ordering the prompt court martialing of all guilty of persecuting Jews, we should soon have an end of the stories of outrage which have been so profusely emitted; and which will probably prove to have been chiefly German lies.

Incidentally it is extremely gratifying to know that we have an active and trustworthy Minister like Mr. Gibson in a position to get reliable information and to transmit it without delay. The fact that he saw the Germans at work in Belgium is peculiarly interesting in this connection. He is accustomed to investigating atrocities and we fancy it would be rather difficult to hide anything from him. It is a pity we have not more diplomatic representatives of his type.



“HERE’S YOUR HAT;

Signor Orlando has left for home. We recommend his example to



LET'S YOUR HURRY?"

n. The sooner he goes the better.—*"John Bull"* of May 24

The Week

WASHINGTON, June 26, 1919.

NOVEMBER 11, 1918, Armistice.

December 13, 1918, President Wilson arrived in France.

January 18, 1919, Peace Conference opened.

January 24, 1919, Committee appointed to draft Covenant of a League of Nations.

January 30, 1919, Scheme of Mandatories under the League devised.

February 14, 1919, Constitution of League of Nations drafted.

February 15, 1919, President Wilson started home to exploit his League scheme.

March 13, 1919, President Wilson returned to France.

April 11, 1919, Report of Committee on International Labor Legislation adopted.

April 14, 1919, Reparation demands on Germany adopted.

April 16, 1919, Germans invited to send to Versailles to get the treaty.

April 28, 1919, Covenant substituted for Constitution of the League of Nations.

May 1, 1919, Germans arrived at Versailles.

May 7, 1919, Treaty presented to Germans, and incomplete summary made public.

May 28, 1919, Debate, in writing, over the Treaty begun between Big Four and Germans.

June 9, 1919, Original text of the Treaty as presented to the Germans but officially withheld from Americans disclosed to United States Senate through private channels.

June 15, 1919, Summary of German reply and counter-proposals published.

June 16, 1919, Summary of changes in Treaty published.

June 20, 1919, Revised text of Treaty made public in London and Paris but still withheld from Americans save in summary.

June 21, 1919, Germans violated Armistice by sinking ships.

June 22, 1919, German Assembly decided to sanction signing of Treaty.

The Huns run true to form. While whining about what they falsely pretend is the Allies' disregard of the terms of the armistice, they themselves wantonly and flagrantly violate the armistice in spirit and in letter and commit an act of war by treacherously sinking their surrendered ships. While pleading for peace and for equal recognition in the community of nations, they seek to fix a date for beginning an unprovoked war against a neighbor nation. These things are not surprising, save to those whose memory ends with yesterday. They are a useful reminder of the spirit of the foe whom we have been fighting, and whom some purblind persons want us immediately to take to our hearts as a long-lost brother.

So far as the sinking of the ships is concerned, we should think that somebody ought to be convicted of amazing folly in leaving the vessels in the sole and unrestrained charge of German crews. Recollection of the way in which the ma-

chinery of all interned German merchant ships was damaged before the vessels were surrendered should have been ample warning that some such spiteful deviltry would be attempted at Scapa Flow. The damage was done to the merchant ships just before our declaration of war, when the Germans realized that war was inevitable and that the interned vessels would be seized. So this trick has been played just before the signing of the Treaty of Peace and when it was certain that Germany would have to lose her ships. It is natural for the Huns to do such dirty work over and over again. It is not creditable for civilized Powers to let such tricks be repeatedly played upon them.

According to the last desperate plea of the vanquished Huns, and according to the notions, we are told, of some of the Paris peace-makers, the signing and ratification of the Treaty of Peace should mark the simultaneous entry of Germany into the League of Nations on equal terms with all the rest. Also, according to the Third Commandment there should be no economic barriers but absolute equality of trade among all the members of the League. We are authoritatively informed that as by-products of the manufacture of military explosives and poison gas the Germans have accumulated a stock of \$20,000,000 worth of dye stuffs which they purpose to dump upon the American market the moment it is opened to them. That is to say, having manufactured the munitions with which to kill our soldiers, they now want to use the by-products to kill our industries. Doubtless, however, the Third Commandment is quite sacred.

The purpose of Germany to attack Poland is a matter of course. She would much rather break down Poland than regain Alsace-Lorraine. That is why it should have been incumbent upon the Allies and associates in making terms of peace to strengthen Poland in every possible way, and to deprive Germany of military potency on her eastern border. It is in that quarter that danger lies.

The President's explanation to Mr. Gompers that the votes of the British colonies in the League of Nations Labor Conference will be a source of strength to the United States may be very welcome and reassuring to those who think that America has not yet got out of swaddling clothes, and, therefore, is not able to stand alone. The average American citizen would like to know when since 1776 this country has needed to depend upon British colonies for support.

In the same interesting message the President tells Mr. Gompers that it really doesn't matter much what the labor provisions of the Treaty are, because everything that is done under them will have to be submitted to our own Government for its approval, and it may do as it pleases about them. That surely should impress Mr. Gompers and all American workingmen with the immense, the indispensable value of the labor clauses in the Treaty. They simply amount to nothing unless in each individual case our own Government approves them. Then why not have been content to appeal directly to our Government for such legislation as the welfare of labor needs, without all this camouflage about the "General Labor Conferences of the League of Nations?"

The suggestion that Great Britain might be designated as a mandatory over Mexico gives food for thought. On the face of it the thing seems utterly preposterous. Yet why, if the Covenant of the League of Nations should become the supreme law of the land? If the United States were to become the mandatory for various fragments of the Turkish Empire, why not John Bull for Carranzaland? Assuredly under that blessed Covenant the thing could be lawfully and logically proposed, and might very probably be voted by a majority of the members. Suppose that of the Big Nine, eight should advise and urge it, and the United States alone should hold out against it. Our veto might be sufficient to block the scheme, but we do not think that it would greatly conduce to order in Mexico or to harmony and affection between the United States and the other Denationalized Leaguers.

In one of his most effective "Barrack Room Ballads" Kipling protested against the "Widow's Uniform" being made "the soldier-man's disgrace." We should hate to think what Uncle Sam's uniform may come to mean if credibly reported practices in New York are permitted to continue. There, we are told, the "vice squad" of the police department send out decoys dressed in army uniforms, to attract the attention of unescorted girls on the streets and engage them in conversation, and then hand them over to the uniformed police as guilty of "soliciting;" and in this way numerous entirely respectable and innocent young women have been entrapped and locked up as prostitutes. We do not know whether members of the "vice squad" are under orders to make a certain number of arrests each day or night, as the traffic police are, that they have to resort to such methods; but we do know that it would be difficult to imagine anything more disgraceful than some recent episodes, which have not been denied nor satisfactorily explained. It would be scandalous in any case thus to inveigle girls into compromising circumstances. To make the uniforms of United States army officers the bait with which to entice the victims is an offence so monstrous that we should think the War Department at Washington could scarcely refrain from taking notice in a pretty sharp and effective way. The supposition is that such a uniform is the mark of an officer and gentleman. It would be intolerable to have it become the badge of a pimp.

The President is coming home. He will try to make a record-breaking trip westward on the good ship *I, W. W.* But not, be it noted, in order to devote himself to the executive affairs of the American Government, which he has neglected for more than half a year. Dear, no! What he plans for is to "swing round the circle" in a grand coast to coast stumping tour in behalf of his League of Denationalization and its Smuts-made Covenant. Is it not the primary duty of the President of the United States to concern himself with meddling in the affairs of other lands? As for the task "to execute the office of President of the United States, and to preserve, protect and defend the Constitution of the United States," to which he is com-

mitted by his oath of office, surely the Politicalmaster-General and Joe Tumulty ought to be sufficient for those tiresome things!

The discovery has been made that the Treaty of Peace as presented to the Germans for signature contained no clause providing for ratification by Germany. It is a matter of interest to speculate upon what would have happened if the Germans had promptly signed it in that incomplete state. True, the heroic course would be, or would have been, to dictate the treaty to the Germans with the notification that it would become effective at a certain date and would be inexorably enforced, whether they signed and ratified it or not; their acquiescence being a matter of grace and of form solely, with no validity whatever. But since we have decided to require their participation in the making of it, the thousand experts who worked upon it for months should surely have thought to provide for their ratification of it. There is a legend of a Legislature that once passed a bill without an enacting clause. But that bill did not represent six months' work of a thousand experts.

The Commissioner of Immigration at the Port of New York was much concerned over the recent bomb outrages, and advised that they be checked by curbing immigration. That would be a good plan, an excellent plan. Another good plan might be to have commissioners of immigration, especially at the Port of New York, who would not preside at meetings where the Constitution and laws of the United States are flouted and denounced and the President of the United States is insulted.

Years ago Mr. William Allen White attracted some attention by publicly asking and answering the question, "What is the Matter with Kansas?" It might be profitable at the present time to ask, and it would not be difficult to answer, What is the matter with Germany? Why is it that she makes so monstrous a to-do over the terms of peace prescribed by the Allies; tearfully, passionately, truculently protesting against them as something the like of which was never known before? The reason is, that Germany has never yet been made to realize that she is beaten in the war. She thinks that terms ought to be granted to her as the victor, not as the vanquished; or at any rate that the war ought to be regarded as a drawn game, to be followed, as President Wilson said, by "peace without victory." That is the feeling which prevails in Germany, and it is a bad thing for the Germans themselves as well as for the rest of the world.

Senator Thomas accuses the Republican majority of "playing a desperate game of politics" in trying to defeat the League of Nations; which is not true. It would be easy to retort that the President played a game of some sort in mixing his League of Nations scheme up with the Peace Treaty so that it would, as he hoped, be impossible to reject the one without also rejecting the other.

And that, as it happens, is true.

The Serpent at the Hearth

THE investigation of the activities of the Russian Bolsheviks in New York has been followed with a similar examination of the establishments of certain domestic Bolshevik organizations, with equally interesting results. The places visited by officers of the law were the Rand School of Social Science, the I. W. W. headquarters, and the office of the Left Wing Socialists.

It was found that these places were distributing, to those who were judged to be most susceptible to the influences of such stuff, prints ranging from handbills to bound volumes advocating in the most direct manner such things as:

Repudiation of all national debts;

Confiscation of all banks;

Confiscation of railroads and other corporations, without compensation;

Abolition of marriage and substitution therefor of "free sex mating;"

Abolition of compulsory education;

Whole-hearted support of the Bolsheviks of Russia and the Spartacans of Germany.

These ends, it was frankly stated, were not to be attained without bloodshed, and "the proletariat" were urged to prepare to seek them through a violent revolution. The persons in charge of the establishments, and those engaged in the active dissemination of the propaganda, professed to regard the raid upon their headquarters as a revolting outrage, but as something which would certainly react strongly against the authors of it and would add thousands of new supporters to "the cause."

This last-quoted opinion of the revolutionary conspirators we might well ignore were it not that it seems to be shared by others who profess to be not at all in sympathy with the revolutionists, but who fear bad results from anything that looks like repression, and think that the best way of treating a disease is to let it run its course.

From this we most emphatically dissent. We are for the utmost freedom of thought, of speech, of publication, within the limits of loyalty to the Constitution and obedience to the laws. There is room in the American system for a latitude of political beliefs and doctrines broader than in any other land. The fundamental law of the Republic provides for its own amendment, modification, alteration, to almost any conceivable extent. In token of the readiness with which such changes can be made, note the amendments which have been adopted in the last few years, including the imposition of nation-wide prohibition.

But all this liberality makes all the more odious any proposal to destroy our system of government or to make any change whatever in it by violence or by any extra-constitutional means. That is the damnation of these American Bolsheviks, and that is what radically differentiates suppression of their deviltries from any interference with legitimate freedom of speech or of teaching. These people are teaching and suggesting the breaking of the law, the commission of violence, the denial of those common principles of morality upon which civilized society must rest. Their teachings are direct incitements to crime, and to treason. We long

ago got away from the notion that assassination is to be regarded and condoned as a mere "political offence." It is high time for us to realize that the incitement to theft, to violence, to the breaking of the law, whether common, statute or moral, is similarly not to be regarded as mere political activity or the exercise of legitimate liberty.

During the war we were strict enough, or professed to be. We did not regard sedition and pro-German propaganda as things which were to be permitted to run their course, and were not to be repressed least repression provoke reaction. We shall do well to understand that sedition and treason may be just as dangerous and are just as detestable in time of peace as in time of war. The open enemy who declares war and seeks to invade our coasts for conquest is no more hostile and is if possible less hateful than the creature who, while enjoying our hospitality and prosperity, conspires against our peace and integrity and for the overthrow of the very Government which protects him. The serpent at the hearth is more abhorrent than the wolf outside the door.

A Mexican Crisis Near

WHAT is to be done about Mexico? With all the rest of humanity regulated and psychologized according to the highest doctrinaire ideals of our expatriated President, are the wretched millions next door to us to be left to stew in their own hell's broth of anarchy, famine and slaughter, of which our American citizens are perpetually the victims? Are we to continue watchful waiting and "sitting back and chuckling" while this perennial orgie of murder, anarchy and ruin goes on at our doors?

Are we to sit back complacently and abrogate our century-old Monroe Doctrine rights while England invades the bedevilled land on our southern border and brings order and decency out of the chaos—while she does the task which is ours to do and which, according to all our traditions of over a century past, no one else has a right to do? That is the latest suggestion that has come from our seat of Government 3,000 miles away.

Let that be tried. Let our cloistered evolutionists of open covenants openly arrived at try it on and see what the American people will have to say about it. Let that be the first example of the beauties of government by super-government mandate and then see how our League of Nations enthusiasts like the results.

But surely something has got to be done about Mexico, and that soon. The time when the Administration can pursue its policy of excluding the American people from knowledge of what is, and for years has been, going on below the Rio Grande has come to an end. The cover must come off. We must and shall know the whole ghastly story of murders and infamies and wanton plunderings of loyal law-abiding Americans in Mexico who have invested millions in the legitimate development of that country. It must all be spread in full before the people of the United States. The miserable details, long on file in the secre-

archives of the State Department, must be dragged into the light. The complete story of our silly paltering, our shuffling, senseless dealings with the conscienceless brigands who for the past seven years have pulled the wool over the eyes of our spokesmen and laughed at the helplessness of our administration, must be told at last. The war is over. The day has passed when that excuse for suppressing the miserable facts will avail. We have got to know the whole story. It will shame us and move us to anger. But we must swallow the dose. And, when we have got it down, we must act, and act in such a way that never again shall there be a repetition of the experience.

Events are moving rapidly towards the precipitation of this climax. The testimony of Mr. Polk before the House Foreign Affairs Committee is a step in that direction. That testimony at present is under cover of a pledge of secrecy. The cover will soon be lifted. The Juarez battle is another step along the same lines. If we entered that fight as an ally of the irresponsible brigand Carranza against the irresponsible brigand Villa, we shall know the fact.

All circumstantial evidence now points strongly to the conclusion that, however well the provocative circumstances were managed, we did to all intents and purposes send our men across the border to fight Carranza's battles. We had tried to help Carranza prior to the battle by giving his troops permission to cross our territory. It was only on the 28th of May, because of a storm of protest, that that permission was revoked. When Villa attacked Juarez, and would have taken it but for our intervention, bullets wounded Americans in El Paso. With the knowledge that this would provoke instant American intervention, to whose interest was it, Carranza's or Villa's, that that intervention came? To the interest of which of the two was it that bullets wounded Americans in El Paso: Carranza's, for whom American intervention meant victory, or Villa's, for whom our intervention meant the instant defeat which he ultimately suffered? Senator Fall, of New Mexico, speaking in the Senate, said that geographically speaking, no man could tell whether the bullets came from Carranzistas or Villistas. All we know about it is that it was to the interest of Carranza that bullets should hit El Paso, and to the interest of Villa that they should not.

A further fact in the line of circumstantial deduction is that treacherous, American-hating Carranza is the pet of the Administration. He was a factor in our mulish determination that the Mexicans should not have Huerta for their President, although all the other Governments of the earth were content to recognize him. In effect, it was in Carranza's interest that we made that descent on Vera Cruz which was devoid of sane purpose, devoid of other than deplorable results, and productive only of death and wounds for our American seamen, death and misery for hundreds of helpless ones in Vera Cruz, and richly earned contempt for our Government. But it put Carranza in power ultimately, just as our intervention at Juarez tends to keep him in power.

Meantime, any day, any hour, may bring a reprisal attack on our border. The quicker it comes the better. The quicker it comes the quicker the inevitable end will come. We have demonstrated that we will protect American lives within our own borders. That much, at least, is progress.

It is a distinct advance over chuckling and watchful waiting. Yet a little further progress in the same direction, and forward-looking men may see the time ahead when we can contemplate our Mexican relations with at least some other emotions than those of shame and self-contempt.

Ingratitude to the Banks

WHAT appears to be gross injustice to the banks of the country is involved in two recent decisions of the Commissioner of Internal Revenue, one of which would seem to be wholly at variance with the understanding and purpose of the Comptroller of the Currency.

On May 22, 1918, the Chief Examiner in each Federal Reserve District, by direction of the Comptroller of the Currency, sent to every bank in the federal reserve system a letter announcing that recent legislation had been enacted permitting national banks, as such, to contribute to the American National Red Cross. He asked further that a meeting of the directors of each bank be called, that this fact be laid before them, and that such action as they might take, whether favorable or adverse, be reported to him.

With notable patriotism and benevolence a great number of banks followed this suggestion, which was tantamount to a direction, and contributed generously to the Red Cross fund. Now, the Commissioner of Internal Revenue has ruled that such contributions, made practically at the instance of the Comptroller of the Currency, cannot be deducted from the profits of the bank subject to income and excess profits taxes. The effect of this ruling is practically to mulct the banks, in some instances, of nearly double their contribution. For instance, a bank which donated \$5,000 to the Red Cross, and whose profits are such as to bring it within the so-called "80 per cent bracket" of the surtax provision of the income tax, must now pay to the Treasury a tax of \$4,120 on the \$5,000 which it voluntarily gave away to the Red Cross fund, being 12 per cent on \$1,000 and 80 per cent on \$5,000. It is inconceivable that the Comptroller of the Currency contemplated any such hold-up, and its effect must be not only injustice to the banks, but a strong deterrent against any further generosity should like occasion make an equally powerful demand on their benevolence.

Another ruling from the same source which works serious injustice to the banks is that the interest received on funds advanced to customers to buy Liberty and Victory bonds must be treated, in computing income tax, as gross receipts. Throughout the country the banks advanced such funds to their customers in unlimited amounts, paying themselves for the bonds on the Treasury terms, permitting customers to pay for them 10 per cent down and 10 per cent a month, and charging their customers only the same interest as that borne by the bonds. Thus the banks made nothing whatever by the transaction, lost a larger available interest on the funds so tied up, and contributed, absolutely without return, the extensive clerical and stationery expenses involved in conducting their Liberty Bond departments.

And now they are required to compute the interest on

the funds so advanced, at a loss to themselves and solely for the benefit of the Government, as a part of their gross earnings subject to an income tax of 12 per cent, plus 80 per cent, if they come within the 80 per cent class, and also subject to local taxation in some localities (as in the District of Columbia) of 6 per cent.

If, perchance, the wording of the law permits no escape from the ruling of the Commissioner of Internal Revenue, Congress should be asked at once to grant specific relief from what constitutes a grave abuse of generosity and patriotism. Any other policy involves extraordinary ingratitude and shortsightedness.

"We Socialists," says Victor Berger, the convict would-be Congressman, "are international. We are not anti-national." In that he does not go quite as far as the President, who proclaims himself to be international and admits that to a certain extent he is for impairment of nationality. But we should doubt the ability of either of these eminent authorities to disprove the ancient rule, that "No man can serve two masters."

America at the Marne

(From the New York Sun)

"THE most unknown man in the world," wrote "L. D." in a letter printed in the *Sun* on June 9, "is the Colonel of a certain regiment of the Third Division which at Maizy, according to General Pershing's official summarized report some months ago, wrote one of the most brilliant pages in the military history of the United States. Not even the number of the regiment is known."

This page of history was written at the second battle of the Marne beginning July 15, 1918, the turning point of the war. General Pershing's report said:

"The Third Division held the Marne opposite Chateau Thierry against a powerful artillery and infantry attack.

"A single regiment of the Third Division wrote one of the most brilliant pages in the annals of military history in preventing the crossing at certain points on its front, while on either flank the Germans, who had gained a footing, pressed forward. Our men were firing in three directions, met the German attacks with counter attacks at critical points, and succeeded in throwing two German divisions into complete confusion, capturing 600 prisoners."

The regiment was the Thirty-eighth Infantry, Colonel U. G. McAlexander, which was organized at Syracuse, N. Y., in June, 1917, and trained at Fort Greene, North Carolina, until March 1918. Here is the page of history it wrote as given in the Third Division's own story of its operations, recently printed in Germany:

At ten minutes after midnight, July 15, a flash, a roar, a jumble, and the drive was on. By 12:15 every man in the regiment had adjusted his gas mask—many to wear it for the next six or seven hours—and had reached his previously constructed slit trench and splinter proof. The bombardment on the front line was no more intense than at any other point until about 3 and 3:30 o'clock, when a concentration of shells on the water's edge where the petit posts of automatic rifles were located announced the beginning of the rolling barrage and attack. Fifteen minutes of this destructive kind of fire preceded the advance, and the few liaison agents who reached their company P. C.'s on the railroad line reported that the enemy under cover of smoke screens, was about to cross as daylight began to come. Through the fog, mist and smoke one could see boats being filled and pioneer troops hauling pontoons into place.

In front of all three of the forward companies these boats set out for the southern bank. Yet not one crossed that day in the centre of the sector, in front of Company H, or on the right, in front of Company E. Men of the Thirty-eighth, who had escaped the four hours' bombardment, met every attempt with

rifle and automatic weapon fire, and the reports from all prove conclusively that scores of these boats and rafts were shattered and sunk with practically all on board.

Company G on the left of the regimental sector had to face something more. Here the concentration of enemy machine gun fire was the most intense, but only after an hour of repeated failures did the Boche begin to reach the bank. The river platoon of Company G was completely wiped out of existence to a man; the second platoon had only one or two survivors. These hundred men had fought to a finish, but the heaps of German dead on the river bank bespoke the effective fire delivered before these heroes were conquered. Left to the two remaining platoons was the work of repelling the Huns who had crossed.

On the right Companies F B and D had gathered in their working details and climbed the hill to the east of the Surmelin to take care of Germans who had crossed in front of the French sector and who by 5 A. M. were giving the Thirty-eighth enfilade fire. Time and again platoons and sections counter attacked. Bayonet charges by groups of Company F and patrols from Company B against machine gun nests denied to the enemy commanding ground from which to take our front line in flank.

On the left the Germans were streaming over a footbridge in front of the Thirtieth Infantry sector, and were not only filtering through to the wooded heights to the west but actually gaining these positions in numbers. It was necessary for Companies G and H to widen their sectors. At 4:30 platoons of Company H counter attacked toward the town of Mezy, closing in on the Boche with bayonet and pistol and returning with forty-two prisoners. Later Company G faced another German flank movement on the left, and, although leaving more than half of their own strength on the field dead, returned with prisoners.

During this period Company G was the objective point of the Germans who were rushing for positions on the left. About 10:30 Captain Woolridge, his own company with scarcely a score of unwounded men remaining, assumed command of about forty men under Lieutenants Marsh and Winant of the Thirtieth. The kitchen personnel, clerks, runners and buzzer phone operators were rustled together for a combined defense against 300 Germans who had worked their way around Mezy and were attempting to surround Company G. Fighting in the open behind cover of the most meagre kind, and all the time under a rain of machine gun bullets from the flank and from airplanes that sprayed us with machine gun fire, Company G dispersed and routed this attack.

Facing the Third Division on July 15 were no less than twenty-one separate and distinct organizations of the German army, including two complete Guard divisions, the Tenth and Thirty-sixth.

By 4:30 P. M., July 15, the second battle of the Marne was ended. At that time, after having sustained an action on its front and both flanks for four and a half hours, the regiment was ordered to occupy the aqueduct line, a few hundred yards in rear of the railroad.

A Plea for the U. S. A.

It's all right, I s'pose, to agonize
About the Ahkoond of Swat;
The Dalms and Slavs, the Vlachs and Ravs,
The Jugos, and what not.
We shouldn't carp if he makes their lives
One glorious summer day;
But—I wish to God he'd remember US,
Balled up in the U. S. A.

Railroads limping in circles 'round,
The P. O. shot to hell!
What's the use of a Congress loose?
If he knows he doesn't tell;
A "League of Notions" for sustenance
(That gives "cootie" tribes full sway);
But—I wish to God he'd remember US,
Balled up in the U. S. A.

Still, morning dawns and evening comes,
And we'll get along somehow;
We'll "muddle through," as we used to do
In most any kind of row.
The Old Flag floats in its wonted place,
And, believe me, it's there to stay!
But—I wish to God he'd remember US,
Balled up in the U. S. A.

ALLAN WOODRUFF.

The Monument—Four Sites Suggested

SUGGESTS BELGIUM AS A SITE

SIR,—Anent your scheme to place a replica of the Washington Monument in France. All right. Go to it, and when you are about it, put one in Belgium while the putting is good. Count us for a subscription when you are ready.

St. Paul, Minn.

FRED A. BILL.

THE BANKS OF THE RHINE

SIR,—Yes! Build a replica of the Washington Monument in France—on the banks of the Rhine. No more fitting memorial could be built to our boys over there. Say you will lay the foundation July 4, 1920. The funds will come. I will remit \$20 when requested.

Pomona, N. Y.

G. N. HAUPTMAN.

PARIS IS THE SPOT

SIR,—I have been from the beginning deeply interested in your project for the erection of a memorial in France as a tribute to our fallen heroes. The main thing, in my judgment, is to collect the money and then to erect the monument! The monument will be largely symbolical; so it matters not where it is located in France. Belleau Wood has claims as great as Château-Thierry, and so have St. Mihiel and Cantigny. Let me remind you that monuments are erected to be *seen*. Then, why

not place this monument either at a spot near Paris, where millions can see it, or on the main railway line between Brussels and Paris, where every traveler may behold—and remember. Every Hun who, in the days to come dares to go to Paris, will see this reminder of what America has done—and can do. If we are to erect this as a token for others to see—and for what other reason will it be raised?—why not ensure its being seen by as many people as possible?

JAMES MCKIRDY.

Pittsburg, Pa.

THE BEST PLACE.

SIR,—Allow me to suggest the Montfaucon Massif as an appropriate and suitable site for the proposed replica of the Washington Monument to be placed upon the battlefields in France.

Montfaucon was the Post of Command of the German High Command for all attacks on Verdun, and is a famous spot. It was there that the American Army met very stubborn resistance. In fact, this point was regarded as the most difficult strong point that confronted the American Advance.

It is approximately 1000 feet high, and affords a better view of the American Battlefield from the Argonne to the Meuse than any other point in the battle area. It also has the advantage of being almost in the center of our major operations.

New York City.

ARMY OFFICER.

Not in Conflict

AMERICA'S GIFT TO FRANCE

The Macmonnies Statue to Commemorate the Battle of the Marne

Office of the Chairman

SIR,—I have noticed in your WEEKLY some articles on a proposal to erect a Washington Monument on a battlefield in France, to commemorate the gallant fight of the American Army. It occurs to me that in connection with this you may be interested in a project of which Mr. Thomas W. Lamont is chairman, and which this committee has underwritten.

This project contemplates the erection on an island in the Marne of a colossal stone figure now being sculptured by Frederick MacMonnies to commemorate the stand made by the French forces at the Marne in 1914.

Although this project has been underwritten, we are contemplating opening the subscriptions so that individuals all over the country may subscribe a maximum of \$1 to this memorial. It is estimated that \$225,000 will pay for the statue and the cost

of its erection on a suitable stone base on an island in the Marne, now being designed by Mr. Thomas Hastings. Our plans are to conduct a campaign for 225,000 or more individual subscriptions of \$1 or less.

The erection of this memorial has already received official sanction. The French ambassador has cordially approved it. The proposal has been presented to the French Government and has now been formally accepted by them with an expression of gratitude. The French Council of Ministers, through M. Pichon, Minister of Foreign Affairs, has expressed the desire that the monument be placed "at one of the points where took place the great battle of which American fraternity and French reverence plan to perpetuate the memory."

New York.

ROBERT F. DUNCAN, Acting Secretary.

[This is an admirable undertaking but of course it does not conflict in the least with our suggestion of a memorial to American soldiers.—EDITOR.]

Newspaper Endorsement

A NATION-WIDE MOVEMENT

Col. Harvey maintains that there could be no better memorial erected on the battlefield of France than the second Washington Monument, as it typifies the character of the father of our republic, who put aside the proffered crown. It would be a constant reminder of the undying gratitude of America to France and of the freshly stirred appreciation by France of the service now rendered in return by America. Together with the memories that would be surrounding such a monument would be the fitting inspiration to both. No better free-will offering from the people of America to the people of France could be devised. That real, live Americans are waiting for is the official announcement that such a campaign is on. Col. Harvey is entitled to the thanks of the entire country for his timely and patriotic suggestion. That it may develop into a nation-wide movement at an early date, is the wish of all our people.—FRANK M. CORPUS, Editor *The Fulton* (N. Y.) *Patriot*.

A PATRIOTIC MOVEMENT.

IN HARVEY'S WEEKLY, is an editorial on "A Washington Monument for France," that, we think, ought to appeal to the patriotism of every citizen of our beloved country, for it would be a monument to the heroic sons of our republic, who sacrificed their lives for the perpetuation of our liberty and the freedom of the world. This monument would be a replica of the Washington monument at our Capital. Col. Harvey asks: "Could there be a memorial more fitting, or one more appealing than a duplicate of this beautiful shaft which rises in its simple glory from the garden of our own National Capitol?" We can answer no, and *The Vidette* will co-operate in carrying out this patriotic movement.—*Putnam County* (Ohio) *Vidette*.

IDEA GROWS TREMENDOUSLY.

"I am particularly impressed with this suggestion. This seems to me a really splendid idea, both to have this particular monument and to have it paid for in the way he suggests. The Washington Monument, in its simplicity and in its magnificence, typifies the spirit of America which we all recognize as the spirit of America regardless of any cross-currents which have ever existed. I can imagine the patriotic thrill that an exact replica of this monument would give to visitors in France from this country in all future years; what a reminder, and indeed a warning, it would be to all the peoples of Europe of the power for righteousness which is this country; and especially what a fitting tribute to our soldiers who died there. The idea grows tremendously."—*Newspaper interview with Will H. Hays, Chairman of The Republican National Committee.*

LET IT BE DONE

HARVEY'S WEEKLY, one of the country's most readable journals, comes forward with the suggestion that a second Washington Monument be erected on some one of the battle fields of France distinguished by the service of American troops. Col. Harvey's idea is that the monument be a replica of the monument in the Nation's capital and that it be erected by popular subscription.

This appeals to us as one of the very best suggestions yet made to commemorate the deeds of American soldiers in the great fight for human liberties.

Such a monument would be a constant reminder to the people of Europe that in the United States the freedom of men has a friend that can ever be depended upon.

—*Warren* (Ohio) *Tribune*.

Letters From Our Readers

TWO QUESTIONS

SIR,—You say most truly in the opening editorial of your issue of June 14 that the Senate's revolt against the arrogant autocracy of the "Throne Administration" is an admirable feature of the case: I heartily agree, and in reply to the oft-repeated charge that much of the opposition to the treaty as now proposed is due to hostility to the President, it may be said that it is in part true.

There are two questions before the Senate now, not necessarily connected, but connected more or less in fact: First, is this arrogant attempt at autocracy to be tolerated, violative as it is of the underlying spirit, if not of the letter, of the Constitution? If the treaty to be discussed were a commercial treaty with Brazil, for example, avowedly so constructed as to coerce the Senate into adopting provisions not satisfactory to it, it should not be passed, even though the objections might not be very serious; it should be defeated, totally irrespective of its merits. The second—distinctively second—question, is the merit of the treaty itself.

The dislike of the President is not founded on personal or private reasons, but is brought upon him by his own self-will and his insolent disregard of anything else; and there is a determination that another important branch of the Government with well-defined constitutional rights and duties shall not be ignored and converted into a collective rubber-stamp.

LUCIUS S. LANDRETH.

Philadelphia.

THE LIGHT OF TRUTH

SIR,—Even at the risk of being considered a "me too," I want to add my word of praise for the inestimable benefit you are conferring on us poor pygmy-minded mortals by the intrepidity and fearlessness with which you are searching out the dark places of the Wilson régime and shedding the light of truth therein. You are truly doing a great work, and your WEEKLY should be read by every intelligent 100 per cent American, for it is indeed an inspiration to those who possess "doubletrack" minds capable of understanding a few things not prescribed by the all-wise occupant of the throne.

GEO. S. ALDRICH.

Newark, N. J.

"SURE THEY DID!"

SIR,—Your Memorial Day parallel in the June 7th WEEKLY incensed me.

Certainly our soldiers died to bring forth a (the) League of Nations—they heard voices in the air calling to them to die for Internationalism—sure they did. They saw in the sinking of the *Lusitania* a moral illustration of the beauties of a League of Nations and a prelude to our mandatory over the loathsome Turks. They never dreamed of anything so silly as that imagined by that old War Dog, General Pershing.

JOHN SEVIRO ALDEHOFF.

Dallas, Texas.

AN "AMEN!" FROM EAST HAMPTON

SIR,—I have just finished reading your speech at Syracuse as printed in the *Sun* of New York for June 12, and cannot close my office for the day until I write you to say that it is the ablest setting forth of the League abomination I have seen anywhere, and I feel like saying Amen! to each paragraph.

Bully for you! Give it to them!

JOSEPH S. OSBORNE.

East Hampton, N. Y.

"BETTER AND BETTER"

SIR,—The dear, sledge-hammer old WEEKLY gets better and better. This week's is dandy. One would think it were you that Wilson Senior had trained to "rifle-speak" and not "shot-gun-splutter," instead of son Woodrow; for it seems that everything you write is a bull's eye; and your current cartoon is a roar.

New York City.

H. H. H.

WORTHY OF NAST

SIR,—That cartoon, "The International Hymn," is worthy of Thomas Nast in his palmy days.

W. C. Fox.

New York City.

AMERICA and HUMANITY

By

GEORGE HARVEY

in

The North American Review

FOR JULY

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WEEK ENDING JULY 5, 1919

No. 27



“Self-Determination”

WASHINGTON, June 26,—Newton D. Baker, Secretary of War, will decorate himself with a Victory medal as soon as these war emblems are ready to be issued.—*The Sun*.

Calmness, Vigilance, Resolution!

THE return of the President signalizes the beginning of the real struggle for the preservation of American independence. It is not a happy homecoming for anybody. The Covenanters in Washington, headed by Senator Hitchcock, will rejoice to be relieved of their part of the burden of responsibility no doubt, but not many days will pass before they will relish as little as ever their complete subordination to their autocratic master. Older Southern Senators in particular, such as Mr. Martin, Mr. Overman and Mr. Bankhead, are bound to feel more keenly than before the humiliation of a partisan servility which virtually forbids expression of their real convictions. The younger men like Mr. Underwood and Mr. Chamberlain also can hardly be expected to welcome the choice which they will be compelled to make between their country and their party. Conflicting emotions, too, cannot fail to possess Republicans whose views range between the two extremes personified by Mr. Borah and Mr. McCumber. How Mr. Taft, until recently regarded and esteemed as a true patriot, feels about it, we neither know nor care. The sentiments of the changeling Wickersham also may well be left to the remnants of a distressed conscience.

The President himself returns, according to the press reports, with "bitterness in his heart" toward all men who disagree with him as to the advisability of incorporating the nation in an association of European and Asiatic Powers. This deplorable circumstance undoubtedly presages upon the part of himself and his associates a campaign of extreme virulence such as has not cursed our country since the dark days which preceded the Civil War. Already deep resentment is finding manifestation not only in Washington, but throughout the country at Mr. Wilson's arrogant and intolerable assumption of a purely personal authority carefully withheld by the Constitution and emphatically denied to him by the people at the polls. The consequence is probably inevitable: a clash of contending forces of unprecedented violence charged with direst peril to the Republic and perhaps to the world.

Cannot this calamity be averted? It will not be by the President; that is certain. Disdainful of his official associates in the Government, angry at the great majority of his countrymen who refused to do his bidding, disappointed by his loss of prestige and popular favor abroad, wilfully ignorant of conciliation and recogniz-

ing only imperious authority as an effective force, no change can be anticipated in the lordly attitude which he assumed from the beginning to the ending of his previous visit to this country in pretended quest of "common counsel." Nor is any sign visible of forthcoming moderation either in the language of his spokesmen in the Senate headed by Mr. Williams or in the diatribes of his satellites of the Press. Lamentably, but clearly, the time is approaching for severe trial of the souls of men.

Wherefore we bespeak from all those who must lead the fight for America a policy of becoming restraint backed by invincible resolution. We appreciate that indignation may be righteous, that patriotism may demand fervid utterance, that selfishness and greed call for stern denunciation, that hypocrisy and lying must be exposed, that cant and humbug are fitly subjected to ridicule and that all public officials from the highest to the lowest must be made to realize that they are in fact the servants, not the masters, of the people. All this, as at times we have had occasion to indicate, we understand.

But we know also the power of calmness and patience. So turbulent a period as the present could hardly be expected to fall within an Age of Reason, but it need not and ought not to enter the realm of passion. Time was, not so long ago, when only caustic words could prick the bladder of the obsession which was becoming alarmingly pervasive. But that day has passed. The American people are now thoroughly aroused to the seriousness of the situation and require enlightenment only. That, they should and must have, and it is highly gratifying to observe that at last patriotic citizens have gone to the aid of the League for the Preservation of American Independence headed by Henry Waterson, Stuyvesant Fish, George Wharton Pepper, Henry A. Wise Wood and Louis A. Coolidge, in a modest but earnest endeavor to withstand the effect of the enormous propaganda of the concern sponsored by William H. Taft and backed largely by international bankers, whose vaults presumably have not yet been wholly denuded of foreign securities. So far, so good! The probability of the country being hoodwinked at least is disappearing.

The correct policy of the Senate seems to us quite clear. The President is returning with the treaty which he, as Premier, has "negotiated," and which, as President, he presumably will submit. He is entitled to and undoubtedly

will receive a respectful hearing. Perhaps he will present convincingly reasons for its adoption. If so, well and good; but thus far, it should be recalled, he has made no explanation of a single article and has adventured no response to a single criticism. He comes now to present his report to the body constituted the final judge. Conformably to tradition and practice and to the oath taken by each member, that body should and, of course, will give the subject due consideration.

The reports that, as soon as he submits his report, the President proposes to "tour the country" for the purpose of inducing the people to terrorize their representatives in the Senate into endorsing his recommendations possess not the slightest importance. He may or he may not; what boots it? If he does, he will discover quickly that there are others prepared to pursue a similar course, although not, of course, as in his case, at the expense of the very people whom he will be going forth to convert to his melting-pot scheme. If he does not—and we have our doubts—the proper time for the Senators of the United States, who now hold full control of the destiny of their country, to formulate and enunciate their position will be when, and not before, the President has spoken officially "in his own name and by his own proper authority."

Meanwhile, calmness, vigilance, resolution!

The Peace Proclamation

ONE of these days, we expect, the President will look back upon his Peace Proclamation as, in the words of *Punch*, one of those things he would rather have expressed differently. Not even in its literary form will he regard it as worthy of rank with some of those felicitous utterances of his which have charmed all hearers and evoked spontaneous admiration from foes and friends alike. In some of its sentiments and statements it will be still less agreeable to recall, as it is today impossible fully to accept.

It was doubtless well for him to say at the beginning "If it is ratified and acted upon," because its ratification by his own country is still problematic, while Germany is serving warning in the plainest way that she will not fulfil its terms further than she is physically forced to do, and that she looks upon it as a negligible "scrap of paper." But surely that hypothesis is a lamentable confession for a treaty-making statesman to be compelled to make.

It would doubtless be a fine thing to end the system under which "small groups of selfish men could use the peoples of great empires to serve their own ambition." But it is not with good grace that that end is declared to have been attained by one who has been strenuously working to make a small group of men, the representatives of five big Powers,

practical dictators over all the other nations of the world.

The Treaty, says the President, "makes international law a reality supported by imperative sanctions." That must mean, then, that the provisions of the League of Nations are not merely advisory, not mere recommendations, which we in unimpaired sovereignty are free to adopt or to reject, but are obligatory and compulsory. It is not for us to penetrate the holy of holies and determine which they are. But we must point out that the President's account of them in this proclamation flatly contradicts that which is being sedulously and persistently put forward by his own propagandists.

The President speaks of the "guarantees" which are given to labor throughout the world "for fair treatment." That raises again the question of advisory or compulsory provisions. When objection is made and rightly made to the Covenant's giving alien Powers the privilege of meddling in our purely domestic affairs, the President's propagandists make haste to say that no such thing is done; that the attitude of the League of Nations toward our domestic industrial economy will be purely advisory. But is the giving of "advice" quite equivalent to the giving of "guarantees?"

The crowning feature of the proclamation is the reference to Nationality. The Treaty, says the President, "recognizes the inalienable rights of nationality." Of that statement the integrity must be squarely challenged. Quite apart from the fact that the Covenant obviously, in the eyes of every intelligent and rational man, does alienate some of the fundamental rights of nationality, we have the admission of the President himself and his chief propagandists that it does so. He has declared that the old system of national law is "played out," and has admitted that under the League for the general good there would have to be a surrender of individual rights; and his foremost supporters have argued that just as the Thirteen States of the Confederation surrendered their individual independence for the sake of union under the Constitution, so must we and all other nations surrender some degree of national independence and sovereignty in order to enjoy the ineffable blessings of the League of Nations. Yet the President makes this astounding declaration that the Treaty, which means too the Covenant of the League of Nations, "recognizes the inalienable rights of nationality."

It is a sorry spectacle that the President has made in this proclamation, which he must naturally have desired to be one of the great historic documents of the world. Yet we do not know that it could have been more appropriately framed. Contradictory and lacking in sincerity though it unhappily is, it is after all in those respects an accurate reflection of much of the work which has been done in Paris in these last six or seven months, and of much of the results of that work the completion of which the President thus announces to his countrymen.

"Shall governmental powers be surrendered to employes," demands the Politicalmaster-General, "because of threatened or attempted strikes?" And he answers his own question with a thunderous "No!" Adding, *sotto voce*, "Not when I can sneak out of it and leave the telegraph and telephone companies to bear the brunt of the strike which I myself have provoked."

The People and the Treaty

THE best comment upon the actual signing of the Treaty of Peace was promptly provided by the American public. It may be epitomized in a single word: Indifference. Memory flashed back to that day of nearly eight months before, when word came of the signing of the Armistice. That meant nothing but a suspension of hostilities which might presently be resumed. It was in no sense definitive. Yet at the word the nation was whelmed in such a universal frenzy of rejoicing as never had been known before. This later treaty-signing on the contrary was definitive. It was the real achievement to which the other was merely the tentative prelude. Yet it found the nation cold, apathetic, indifferent—no crowds, no processions, no tumult of jubilation; a trivial incident, not comparable in interest with the question whether the wine cards were really to be abolished three days later.

This we have said was the best comment; not in the sense that it was the most desirable but that it was the most significant and illuminating, both objectively and subjectively. It showed how utterly weary the people had become of the long drawn-out haggling and bartering and diplomatic hugger-mugger that had prevailed month after month at Paris. "Hope deferred maketh the heart sick;" and achievement deferred, day after day, week after week, month after month, on insincere and irrelevant pretexts, wearies and disgusts the mind. With what confidence an "Easter Peace" was once promised! Then date after date in May was fixed, to be followed by date after date in June. It was not in human nature to keep interest highly wrought through such a tedious process, or to revive it when at last the process did reach its end.

Nor, it must be confessed, was there anything in the event itself to arouse enthusiasm. Instead of a peace dictated by triumphant right it was a peace negotiated with unrepentant crime. Instead of a peace concluded by the Allies with the same fine harmony that had marked their cooperation in the war, the same unity of purpose, the same mutual trust, it was marred with weeks and months of bickering, suspicion, animosity, even open breaches between former comrades. Instead of a peace aiming directly at cessation of war, at punishment of the guilty, at reparation for the injured, and at guarantees for future good behavior, it was one which made these things subordinate to extraneous and irrelevant fads, which countenanced the continuance of war even while it was being signed, which sought to make punishment as light and reparation as scanty as possible, and which gave offence to all and satisfaction to none.

Equally unsatisfactory were the circumstances on the side of the enemy. Again and again during the closing weeks the Huns grossly insulted the Allies, and with impunity. They did more than insult in words: They committed hostile acts. They violated the armistice by scuttling the interned ships at Scapa Flow; and by burning the French battle-flags which they were pledged to preserve and to return. They broke faith and menaced peace by fomenting insurrection in Poland and by preparing themselves to wage war against that country; and by secretly recruiting troops in the territory occupied by the Allies. By the word of mouth of some of

their foremost statesmen and in the columns of their most authoritative journals they sneered at the Treaty as a mere "scrap of paper" which they might be compelled to sign but which they had no intention of obeying or observing for one moment longer than they could help. In the face of such conditions, it was impossible that the American public could feel any enthusiasm or any considerable degree of gratitude for the signing of the Treaty.

Lack of enthusiasm could not, however, justify indifference. It would be a deplorable mistake for dissatisfaction with the terms and circumstances of the treaty to cause apathy toward it. For the treaty has actually been signed. If we ratify it in any form, as we probably shall with strong reservations, it will become a part of the supreme law of the land. Even if we should not ratify it but should re-establish peace in another way, it would still become the basis of peace between the other nations and Germany, and the basis of the greatest reorganization that Europe has known for a hundred years. These considerations make it incumbent upon us to dismiss all apathy and to devote our most earnest and patriotic efforts to making the best of the bad job which our self-appointed misrepresentative has made at Paris.

It is for the American people, directly and through their loyal representatives at Washington, to see to it that America gets whatever good it is possible to derive from the treaty, and avoids the evils which maladroitness has intruded into it. It is no time for apathy, indifference or weariness. Because their delegate at Paris served them so ill is all the more reason why American citizens should now vigilantly and strenuously serve themselves. The treaty is signed. It is for the American people to determine in what form it shall be ratified by this country, and in what spirit it shall be enforced. A treaty is law, and law for Americans must be made not by an autocrat nor by any alien power, but by the representatives of the people. The diplomats and diplomaticasters have had their day at treaty making. Now comes the day of the American people.

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BY GEORGE HARVEY

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Mr. Beveridge's Great Speech

THE case of the American Nation *vs.* the League for Denationalization might well be permitted to rest with Ex-Senator Beveridge's great speech, if only that masterpiece of patriotic argument were surely to be read and intelligently pondered by every American citizen. In it every important point of attack upon the mischievous scheme was restated and pressed home with telling force, and every plea in its favor was effectively answered. It was a speech worthy of the Senate Chamber which its maker once adorned, and worthy, too, of the distinguished audience to which it was delivered. The Pennsylvania Bar Association has had a notable career and has listened to many able men on many important themes; but it has never heard an address more worthy of its most careful attention, in both subject and treatment, than that at its last annual meeting.

We have said that Mr. Beveridge restated the chief indictments against the League Covenant. It was well that he did so, for there are some things which need repetition again and again until their full effect is attained. We are hearing so much of the parrot cry, "Don't you want peace? Then you must support the League!" that it is well to show that the truth can be repeated as often as a falsehood. Besides, Mr. Beveridge repeated even the most familiar arguments with new force and effectiveness. But he also dwelt upon certain other points which have been less frequently raised and which deserve to be brought home to every mind. Thus, referring to the mendacious and destructive mis-description of the Monroe Doctrine to which we are asked to subscribe, and to the British official explanation of its meaning and the British reminder that any dispute as to the meaning of the Doctrine is hereafter to be settled for us by the alien League, he pertinently said:

If the American delegation did not agree to the British interpretation of this "amendment," why did not the American delegation immediately deny that interpretation?

It—or, rather, Mr. Wilson—did not deny it, but gave it tacit assent; wherefore we are compelled to believe that the President intends that hereafter the Monroe Doctrine shall be interpreted for us by foreign Powers, and that any dispute which may arise concerning it shall be settled over our heads by aliens.

Mr. Beveridge emphasized, too, the illusory character of the provision for withdrawal from the League, showing that such withdrawal could be effected only after we had fulfilled every obligation to the League and every obligation which any nation in the world might claim as due it; the League and not ourselves to be the judge of such fulfilment; while during the two years of notice of withdrawal fresh obligations, burdensome and interminable, might be imposed upon us.

Most pertinent was his consideration of the fearsome question of what might happen to us if we did not enter the League—the Covenanters of the League endeavoring to frighten us with the menace that "the Gobbleums 'll git ye" if we don't denationalize ourselves. The German Government was the first that had ventured to attack us in more than a hundred years; and it did so at a time when we were quite unprepared and when it suspected that we might not

be united and would show little or no military efficiency. Surely, it is folly to fear that any other Power will repeat that venture against us, after our tremendous and successful exhibition of defensive prowess during the last two years. Why not, then, stay out, and when hereafter foreign wars occur, if unhappily they do, "remain neutral or take part, as wisdom and righteousness shall dictate at the time?"

Surely, urged Mr. Beveridge, we have earned the right to retain our freedom. For what we did in the war, despite its fearful cost in blood and treasure, we are glad. We do not begrudge one dollar; nor even one life that was sacrificed that civilization and humanity might live. In like circumstances, we would do it all again. But have we not earned the right to be left alone? Have we not amply discharged every debt that we owed to any nation? Are we not entitled to enjoy the same freedom of action that we enjoyed at the beginning of the war, so as to give thought to the present and future needs of our own people, and so as best to serve the world by making ourselves most able to render efficient service?

Refreshing and inspiring beyond all words was it to hear the speaker challenge the Covenanters of Denationalization to submit the matter to that popular self-determination which they profess to adore:

America is not committed to membership in the superstate and never will be unless the American Senate consents. And the Senate will never consent until some way is found to place this tremendous question directly before the American people and their answer to it is secured.

Will any league advocate tell us why the people should not vote on this mighty issue—an issue which affects the people far more seriously than any upon which they have voted since our Government was founded? Self-determination of peoples seems to have been lowered from the high plane of sublime principle to that of a mere catchword and then abandoned as catchwords always have been abandoned heretofore. In Asia and Europe that phrase has become a hissing byword. But in America, thank God, we have American Senators who will die in their places before they will permit the American nation to be victimized, unless and until the American people themselves consent to surrender their rights, their powers, their sovereignty and their independence.

Thank God! And take courage!

Boomerang Arguments

THE apologists and propagandists of the League of Denationalization are saying that Article Ten of the Covenant must stand as it is, because if the United States were to be exempted from its obligations the whole League would be so emasculated as to be of no value.

That is to say, the whole aim and purpose of the League is to make the United States of America the common bailiff of the world; and if we are unwilling thus to be mixed and muddled up in every ruction that may occur anywhere between Dan and Beersheba, why there is no use in trying to have any League.

To which we say, All right! Then don't have any League!

Again, they tell us that we must not be permitted to withdraw from the League when we wish, because that would imply that Germany would be privileged to do the same, and there is danger that she might enter the League, raise the very devil, and then skip out.

That is to say, honest men are to be associated with a

known crook, and are to be subjected to ignominious bonds because it would not be safe to trust the crook without them.

To which we say again, If that is what the League of necessity requires, better not have any League!

Once more, we are told that the falsehood about the Monroe Doctrine is the best we can get from the other Powers, and that even if it is a falsehood we can always exercise our veto power to prevent its being used to our harm.

That is to say, we are to subscribe to a lying repudiation of the Doctrine, and then repudiate our own repudiation.

To which we say once more, if there can be no League without our committing such turpitude and self-stultification, better not have any League at all!

The case is thus put squarely up to the propagandists of a League of Nations, to decide whether they are willing to have a League to which self-respecting and independent states can belong,—like that which was formed at The Hague,—or are resolved for some ulterior and ominous purpose to make it a league of actual falsehood and potential mischief. If they insist upon the latter course, upon them will rest responsibility for the fate which befalls their pernicious scheme.

The Same Hun

“**A**S it was in the beginning, is now, and”—must we add—“ever shall be”? It really looks like it, most ominously like it.

At the beginning of the war, Germany deliberately violated a solemn international treaty; excusing herself for the crime with the contemptuous observation that the treaty was nothing but a “scrap of paper.”

Oh, but that was the wicked imperialistic and military party, that did and said that. We must not hold the German people responsible for so atrocious a sentiment. They have repudiated and expelled the Hohenzollerns, and are now a law-abiding and faith-keeping nation, with whom we may make a treaty in perfect confidence, and whom we may safely receive into full fellowship in our holy League of Nations.

Art there, Old Truepenny?

Well, now, at the end of the war, a great voice in Germany declares that signature of the treaty of peace is worthless, because “it is only a scrap of paper.” The voice of some of those wicked imperialists and militarists, or of a Hohenzollern? Oh, no; it is the voice of *Vorwaerts*, the organ of the German people, the organ of the Social Democracy, the organ of the party which to-day controls the national government of the German Republic.

He must be blind to the signs of the times who does not perceive that the Germany of 1919 is in spirit the Germany of 1914, unchanged. Nowhere, in all the flood of High Dutch and Low Dutch which has been so profusely poured forth in expostulation, in plea, in protest and in menace, have we found one single word of repentance, of realization of wrong done, of resolution to reform the nation's ways. There is nothing but sullen resentment and determination to persist in the old course.

The German Government of Ebert and Bauer and Erz-

berger would if it had the chance and the power be just as ready to violate treaties, to burn cities, to ravish women, to murder women and children, and to commit every conceivable crime and abomination, as was the German Government of William Hohenzollern and Bethmann-Hollweg. It is the same old Hun with which civilization has to deal. We beat him in war. It remains to be seen if we shall succeed in keeping him beaten in peace.

As to Tact

IT has been many times suggested by writers in foreign papers, notably those of France, that President Wilson had, perhaps, not been entirely tactful in his attitude towards the United States Senate, and particularly towards those members of that body whose views of the proposed League of Nations did not coincide with his own.

That Mr. Wilson himself, even dimly, entertained a suspicion that his course and his utterances on the occasion of his recent visit to this country might possibly lack delicacy of touch is very doubtful. His remarkable confidence in his own self-sufficiency in all things makes such a supposition highly improbable. He was then frankly contemptuous of Senatorial opinion adverse to his own and he put that contempt into words which left no room for doubt as to their meaning. In his speech on landing in Boston, and in his speech on the eve of his departure from New York, there was not the slightest trace of a tendency towards diplomatic reserve in the handling of his adversaries. His speech in Boston was a ringing challenge. He announced to all the world that his “fighting blood was up.” His speech in New York was a threat. He mentioned that when he came back with the Peace Treaty, that Treaty would be so intricately interwoven with the League of Nations covenant that separation of the one from the other would be impossible.

In other words, he threatened the Senate and the people of the United States that they must either take the Peace Treaty he, Woodrow Wilson, presented to them, with all its international entanglements for us, or take none at all. The Senate was to have no option in the matter, save the option of total acceptance or total rejection. There must be no eliminations, no amendments, no reservations. The imperious order to the Senate of the United States was to be, “sign there!” The advice and consent provisions of the Constitution were distinctly defined and restricted by final decision thus handed down from the Chief Magistracy Bench itself.

There were those then, and there are those now, who felt that this minatory tone of finality on the part of the President was tactless to the very borders of arrogant insolence. There were then, as there are now, those who thought the President's utter ignoring of the Senate in the selection of Peace Commissioners was in itself tactless, and worse than tactless. There was and is a very wide prevalence of opinion that the President showed lack of tact during the time of his brief visit to his post of duty in Washington, when he referred to opposition Senators as the possessors of “pigmy minds,” and indicated a wish to have them hanged. The feeling that the expression of such sentiments was not:

persuasively adroit method of winning the support of either the Senate or the people of the country, was the more intensified from the fact that in the large group of Senators thus contumeliously stigmatised were many long regarded as among the ablest and most soundly patriotic members of the upper branch of our national legislative body.

Mr. Wilson will soon be with us again. It will be matter of much interest to note his forthcoming attitude towards the rather formidable mass of American sentiment, both Senatorial and popular, now unquestionably adverse to vital features of any such draft of a League of Nations covenant as the people and their great treaty-making body thus far have been permitted to examine. Will Mr. Wilson land here this time, as he did before, with his fighting blood up and with threats and vituperation on his lips? Or will he, on this occasion, assume a more persuasive and less arrogant tone? Have the many intimations that he has shown lack of tact, intimations which surely cannot have entirely escaped him—have these repeated suggestions influenced him, to any degree? Will they, together with the sobering effect of closer contact with the stern opposing purpose of formidable numbers of Americans, shunt him from his single track mental habit? We are informed by those who should know his plans that he will only touch, as to a calling port, at his Washington post of duty before proceeding on his journey across and up and down the continent. Will his "fighting blood" remain up during all this long trip? Will the flowers of his exhaustless rhetoric bristle with wounding, lacerating thorns as they did before, or will they exude sweet mellifluousness only?

These are highly interesting questions. The American people will be curious to know their answer. They will be pleased at the opportunity to see a President who has lived so long in foreign lands, and to note what his protracted residence abroad has done for him. It will be an historical landmark; that transcontinental trip of Mr. Wilson's. For the first and, let us hope, for the last time in the history of our country, the American people will have an opportunity to see an American President of the United States who has absented himself from the seat of our Government in times when matters of grave import to the country's welfare were pending, and who has spent over an eighth of his entire term of office in foreign lands over 3,000 miles away from our shores.

The Real Motive

THE President is homeward bound, at last; and the Homeric precept is fulfilled. There was no doubt that nearly seven months ago the coming guest was welcomed "over there." There can be no more doubt than there was last week at least an equal inclination to "speed the parting guest." Day by day, and week by week, it had become increasingly apparent that the representatives of the Allied Powers were weary of the Presidential autocrat, who was ever insisting with petty pertinacity upon having his own way, and yet was ever failing to make his way effective.

The first great awakening came to Europe when, in

spite of a rigorous censorship, the fact was disclosed that he was not speaking for the American people but merely for himself and a minority of the nation; and that instead of having the United States solidly behind him in his policy, he would be compelled to hurry home to fight the battle of his life for even a modified acceptance of his favorite fads.

He was himself trebly compelled to contribute to that awakening. The first time was when, during his brief visit to the United States, seeing the rising storm of opposition to his League of Denationalization, he defiantly declared that he would compel acceptance of that League by a reluctant people by so intertwining it with the peace which they of course wanted that they would be unable to separate the two.

When that amazing utterance was known abroad, men began to ask each other why it was necessary for him to make such a threat, if all America was clamoring for a League of Nations.

Again he made a fatal disclosure of his weakness when, after declaring that the first Constitution of a League of Nations was so perfect as to be insusceptible of improvement, save in one or two minor respects which he himself would attend to, he eagerly solicited suggestions for the remodelling of it in any way which would gain votes for it in the Senate, and when with that end in view he assented to the radical recasting of it, even to the insertion of things which he had declared were quite inadmissible. The moment infallibility permits amendment, it is lost.

The third self-revelation to the same effect has been in his obvious hurry to get back home and his confession of his purpose in returning, namely, to stump the country in behalf of the Covenant of the League; leaving the real work of the Conference at Paris confessedly not yet half done, while even that which has been done has been ill done to a ludicrous and lamentable degree. When at last the treaty was presented to the Germans for signing, it was found to contain many errors which the Allies were glad to correct when the Germans pointed them out, and even at the very end it was discovered that no date had been fixed for the signing of it by the Germans, and that there was no provision for German ratification of it.

The fact is, as the Allied Governments long since found out, that the President had no aptitude for and no heart in the making of peace, *per se*. It was not for that purpose that he went to Paris. His heart was set on the exploitation of its semi-Socialistic, denationalizing fads, particularly of a League of Nations, and he strove to make the transcendent work of peace-making a mere vehicle and means to that end. The doing of inexorable justice to the world's greatest criminal, the reparation of the most grievous wrongs that ever were perpetrated upon suffering humanity, the exaction of guarantees against renewal of the great crime, were all matters of comparative indifference to him. Long before he had declared that he was not interested even in knowing anything about the causes and objects of the war; all he cared for was that it should be ended in a "peace without victory," and to that form he ran true to the end.

It is no wonder that Europe has grown tired of him. The guilt is off the gingerbread. The sawdust stuffing of the doll is much in evidence. The narrowness of vision, the selfish-

ness of purpose, the ineptness and inefficiency in dealing with really great affairs, and perhaps above all the hollowness of the pretence of speaking the mind and spirit of America, have all been brought home to a surprised, a disappointed and an indignant Europe, with depressing and convincing force. It was with relief that the receding stern of the steamer that bore him away was watched from the shores of France. It is well that he comes home at last. It would have been better far for all concerned if he had never gone.

Disposing of the Philippines

OPINIONS differ concerning disposition of the Philippines. The President and probably a large majority of the Democratic party are in favor of giving them entire independence, while an equally large majority of Republicans would retain sovereignty of them, though with the fullest practicable degree of self-government. There is a good deal to be said on each side of the case, and we ourselves cannot truly profess any particularly passionate zeal for either. It impresses us as a question which is to be decided calmly, on the basis of the mutual and permanent welfare of both the United States and the various peoples of the Philippine Islands.

On one point, however, there should be no possible room for any decent divergence of opinion. That is, that however the question may finally be decided, it is a question which lies between the United States and the Philippines and between them alone, and is to be decided by them and by them alone, without the intervention of any other Power.

The astounding suggestion has been made by a Senator of the United States, Mr. Walsh, of Massachusetts, that on the initiative of this country the Filipinos should be invited to appeal to the Paris Peace Congress against us and to seek its intervention in their behalf. We are not sure that a more egregiously self-stultifying proposition was ever made by any responsible American statesman.

It is, in brief, a proposal to carry our own soiled linen before the public of the world for washing, and to ask other nations to manipulate the soap and scrubbing board. It is a confession that we are probably wronging the Filipinos, but that we are unwilling to do them justice unless they compel us to do through an appeal to other nations. It is a proposal to invite the world at large to come into our own household and settle for us one of our own domestic disputes.

For whether it is expedient or desirable for us permanently to retain any degree of sovereignty over the Philippines, it is indisputable that at present our sovereignty is as complete over them as it is, for example, over Alaska. It is so recognized by every nation of the world; and of course our responsibility for them is equally complete and indisputable. In other words, our relations with them are purely domestic, and not at all international in character. There is no more excuse for referring those relations to an alien tribunal than there would have been for thus referring the secession of the Southern States in 1861, or than there would have been for referring the question of California's right to discriminate against Japanese in the public schools in alleged violation of treaty obligations.

Of course the United States Government is not going to invite the Filipinos to do any such foolish thing, the Filipinos are not going to try it, and the Peace Conference is not going to countenance any such folly. But the futile proposal of the Massachusetts Senator is worthy of passing notice as a symptom of the extent to which the virus of denationalism is entering into the body politic. It is ominous that any public man of rank should have the hardihood or the fatuity to put forward such a scheme, though we can scarcely wonder at it or even censure him for his folly, in view of the example which has been set by his own party leader and preceptor, the President of the United States.

A Disgraceful Mess

AS a natural result of the dilatory, shifty course of Congress in the matter of passing laws governing the enforcement of the war prohibition act, confusion reigns. And not only confusion but conditions detrimental to private as well as public interests. Conditions creating contempt for legislative acts of any kind are detrimental to public interests, in that they are undermining to law and order. In this case they are detrimental in a marked degree to private interests, because law-abiding men are left without knowledge of what is or is not lawful in the conduct of their business. If they go on with "business as usual" they may lay themselves open to heavy penalties. If they close up when others are permitted to keep open, they lose money which they were entitled to earn and which others do earn. The interpretation of the law is left to each individual concerned. If, in a forced resort to the courts, his legal opinion is sustained, he wins the money his business has brought him. If his legal decision is reversed, he may be mulcted in heavy pecuniary damages and may go to jail besides.

It is an absurd situation and one bristling with injustices whichever way you look at it. And the worst of it is that the absurdities and the injustices are absolutely unnecessary. They do not flow from unavoidable circumstances because the circumstances which precipitated them were not unavoidable. The law which would have averted all this chaos might as well have been passed two weeks before the 1st of July as two weeks after that date. It is a clean case of dawdling and dallying to avoid coming to a decision one way or the other. The blame rests in about equal measure upon Congress and the President, who seemed not to know his own mind.

The indications now are that it will be far more than two weeks from the 1st of July before the public will know whether a law which went into effect July 1 is to be enforced, and, if it is enforced, how it will be enforced. The minority report of the House Committee having the enforcement measure in hand was not even completed, much less submitted, at the end of last week. It will be the middle of next week before a measure of any kind comes up for consideration. It will in all probability be two weeks, or long past the middle of July, before such measure is acted upon.

Meantime the confusion will go on, every day becom-

ing more confused. Besides, there is the rather more than possibility of a long procession of criminal prosecutions trailing through the courts, with great financial loss, coupled with injustice, imposed upon citizens who with no other light to guide them went their ways on their own interpretation of a law which those responsible failed to interpret.

Mr. Wilson "passed the buck" to Congress. Congress kept tossing on a tumultuous sea of debate and wrangling which got it nowhere and got the country nowhere.

The result is disgraceful.

A Needed Ventilation

THE Secretary of Labor, Mr. Wilson, won deserved commendation when, in his address before the American Federation of Labor, at Atlantic City, he strongly urged the impropriety of a general strike on the Fourth of July because an anarchist named Mooney was convicted of murder in California and is now undergoing a life sentence for that crime. The Secretary of Labor said and the American Federation of Labor said that such a strike for such a cause would react in a damaging way upon organized labor generally, and that if it had any effect at all on the case of Mooney that effect was rather more apt to be detrimental than advantageous. The movement for a Fourth of July Mooney strike was suppressed.

If the Secretary of Labor had let the Mooney matter rest there, it probably would have been better. But, according to the newspaper reports of his Atlantic City address, the accuracy of which, so far as we know, he has not denied, he said that the Government was investigating the claim that new evidence justified a new trial for Mooney, and that he himself, Mr. Wilson, was "devoting much time to the case."

This reputed statement of the Secretary of Labor has led to a reopening and investigation by the House of Representatives of the entire activities of the Department of Labor in behalf of Mooney. Representative Blanton, of Texas, made a bitter attack on the floor of the House upon both the Secretary of Labor and upon Mr. John B. Densmore, nephew of Secretary Wilson and Director of the United States Employment Service of the Department of Labor. In the course of his remarks he introduced the findings of a San Francisco Grand Jury which reflected upon Mr. Densmore in that after publishing charges of corruption and malfeasance against District Attorney Charles M. Fickert, who prosecuted and convicted Mooney, he, Densmore, left California and refused to answer either the subpoena of the grand jury or the request of the foreman that he return to San Francisco and assist in the investigation which his own charges as an official of the United States Government had precipitated. The Grand Jury also sets forth that one William Armstrong, a Government employee, had plead that he could not answer questions pertaining to the Densmore report on the ground that he might incriminate himself. The Densmore charges, involving accusations infamous in character against Mr. Fickert, were found by the grand jury to be entirely baseless. Mr. Fickert was completely

exonerated. The grand jury report furthermore contained this sentence:

It is regrettable that the Secretary of Labor would lend himself to such a proceeding and not only repudiate his promise to Governor William D. Stephens to place Densmore and his assistants at his disposal in the investigation, but, through the Department of Justice, assist in deliberately blocking it.

Coming from such a source as the Grand Jury of the City and County of San Francisco, these are grave charges, under which neither the Department of Justice nor the Department of Labor will be willing to rest silent. Hence both Departments will rejoice at the adoption by the House of Representatives of Mr. Blanton's resolution calling upon the Department of Labor for all facts in connection with the investigation and report of John B. Densmore, Director of the United States Employment Service of the Department of Labor, into the trial and conviction on a murder charge of Thomas J. Mooney in connection with the San Francisco preparedness parade bomb outrages.

And not only will these two Departments of Mr. Wilson's Administration be glad, but the whole country will be glad. Very evil stories in connection with Mr. Densmore's exertions in behalf of Mooney have long been in circulation. These stories were not only compromising to Mr. Densmore but compromising as well to the Department of which his uncle is the head. They involve accusations not only of serious offenses of various kinds, but of the squandering of large sums of public money at the instigation of labor union, or even anarchistic, influences to relieve Mooney of the penalties of a crime of which he was convicted on evidence which the Supreme Court of California has found to be without legal defect. Mr. Blanton's resolution covers these money-squandering charges. It demands itemized accounts of Mr. Densmore's disbursements in connection with his investigations and the authority therefor. It demands, furthermore, an itemized accounting with respect to any other agent of the Department of Labor in connection with the Mooney case since the latter's death sentence was commuted to life imprisonment.

The Mooney case has become more or less a public nuisance. It has been made the basis of nation-wide strike threats, and it has been made the basis of threats against the lives of Americans in Russia—threats made by Mooney's personal friend, Trotzky, the red-handed anarchist assassin at the head of the mob of madmen who so long have been wrecking Russia.

If our Department of Labor has been improperly active in this Mooney propaganda we want to know the fact. If Secretary Wilson is "devoting much time" to the Mooney case, as he is reported as saying to the Federation of Labor that he was, we want to know under what authority he is so doing. If, as Mr. Blanton said, while we are spending money to detect, convict and send anarchists to jail, a Department of the Government is spending money to get convicted anarchists out of jail, we want to know that also.

The Mooney case and the Administration's mysterious activities in connection therewith are in need of a thorough ventilation. And that ventilation it seems probable they at last are going to get.

The Week

WASHINGTON, July 2, 1919.

THERE was once a man, the poet tells us, who when asked to sign an objectionable instrument, cried:

"Sign? If a seraph shouted from the sun

And bade me sign . . .

I would anathematize him! I will not sign!"

And with his life he paid the penalty for not signing. But Becket was not a Hun. The modern method of the modern Hun is to refuse to sign, again and again, until his antagonists are weakly frightened into making him all possible concessions; and then to sign with tongue in cheek and lie on lip, inwardly—and outwardly, too—saying, "It's nothing but a scrap of paper, anyway!"

Thus *Vorwaerts*, the great Democratic Socialist organ, declares that "This peace is worthless, because the German people will never believe in it. It will last only so long as the balance of power remains the same as that which dictated it." So the *Deutsche Zeitung*, organ of the Pan-Germans, says that "In restless labor the German people will again strive to attain that place among the nations of the world to which it is entitled. Then, vengeance for the disgrace of 1919!" Also the *Tageblatt*, one of the foremost organs of German opinion: "The German people reject the treaty and do not believe for a single moment that it will endure. . . . It remains a 'scrap of paper.'"

Add to these expressions, which stand unchallenged and unrebuked, the fact that no important statesman of Germany was willing to be a signer of the treaty, and we can estimate fairly the real attitude and purpose of the German people. It would be folly of criminal proportions to blind ourselves to the fact. Germany has signed the treaty; though she declared that she would not. She does not intend to keep the treaty any longer than she can help; though her Prime Minister says she does. That is the "condition, not a theory, which confronts us." It makes plain the prudent duty of this nation. "Trust in God—not in Huns' promises—and keep your powder dry."

It is presumably all right for anybody "acting in his own name and by his own proper authority" to affix after his signature his own personal, individual and private seal. Yet there are those old-fashioned enough to think that when a man signs a great state document purely by virtue of the authority delegated to him by the nation and not in the slightest degree through any inherent right of his own, it would be more appropriate for the seal to be typical of the nation and not of the individual.

The refusal of China to sign the Treaty of Peace was not unexpected, and is easily to be defended on grounds which the makers of the Treaty, especially of the Covenant of the League of Nations, should readily appreciate and which they should not be able to avoid respecting. Opinions may differ as to the ultimate expediency or equity of the arrangement which has been made in the Treaty concerning China and Japan. There is no ground for difference as to its flat and flagrant violation of the fundamental principles of the Cov-

enant. It will be interesting now to see what happens to China. We have been told that for the United States to refuse to accept some parts, even, of the Treaty would infallibly plunge us into all sorts of embarrassments and woes. China has rejected the whole thing. To what consequent pains and penalties will she be subjected? Of course, being in the condition of unpreparedness in which the President and his pacifist entourage would once have liked this country to be kept, China would not be able effectively to resist any pressure which the Big Five should put upon her. Yet we should doubt if even President Wilson would sanction extreme measures against a country whose only fault was that she wanted to be "free to make her own life without interruption or disturbance from any other quarter"—as President Wilson once said the United States desired to be and to do.

President Poincaré renders a valuable service in calling attention to the treachery of Germany in planning war against Poland at the very moment when she is signing the Treaty by which she pledges herself to recognition of the integrity of that country. The specious declaration of the Huns that their central Government will take no action against Poland is, of course, sheer camouflage. That Government may indeed keep its hands off. But it does not promise to restrain its state of Prussia from waging both secret and open war against Poland. Nobody supposed that Lippe-Detmold was going to make the attack.

The President just before leaving France for home—we had almost said, leaving home for the United States—made it known that he was absolutely committed to the formation of a new Triple Alliance, of America, Great Britain and France, for the purpose of affording France protection from Germany. Yet early in his European experiences and excursions he came close to an open breach with M. Clemenceau because that statesman hinted that France would continue to look to some such alliance for security, and thus in the President's shocked opinion uttered blasphemy against the League of Nations. Does the President think the League of Nations would be sufficient for France's protection? Then it is regrettable that he should thus discredit it by assenting to this proposed arrangement in open violation of the spirit if not of the letter of its Covenant. Does he think this tripartite treaty necessary? Then he repudiates the validity and efficiency of his own League of Nations. Moreover, according to the Covenant, this Triple Alliance Treaty if made would have to be submitted to the League for its approval. Is the President quite cocksure that the League would approve such a Treaty, diametrically opposed to its own basic principles? Would it give it unanimous approval after Germany had been admitted?

Senator Johnson, of California, in his powerful speech of Saturday night, declared that the clause in the Covenant of the League of Nations referring to the Monroe Doctrine "could not have been written with any other purpose than the destruction of the Doctrine." We do not profess ability always to discern motives. It may be that the author of that

clause had in mind nothing more than a desire to demonstrate that two and two make five and a half. But of this we are quite certain, with Senator Johnson, that if anybody had wished to write something the adoption of which would infallibly destroy the Monroe Doctrine, he could not have done so more effectively or more perfectly than was done in that clause of the Covenant.

Bethmann-Hollweg is surely the finest survival of mediaevalism the world contains. In old times every prince or nobleman's son had in his train at school or elsewhere a "flogging boy" whose function it was to be his vicarious substitute in the metaphorical woodshed. Whenever the budding sprig of nobility did something for which he jolly well deserved to be birched, the "flogging boy" got it in his place. Now, seeing that his old schoolmate William Hohenzollern is in danger of being led into the international woodshed, Bethmann-Hollweg reminds us that he is the official "flogging boy" of the All Highest, and insists upon the precious privilege of suffering in his revered sovereign's stead. How almost infinitely funnier fact is than fiction! And what a pity of pities it is that William S. Gilbert is not still living to give us one more and consummately crowning Savoy Opera on "The Flogging-Boy of Potsdam."

There is a significance which should not be overlooked in the time at which our craze for sumptuary despotism has become dominant. At first sight there might not seem to be any close relation between Prussianism and Prohibition. As a matter of fact they are close spiritual kin. Your Hohenzollern autocrat wants to impose his notions, his principles, his rule, upon other men. It is not so much that he wants to rule subjectively; no doubt the task often bores and wearies him. But he wants to rule objectively; he wants to make others bow to his will and do as he wants them to do. That is the source of his delight. So your Perfect Prohibitionist cares nothing for abstinence from wine-drinking in itself. Indeed, he might even enjoy a nip of good liquor now and then himself. What he does care for is the blessed boon of meddling in other people's business and being able to make others do as he wants them to. And the more personal and intimate the affairs in which he meddles, the greater is his joy. It is precisely the same spirit in both cases. The significant coincidence is that just as the Hohenzollern despotism gets smashed, the Prohibition despotism becomes triumphant. Thus does history repeat itself. When China went in for prohibition of alcoholic drinks, she instantly took up opium smoking and eating; and her last state was worse than her first. We get rid of the tyrant over states, and enthrone the tyrant over the dining-table.

Judge Wadhams of New York is not the official custodian of the honor of the United States Army uniform—more's the pity!—but he has been able indirectly to resent the filthy outrages which the Prurient Prowlers of that city have been perpetrating upon it. His caustic criticisms of the conduct of the decoy ducks of the police are worthy of all commendation, and should be taken to heart in every police station and magistrate's court not only in that city but in all the

land. The creature who dons the uniform of noble service in order to gain the confidence of some unprotected women, and then tries to tempt or to compel her into yielding to vile suggestions in order that he may then have her arrested for wantonness, acts, as Judge Wadhams well says, immeasurably more indecently than it would be possible for his victim to act even if she were the creature he tries to make her. The uniform of a United States soldier has hitherto been the livery of the noblest of services, the service of freedom and humanity. Does the War Department intend to let it be made the badge of the pimp and blackmailer? If so, it had better quit trying to get decent men to enlist in the army. Clean-minded men do not care to be mistaken for police spies and professional panders.

The sapient Secretary of State of the State of New York remarks that reckless automobilists are killing too many people on the public highways. We should be interested to know just how many people they ought to kill. There is, of course, the classic example of the Indian chief who, when remonstrated with for imbibing too much firewater, sententiously declared, "Heap too much just enough!" We should be inclined to adapt the converse of his apothegm to the murders of the motorists and say that even one killing is too much.

The Hon. James R. Nugent's entry into the field as a Democratic candidate for Governor of New Jersey is timely, with a former Democratic Governor of that commonwealth speeding home on the good ship *I. W. W.*, just in time to take a yeoman's part in the campaign. We recall that some years ago one eminent New Jersey statesman in a public toast characterized another as somewhat deficient in veracity and gratitude, but—"should so great wrath dwell in celestial minds?"

Poor "Tino," ex-King of the Hellenes! When he was actually King he got \$400,000 a year. After his abdication the Greek Government graciously granted him \$100,000 a year for a time, until he could look about and get another job. After that bounty ceased, brother-in-law William Hohenzollern helped him out with a subsidy. But now even that has been cut off by the All-Highest wood sawyer of Amerongen, and Her ex-Majesty Sophia has serious difficulty in collecting her rents from her properties in Germany. So on the whole the ex-Hellenic couple are having an awkward time. And to think, too, of that old prophecy that when a King Constantine and a Queen Sophia came to the throne of Greece, all the power and splendor of the Byzantine Empire would be restored! Oh, for another Daudet, to write another "Rois en Exil!"

The President will not be with us on the Fourth of July. That is a pity. It might have had a beneficent effect upon him to be again reminded that this is a free and independent nation, and that as such it has full power to do all things which independent States may of right do. Perhaps he might have been brought to a realization of the inflexible purpose of this nation to maintain that independent status unimpaired.

A Bank and Burleson

THAT Walking Encyclopedia of Applied Incapacities, the Politicalmaster-General, has been practicing in a new field his remarkable gifts for economising. In order to cut down space payments in railroad mail cars, he has been intercepting at Cleveland through mail from New York to Chicago, shifting it to an airplane, and forwarding it in that way to its destination.

On the 24th of May last the Harriman National Bank, of New York, mailed to three of its Chicago banking correspondents cash collection items totalling something over \$63,000. The sacks containing these valuables were transferred at Cleveland to an airplane, the airplane was burned up in transit, its pilot killed and the Harriman Bank valuables destroyed.

On June 12 Mr. J. W. Harriman, President of the New York Bank, telegraphed to the Politicalmaster General as follows:

On May 24 our mail to Chicago, containing cash collection items aggregating \$63,000 odd, was not received by our corresponding banks, and has presumably been lost or destroyed in the mail. Inasmuch as we are credibly informed that the mail of several large New York banks was destroyed in an airplane accident en route from New York to Chicago on or about the same time, please advise if any New York mail was carried by the said wrecked airplane. A prompt answer will oblige.

Of course a prompt answer will oblige. It always will. But in the right lexicon of Mail Service definitions there is no such word as "prompt." Besides, "prompt" is a relative term, anyway. If promptness were at all admissible under Politicalmaster-General management, a reply to an urgent telegram within a month or six weeks would measure up to Burlesonian standards of breathless haste. Mr. Harriman did in course of time receive certain befogged communications from the Post Office Department, all of which left the mystery of the vanished valuables as mysterious as ever. He has finally had to resort to the compulsory force of a resolution in the House of Representatives to extract the desired information.

Mr. Harriman wants to know by what authority the Post Office Department exposes bank mail to the hazard of experiments in air transportation without the consent of the senders of the mail expressed by the attachment of the proper airplane postage stamps. He wants to know why, in case of loss through these experiments, such loss is not reported so that banks may have an opportunity to protest. In a letter addressed to the Post Office Department, he specifically charged that that Department "lends itself to experiments with valuable mail, and, when accidents occur, endeavors to hide the performance and give misleading accounts of losses."

This aroused the Politicalmaster-General to a reply through the newspapers. He denied that his Department made an effort to conceal losses, and the entire disassociation in the public mind of the Post Office Department with effort of any kind whatever in connection with mail delivery will tend to support this particular Burlesonian contention. Mr. Burleson also defends his airship mail service between Cleveland and Chicago on the ground of greater security than rail service. He draws attention to the fact

that within the last five months 35 mail cars have caught fire, to one airplane. To be sure, there are a thousand or so mailcars in service to one airplane. However, that is a detail.

But on the score of economy, which is Mr. Burleson's specialty and in his devotion to which he has resolutely wrecked the mail service of the entire country, he sounds a triumphant note. The mail air service between Cleveland and Chicago alone, he says, has saved \$32,000.

He did not mention the fact, but it none the less is the fact, that this \$32,000 economy covers more than half of the amount represented by the Harriman Bank's burned up letters. And yet Mr. Harriman complains!

Mutiny in the Marine Corps

MUTINY in the United States Marine Corps in Hayti is the latest and most startling development in a quarter where things have been going from bad to worse ever since President Wilson departed for Europe, last December. A highly effective censorship has kept the facts from the public. Doubtless the Administration, or so much of it as has remained in the United States, has felt that it would be highly embarrassing to Mr. Wilson to have it known in Paris that, while he battled for universal peace and the rights of small nations, American troops were shooting down Haytians at the rate of ten or more a day. But that is the fact.

Perhaps it was the European sight-seeing tour of the Hon. Josephus Daniels, popularly known in the Marine Corps as "the Gem of the Ocean," which should be held responsible for the complete disorganization of that corps in Hayti which has now culminated in the mutiny of twenty-seven men, accompanied by wholesale defiance of their officers and the jail delivery of one of their number. But whatever may be the cause, the fact remains that the marine corps, or at least that part of it which is assigned to the task of making the world safe for Democracy by shooting all Haytians who seriously object to the Wilsonian dictatorship, is thoroughly disorganized, so much so that it has now stained the fair record of the corps with a more extensive mutiny than has ever before been known in any branch of the military establishment of the United States.

Probably this unfortunate occurrence will be belittled or denied, as is the custom with any untoward event which the generally effective censorship fails to conceal from the public, but the fact remains, as any inquirer with sufficient enterprise and courage enough to oppose the Administration may easily ascertain.

When President Wilson completes his task of rearranging the map of Europe and dictating the forms of government to be enjoyed by the lesser Powers of the near East and the Holy Land, he will find abundant material for his good offices on this side of the Atlantic, and Mexico will not be the only matter which calls loudly for his personal attention. A marine corps which is setting to the Haytians the noble example of mutiny in its own ranks may be deemed worthy of some slight consideration.

Acquitted

A LETTER plainly addressed to the "Hon. Willis L. Moore, Moorland Farm, Rockville, Maryland," was twenty-four days in traveling from the City of New York to its destination. We do not mention the matter because it is at all extraordinary. Back in the days when we had a mail service, to be sure, twenty-four hours would have been ample time for carrying a letter from New York city to almost anywhere in Maryland. In these days of our Burlesonian mail service, however, twenty-four days for delivery of a letter from New York to a Maryland address can hardly be considered exceptional. In fact, the circumstance that Mr. Moore received at any time during the present summer a letter mailed in New York in the middle of April might fairly be regarded as in the nature of a Burleson triumph.

But in this particular case it is suggested that the deliberate roamings and tarryings here, there, and the other place of Mr. Moore's letter have a significance of their own. It is even hinted that it raises a question as to whether there may not have been something besides standard Burleson inefficiency at work in the delivery en route of this letter to Mr. Moore. He was booked to speak at a meeting in Norfolk, Va., in the interests of the League for the Preservation of American Independence, of which Mr. Henry Watterson is President and which has, among its other objects, the defeat of President Wilson's efforts to hand over the control of the United States to an International Board of Foreign Supervisors in which we are outvoted five or six to one by the delegates of one nation alone. To the Burleson mind an effort to defeat this Wilson plan would verge, naturally, upon *lèse majesté*, if not actual high treason itself.

By the failure of the letter in question to reach Mr. Moore within a week of the time it was mailed, the arrangements for his speech at Norfolk might have been defeated. In fact they would have been defeated but for the curious circumstance that a telegram somehow got over the Burlesoned wires within a week after it was sent.

The correspondent who furnishes us with these facts is plainly suspicious that Administration influences were back of the letter's delay. These suspicions we do not share. They might perhaps be well founded had we a mail service. But, with the Burleson Service, we fail to see anything whatever that is abnormal in the twenty-four day transit of a letter from New York to Maryland. We are free to say that on the ground alone of his proven hopeless incapacity, we are constrained to acquit Burleson.

Pretty Slow Railroading

ANNOUNCEMENT is made that "work is about to begin" on the legislation which is to provide for the future ownership, control and operation of the railroads of the United States; by common consent one of the most important economic problems which confront this nation.

Which reminds us—

About seven months ago, at the beginning of December,

1918, in the course of his jocund and confident "au revoir but not good-bye" to Congress and to the nation whose chief executive he was supposed to be, the President committed this identical problem to Congress, with the confession that he did not know how it was best to be solved and with the earnest recommendation that Congress should devote to it promptly its very best thought. He indicated, in fact, that he considered it just about the greatest and most urgent task before that body.

That was his own hand-picked Congress, always ready to say "Thumbs up!" when he said so. But it did not comply with his request, or carry out his suggestion, or obey his command, or whatever you may call it. It left the whole business unfinished, neglected.

Urgent as the President regarded the matter, he would not let the new Congress have a chance to consider it for a long, long time. And when at last he did summon that body in special session, he remained three thousand miles away from it, and reminded it of that fact and of the consequent fact that he really did not know just what was going on here and what needed to be done, and was therefore quite incapable of giving it that information of the state of the Union and those recommendations of things necessary to be done which the Constitution makes it his duty to give. (We mean the Constitution of the United States, not of the League of Nations. He would scarcely so slight the latter!)

So now, with Congress in session and eager to take up the railroad problem and dispose of it with the expedition which it has shown in dealing with other hang-overs from the former Congress, what do we see? The committee which has the matter in charge is compelled to await the return of the President, in order that it may confer with him upon the subject.

The prospect is that when he gets here instead of settling down to business in Washington he will go "swinging round the circle" with his denationalizing propaganda, so that Congress will have to wait yet other weeks before it can begin work on what the President himself seven months ago described as a most urgent piece of business.

That is why it is now intimated that a railroad bill may be ready for action by Congress some time next Fall. Meantime, of course, millions of dollars of deficit are being created for the American people to meet by paying a cent tax on every nickel's worth of soda water they drink.

Truly, there would be some advantage in having the "real throne of administration" at Washington instead of three thousand miles away.

No matter if it takes three days to get a letter delivered at a distance of three city blocks; and if the department declines to pay the insurance on lost parcels-post packages on the ground that it has run out of funds for that purpose. What do such trifles matter? The Politicalmaster-General is able to report \$17,000,000 clear profit for the fiscal year 1918. Maybe if he destroyed all the mail instead of delivering it he would be able to report profits of \$17,000,000.01. The aim and object of his department is, of course, to make money and not to serve the public.

The Monument, Mr. Borglum, and Mr. Ferris

SIR,—I trust I may have the privilege of hereby belatedly expressing my "informed approval" of your proposal to repeat in France, as a memorial, the Washington Monument; and, at the same time, reply to the letter of Gutzon Borglum, printed in HARVEY'S WEEKLY of June 7th.

Doubtless we are indebted to Mr. Borglum for prodding us into a defense of our instant acceptance of your altogether adequate proposition:—an adequacy so satisfying that there was nothing more to be said. Mr. Borglum, however, thinks otherwise, and his challenge needs and merits an answer, as his attitude is not unusual among workers in art.

Mr. Borglum opens his criticism with a reference to the "beautiful borrowed Egyptian needle." I object to that insidious and envious term "borrowed"; and suggest as a substitute the word "recognized," as the correct term. For we do not *borrow* the art of Shakespeare, of Verdi, of Michel-Angelo, when we reproduce it again and again.

Mr. Borglum negatives his own contention in admitting that the needle is "chaste enough—coming from so wanton an age"; he seems to miss the realization that the idea did not spring from the "age," but from the artist, from and for all ages. He says further, "It in no way expresses what must be expressed." True enough:—and nothing artful can express it, a

fact appreciated by the Egyptian artist who designed the obelisk, and in its artless form gave a new grandeur to the thought of men.

Again, Mr. Borglum bewails, "*It is not ours.*" This is a pitifully narrow view. *All art is ours*—once we apprehend it. And the Washington Monument is ours beyond all cavil in its *dimensions*. The obelisk in Egypt never exceeded a height of 106 feet. The Washington Monument ascends to 555 feet, and one has only to look at it *with understanding* to perceive that it is no longer Egyptian but eminently American.

Mr. Borglum objects that it is not a "work" of art. It is indeed far more: it is the symbol of art itself—the clear, clean reaching upward, outward, from the torturing bonds of the finite unto the boundless Infinite. That impulse is not "national"—not Egyptian, nor Grecian, nor American: it is Human; as universal as man himself.

And the unleashed spirits of these boys who "sleep in Flanders fields," so long as they shall hold sympathy with us who only wait a little before joining them in the wider understanding of the things that remain, will not fail to hear anew the broken chord of the steadfastness of our striving, as we repeat again in our own voice the cry of the aspiring Egyptian.

New York City.

RICHARD FERRIS.

A Few of This Week's Letters

MONUMENT VS. HOSPITAL

SIR,—One of your correspondents suggests the establishment of a hospital in France as a memorial to the American soldiers. Hospitals are good everywhere but there are cases when the reverential imagination is more nobly stirred and satisfied through successive centuries by a work of art than by one of utility. A hospital as a memorial to Edith Cavell would satisfy the heart and bring tears to every eye. But your instinct is correct. The movement of our Republic towards its unprecedented action, and the supreme sacrifice made by young Americans on soil foreign to their own—all the exalted impulse and all the triumphant sorrow involved can be rightly commemorated by an artistic monument which will typify the best of our national life as a whole. It will glorify the dead boys who lie silent forever around its base and it will also tenderly remind the coming ages that the boy Lafayette loved greatly the man George Washington.

LILLIE BUFFUM CHACE WYMAN.

Newtonville, Mass.

DESERVED RECOGNITION.

SIR,—I want to give the stamp of my heartiest approval to this laudable American ambition, and I salute you as the originator of this deserved recognition of our splendid boys. And I further suggest that you take charge of the fund and dispense the money, when it has been properly raised, in the way intended through a committee say of five, you constituting the chairman, and naming four, to carry out the plan in full, contract for the Monument and make payments, secure the receipts and furnish the business administration to this work.

Shreveport, La.

J. B. ARDIS.

OFFERS HIS NEWSPAPER.

SIR,—I am heartily in favor of a Washington Monument for France. I will make a contribution myself, as well as give space in my newspaper for soliciting contributions from others. May your circulation increase by the hundreds!

Parker, Kans.

H. C. GRESHAM,
Editor *The Message*.

The Monument—Where?

I. CANTIGNY.

II. CHATEAU-THIERRY.

III. MEUSE-ARGONNE.

IV. BELLEAU WOOD.

V. ST. MIHIEL.

What Is Your Choice?

Newspaper Endorsements

THE IDEAL MEMORIAL.

Communities all over the country are casting about for some suitable memorial to perpetuate the memory of their heroes who died in Europe. There are suggestions galore and ere many months we will see this country dotted with buildings and shafts, or roads, or parks dedicated to our fallen dead. In the meantime, however, Col. George Harvey has suggested the ideal memorial to be given to France. Sentiment would of course be at the bottom of this tribute, but it would also be a warning of the might and power of our great country in defense of the oppressed. Standing as a tribute to those who died in the cause of justice it would exemplify also the willingness of the two great republics, separated by the Atlantic ocean, to give help one to the other in times of stress. It would be an emblem of freedom that the whole world would be bound to respect. If we would honor the last resting place of our men who fell defending noble France in her battle for eternal liberty, the Washington Monument memorial would be most fitting.

—Boone (Iowa) *News-Republican*.

KANSAS CITY STAR APPROVES.

It is a happy suggestion. The Washington Monument is a splendid piece of work. No one who has seen it looming through the mist, or who has watched the play of sun upon it on a brilliant day, or who has caught a glimpse of its lofty summit in the rays of searchlights at night, can fail to carry the picture in his memory.

France sent to America the Statue of Liberty Enlightening the World. It would only be a gracious act for America to erect in France a reproduction of the noble monument at Washington.

—Kansas City Star.

PATRIOTS WILL CO-OPERATE

It is a sensible and practical idea. An exact reproduction of the stately granite shaft in Washington would be an inspiring and impressive memorial to these brave young Americans, and the project is entirely feasible. The patriotic newspapers of the country would be willing to co-operate in the project. Surely every person who has seen the beautiful monument at our National capital will agree that a more fitting memorial could hardly be considered.—Wakefield Daily Item.

ONE HUNDRED PER CENT AMERICAN

We are glad to heartily endorse this project, and may we not express the hope that it may be carried to a successful consummation in the near future? Just a twin thought additional: Firstly: If this is to be done let it be begun quickly and finished promptly—not lagging along the next quarter century. Secondly: Let the memorial be built with one hundred per cent American money. Not a dollar, dime, nickle or cent from any but full citizens of the United States of America. Not a cent of pro-German or pro-Austrian, or pro-Russian coin, no matter who he be that proffers it.—Peekskill (N. Y.) Democrat.

Letters from Our Readers

A VULGAR ERROR CORRECTED

SIR,—It is a matter of regret that you fall into the vulgar and superficial error of classing the greatest President of this once independent nation as a shallow vacillator, a harmless idealist, and an egotistical international intermeddler. You judge of the man by surface indications only.

It is true that in his expressed views Mr. Wilson has, within a short period, given utterance to diametrically opposite views, but that is not apodictic proof that he has departed a single second from a definite course which has been the dream and purpose of his life. Mr. Wilson is a true, practical idealist, as he is a man of one set unchanging idea to which he has devoted his whole life. He is no mere impractical dreamer of Utopian ideals. He is a solidly practical hard-headed Presbyterian person with a purpose as inexorable in its pre-destination as the decrees of fate, and as to practicality, he could give pointers to the macaronian philosopher who wrote *Il Principe*.

Mr. Wilson knows his American people. He knows their generous impulses, their stark honesty, their utter candor. So, to win their good opinion, he lays down, to begin with, ethical and political maxims which he is sure they will accept as axioms. Subsequently, with exquisite Socratic subtlety, he leads away from the original argument, adapting his phrases to the changing mind of his people, which alters with events moulded by the astute hand of the shrewdest and cleverest political strategist that ever altered the destinies of a free people. Mr. Wilson's own purpose, however, has remained as unchanging as the face of the Sphinx (to which he betrays a remarkable family resemblance).

In an interview printed in *The New York Times* the Sunday after the armistice was signed, General Pétain is quoted as saying that, before Mr. Wilson's second campaign was begun, Colonel House gave the French the inspired assurance: "We shall be with you in the war as soon as the President can lead the people up to the point." This occurred before the illustrated campaign posters appeared in the West showing how "He kept us out of war," and before he cleverly asked the Allies what they were fighting for.

Mr. Wilson is well schooled on the American Constitution. He wrote illuminatingly upon it, especially upon how easily it may be circumvented and stultified, and years ago, before anybody else ever dreamed of him as President, he pointed out that, while article 1, section 8, paragraph 11, declared the making of war a prerogative of Congress, a clever President could easily of his own act bring about a condition which would make war inevitable. And it was so. And it came to pass likewise.

The stupid Prussian was cleverly beguiled into believing we were weak and timid. Had a stern front and a mailed fist been shown to the brutal bully, he would, in bully-fashion, have backed down forthwith. On the contrary, he was deliberately encouraged to believe us a race of vacillating weaklings, when definite conditions were named to him the violation of which inevitably meant war, fully in accordance with the President's pre-Presidential prescription. By abundant precedents, however, the Junkers were justified in believing these conditions might be violated with impunity, as we were too proud to fight. And so the Prussian stepped unsuspectingly into the bear-trap. And again, was a more brilliant Macchiavelian coup ever executed than the second trapping of the Teuton into an armistice with the bait of the Fourteen Points, which, as soon as the sympathetic ink was dry on the document, began forthwith to disappear till, like Alice's Cheshire cat, there was nothing left but a grin?

New York City.

READER.

"DISTINGUISHED SERVICE"

SIR,—I was greatly interested in reading your article headed, "Mr. Hurley's Services," published in a recent issue of your WEEKLY.

The parallel you draw in reference to the "thousands of American boys whose bodies lie undecorated under the soil of France," is a masterpiece.

What has our country come to? Is it possible the "powers that be" have become so calloused that they are entirely void of all sentiment and decency? Would they nullify the heroic deeds performed by those American boys, many of whom died in their effort to win the Distinguished Service Medal?

I have two brothers who fought side by side through the Ar-

gonne Forest, either of whom would gladly have given his life to win this coveted honor.

To think of awarding this priceless honor to such men as Hurley and other hypocritical publicity seekers of that kind! I happen to know some of the true facts about Hurley and his "gang" in the Shipping Board.

On March 29th, 1919, I wrote to my brother, Philip Manson, who was then in Europe, a letter of which the following is an extract:

You will note clipping that Pershing has awarded the Distinguished Service Cross to Hurley and others. To think of commercializing this priceless treasure. Thousands of doughboys gave their lives in a vain attempt to win the D. S. C. Perhaps it is only camouflage in an attempt to cover up the big wastes and squanderings of the Shipping Board and its head. However, the people of this country will sooner or later wake up.

Surely our minds are one as to the injustice done to those who, on the battlefield, have earned this coveted honor.

Thank God, we have one fearless Editor who dares to expose the incompetency of Hurley and those organized with him to mulct the American people of the glory due to those who have given their all.

Rochester, N. Y.

M. MANSON.

ARE THERE OTHERS?

SIR,—Those who have read *Edwin Drood* will remember how Dickens presented one of his famous characters, Mr. Luke Honeythunder, and they will enjoy what is said of him in *The Pageant of Dickens*, by Walter Crotch, an eminent Dickensian of the present day, in the chapter on philanthropists.

Mr. Crotch devotes two pages to Mr. Honeythunder; but the following quotations are enough for the present purpose:

"Like the gentle and neat Mrs. Crisparkle, we need all our sense of humor to remain tolerant and happy in his presence, so intoxicated is he by the sense of his own personality and the exuberance of his own verbosity."

"We are suffocated in the atmosphere of his monstrous loquacity and ineffable cocksureness."

"He spreads himself with aggressive self-assertiveness and self-complacency."

"Honeythunder is, in fine, the incarnation of the intoxicated self-will and the desire for absolute power, forgetful quite of the limiting presence of all other humans; he is the real and vivid presentation of the unconscionable egoist whose watch-words are 'altruism' and the 'service' of others."

Something of a philanthropist was Luke Honeythunder in his day! "May I not" inquire whether his kind is extinct?

Chicago, Ill.

H. I. H.

LOST AFFECTION

SIR,—A few months ago, America had the love of France, England, Belgium, and Italy; the admiration and respect of the entire world; now, this dear country of ours, without the slightest chance of legal expression of her opinion, as provided for in our Constitution, has lost much.

Regardless of the merits or demerits of Italy's or of China's claim, it is no affair of our own; and if it were, wouldn't the American people like to express themselves and not be expressed by any one man?

Millions of loyal Americans, no doubt, would, if they had an opportunity, sign a petition to the Government to take advantage of this disastrous experience to amend our Constitution (air-tight) to provide that the President shall stay at home to attend to American affairs only.

Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

WHO HAS THESE?

SIR,—Can any of your readers supply Nos. 12, 15, 16, 17, 21, 26, and 27 of the WEEKLY? I have a good many duplicate numbers which I would gladly exchange for those needed to complete my volume. I appreciate the WEEKLY and the splendid work Colonel Harvey is doing, and I want a complete record.

New York City.

JOSEPHINE R. SWIFT.

CONCERNING A BUDGET

SIR,—As you have noticed, most encouraging headway is being made in respect to the national budget. In fact, the present prospect is that we shall suffer rather from an embarrassment of proposals by the majority rather than from opposition or indifference.

It has occurred to me that possibly your attention has not heretofore been called to the fact that there is any danger of cross-currents within the majority making for "offside-play" and delay.

I have thought that possibly you might be interested in reminding Congress that getting a proper budget bill is more important than giving credit to any one introducer. Chairman Good's bill takes one and the most important step admirably: namely, it places squarely upon the President responsibility for the way in which the various departments prepare their estimates and for a central executive review and final preparation of all estimates.

The provision for giving the Comptroller General a permanent tenure seems an unnecessary risk. Perpetual tenure subject only to charges of malfeasance and misconduct has not been very successful. We are hoping that Mr. Good will substitute a limited term.

Another important change seems very small to most people, yet is really fundamental—namely, the provision in the bill that instead of the President submitting the budget estimates as he is now doing and as he wishes, he and his staff should submit estimates so set up that, in separate columns, the increases to old services and the additions to new services shall stand off by themselves unescapably. If this is not done, those with whom estimates initiate will not study and explain properly what they propose.

If these items are shown unmistakably, then those who initiate estimates will be careful of what they put in, and the Congressional committees will spend their time studying proposed changes.

WM. H. ALLEN.

New York City.

DEPRIVING THE NAVY

SIR,—When my subscription expired to HARVEY'S WEEKLY, I did not renew it, *not* because I am not heartily in accord with the work you are trying to do, and doing so well, but for and on account of an entirely different reason.

When our Convict-hiring "Politicalmaster-General" wipes whole towns off the map, eliminates cities with one sweep of the pen, does away with business concerns that have been in existence for a quarter-century, what chance has a man in the Service of getting any first-class mail, let alone a magazine, and particularly a weekly that so persistently hammers the crowd of parlor bolsheviks of which Wilson is the leader, and who so fondly nestle under his wings?

At best, I managed to get on an average one issue out of three, and so I am compelled to depend upon the corner newsstand while I am in port, and upon a good friend for the other issues.

When the time comes that I have a permanent address, and when we have a real man at the head of the P. O., then I shall gladly come back to the fold.

In the meantime, go to it! And keep at it everlastingly! Let us all help to drive the lot of sycophant nobodies so fast out of Washington that they will not even remember that there is such a place, let alone the fact that they were ever there.

H. M. C.
(Lieut. M. C., U. S. N. R. F.)

U. S. S. Liberator.

MEREDITH AND WILSON

SIR,—In trying to reconcile the apparent mystification of the people in regard to the application and meaning of the arcane Fourteen Points with Mr. Wilson's otherwise astute political instinct, I chanced upon this paragraph in Meredith's Essay on Comedy, which may explain in a slight degree the reason for the intended equivocality of the mentioned conditions:

"The rupture of the link between dull people, consisting in the fraternal agreement that something is too clever for them, and a shot beyond them, is not to be thought of lightly; for, slender though the link may seem, it is equivalent to a cement forming a concrete of dense cohesion very desirable in the estimation of the statesman."

This observation applies as well to the other matters of Mr. Wilson's administration of the affairs of the country, as may be seen in the denial of the President's presence to the newsmen, as had been customary at the White House before 1916, and his isolation in a realm of mystery.

Guinea Mills, Va.

WILLIAM GAMALIEL SHEPARD.

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No. 28

“One Realm of Races Four”

THE British lion emitted a roar, not of accustomed defiance, but of uncontrollable merriment. The setting of the scene was the House of Commons. Premier David Lloyd George had returned from the famous conference in Paris laden with the spoils of war and of peace. No triumphant Cæsar entering Rome after a successful foray against the Huns was ever more loudly acclaimed by the populace than he. His friends were exultant. His enemies sought refuge in silence.

Again the mighty Empire had emerged from severest conflict victorious, united, expanded. Again she had reaped in full her harvest of rewards in return for her enormous sacrifices. Again her diplomacy had achieved results surpassing even those won by her incomparable navy and her splendid armies drawn from the uttermost parts of the earth. It was a day of rejoicing at the conclusion of four years of bitter strife and seven months of “matching of minds.”

The atmosphere of the historic chamber was laden with deep and conscious satisfaction. Sure of his country, of his party and of himself, the great little Welshman rose smilingly to submit to his peers a report of the notable achievements of himself and his colleagues. The preliminary applause was tumultuous, deafening,—and well it might have been. Britain was herself again, her reparation for injuries guaranteed, her arch enemy to be brought to the Tower of London to await his trial, her command of the seas assured, her dominions tested and found faithful, her influence in the East mightily increased, her control of Ireland unimpaired, her posses-

sion of Egypt confirmed, her territory increased by a million square miles, her ally in the Pacific strengthened by universally conceded domination over an added forty millions of helpless subjects, her control of the entire world through a super-State, if one should be created, made certain. Never in the history of mankind had victory cost so much, but never had victory been so complete and overwhelming.

All these marvels the Premier portrayed modestly, skilfully, adroitly. It was a time for rejoicing but not for boasting. Much yet remained to be done to tie fast the threads in the web of diplomatic triumph. No fly must be frightened away. All appreciated the delicacy of the situation and noted with admiration and gratification the deft and cautious phrasing of their most nimble and dexterous mind. Only once in their natural and fully warranted exuberance did they forget themselves. That was when the Premier first mentioned the proposed League of Nations. Then the strain proved too great. The impulse was irresistible. The lion roared with merriment. It was the joke of the season, and pent-up emotion would have its vent.

“Many of the members cheered,” reported the obsequious Associated Press, “but seemingly an equal number burst into laughter.”

“Nobody wants it!” shouted a member apparently insensible to humor.

It was a false note. The fun-loving Premier with obvious effort regained control of his features, in marked contrast with the sparkle of amusement in his eyes, and solemnly protested:

“I beg you to try it; I beg you to take it

seriously,"—and again, records the correspondent of the *Tribune*, "the House rocked with laughter."

The American correspondents refer to the episode as "significant," but unfortunately refrain from presenting their impressions of its real import. Our own humble conjecture is that it was a *faux pas* immediately regretted as likely to prove an irritant to our Peace Commission then upon the high seas but in constant touch with land by wireless. In any case, His Majesty George the Third—we mean the Fifth—promptly took quill in hand and before retiring for the night indited the following verses to be added to the British National anthem:

One realm of races four,
Blest more and ever more,
God save our land.
Home of the brave and free,
Set in the silver sea,
True nurse of chivalry,
God save our land.

Kinsfolk in love and birth,
From utmost ends of earth,
God save us all.
Bid strife and hatred cease,
Bid hope and joy increase,
Spread universal peace,
God save us all.

The "races four" thus heralded as having entered the realm are not specifically designated, but it is a reasonable assumption that Italy is the country left out either inadvertently or because "five" could not be induced to rhyme with "more" or, no less plausibly, because His Majesty felt that, in consequence of her recent disobedience, her inclusion might be regarded as an affront by our Peace Commission.

That the United States, or Colonies, or whatever hereafter they shall be called, are of the elect, we think there can be no question. The circumstantial evidence to that effect afforded by the fact that the new verses were royally promulgated on the Fourth of July would seem to be conclusive, but if further proof be required we should say that it can be found in the announcement of the *London Times* that their incorporation is only "tentative,"—that is, presumably, held in abeyance awaiting ratification of submission by the Senate.

The lines had their initial rendition in St. Paul's Cathedral at the Thanksgiving services on Sunday. That they were rendered simultaneously on the *George Washington* would be a natural supposition but for the unofficial report that only a jazz band, ill adapted to hymnal purposes, was on the yacht.

Be that as it may, the reason for the country's disappointment at receiving no Independence

Day greeting from the floating White House seems to be quite clear. Obviously under the circumstances the promulgation of such a message at such a time would have been tactless to a degree and might easily have reacted unfavorably upon the sensibilities of our gracious host and hostess of Buckingham Palace.

Well, there is one thing about it: We would rather live under the Union Jack than under a polyarchic flag. We should know at least what to expect. And the new all-embracing verses are not bad. We had no idea His Majesty possessed a talent so closely approaching in excellence his unflinching tact. For accuracy's sake we might prefer "Chinee" to "and free" in the fourth line of the first verse, but we shall be only too glad to have the Almighty save us from Turkey and Armenia and other "utmost ends of the earth." There is no longer need, of course, to "save our King." Both he and his great and glorious nation are fully and forever protected by the Treaty, to say nothing of the precious League which they required for trading purposes only in the matching of minds and now, through the revelation afforded by their chuckling Parliament, show that they have about as much further use for as a real lion has for a toy balloon.

As in duty bound, we have already committed the beautiful words to memory, and we hereby enjoin and implore all Senators of the United States to do likewise before they rise in their honored places on Thursday of the present week to celebrate in song the Return of the Prodigal President. Now, all together:

"GOD SAVE OUR LAND!"

The Philadelphia *Press* hits the nail squarely on the head when it says:

If the President thinks that all that he has to do is to make a series of speeches in which he is glorify the League idea, he is not in touch with conditions here. What he must face is the sentiment both in the Senate and in the country that such reservations are needed to protect American rights. He must face strong arguments in favor of this necessity.

He must not only "face" the arguments; he must controvert them successfully. It is one of the significant oddities of the situation that his apologists have not even tried to do this. The *Times*, for example, sternly advocates acceptance of the League because of fear that its rejection would wreck the Republican party, and the *World* sharply restricts its arguments to demonstration of the incontestable proposition that Henry Cabot Lodge is a partisan, while Senator Hithcock flounders about helplessly in a morass of contradictions and Mr. Taft merely presents daily an excellent imitation of a whale addicted to the use of bicarbonate of soda. If Mr. Wilson has something concrete to offer in defense of his proposals we shall be glad to hear it, but it is only fair to notify him that the country has had its fill of slush.

The New Triple Alliance

NOW this is the story of the new Triple Alliance:

The Prime Minister of France, speaking in the Chamber of Deputies in December last, said:

There is an old system of alliances called the "balance of power." It seems to be condemned now-a-days; but if such a balance had preceded the war—if England, the United States, France and Italy, say, had agreed that whoever attacked one of them attacked the whole, the war would not have occurred. The system of alliances, which I do not renounce, will be my guiding thought at the Peace Conference.

The President of the United States replied, promptly and directly, at Manchester, saying:

If the future had nothing for us but a new attempt to keep the world at a right poise by a balance of power, the United States would take no interest in it; because *she will join no combination of Powers which is not a combination of all of us.*

In addition to this challenge to M. Clemenceau, the President also said:

There can be no alliances or leagues or special understandings within the general or common family of the League.

Despite these particularly explicit and positive declarations to the effect that the United States would enter no combination of Powers save a universal league of nations, and that no limited alliance could possibly be formed by any members of the League, rumors arose that in order to mollify M. Clemenceau and to secure the support of France for the League, the President was negotiating a tripartite treaty, of America, Great Britain and France, for the special protection of the last named. Referring to these, the President's Secretary, Mr. Joseph P. Tumulty, in April proclaimed to the world:

In view of the fact that certain newspapers of wide circulation have intimated that the President had entered into a secret alliance or treaty with some of the great Powers, I conveyed this information to the President, and am in receipt of a cablegram from him giving *positive and unqualified denial* to this story.

Since then the President himself has lifted the veil of secrecy with this authoritative declaration:

I have promised to propose to the Senate a supplement (to the Treaty of Peace) in which we shall agree, subject to the approval of the Council of the League of Nations, to come immediately to the aid of France in case of unprovoked attack by Germany.

Finally, the text of the treaty, implicating America, Great Britain and France, long carefully concealed, was made public. It showed that the President had negotiated and signed a treaty with France, pledging this country to come to her aid immediately upon an unprovoked attack by Germany, provided that Great Britain makes a similar but not identical treaty with France, and that the Council of the League of Nations approves it by a majority vote.

Apart from the interesting self-reversal of the President, this sequence of utterances and incidents discloses or suggests—

That the President practically said to France: "Relinquish your demands for stronger guarantees against German aggression, and the United States will protect you; *provided* that a League of Nations is formed, and *provided* that when it is formed it consents to our helping you."

That the President now asks the Senate of the United States to do something which he said the United States would never do.

That the President apparently expects the League of Nations to sanction something which he said it would never sanction.

That the President proposes to have the right and power of the United States to make treaties or contract alliances dependent upon the assent of the majority of an alien body; and this upon the heels of his declaration that the Treaty of Peace "recognizes the inalienable rights of nationality."

With our Fourth of July just behind us, which France so greatly aided us to "make good," and with France's Fourteenth of July just ahead of us, to which this country contributed inspiration and sympathy, we are not inclined to begrudge any strengthening of what the President has well called the outpost of civilization against the Hun. We have no doubt that if again occasion should arise, as it did in 1914, every red-blooded American would not for years seek to go by on the other side, declaring that he knew nothing and wanted to know nothing about the matter, as did the President, but would "thank God for the great chance to run and succor France." But we are not so sure that it is necessary to have any hard and fast treaty to that effect, while we are everlastingly sure that if a treaty is needed for that or for any other purpose, it should be made by the United States as a sovereign and independent Power, and not as a mere fraction* of a League of Denationalization.

Thomas Jefferson said a hundred and forty-three years ago that the United States had "full power to contract alliances," and the Continental Congress unanimously approved his words. The Constitution of the United States has been saying for a hundred and thirty years that the President of the United States "shall have power, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to make treaties." President Wilson proposes that the United States shall make a treaty of alliance only through the recognition of a majority of the Council of the Society of Nations, and that such convention shall terminate at the will of that same Council.

We prefer the earlier authorities.

"In April, 1844, Mr. Tyler sent to the Senate a treaty of annexations which he had negotiated with Texas. Secret negotiations, a piece of business privately carried to completion and made public only when finished, suited well with the President's temper and way of action. A man naturally secretive, naturally fond, not of concealments, but of quiet and subtle management, not insincere, but indirect in his ways of approach, he relished statecraft of this sort, and no doubt liked the Texan business all the better because it seemed to demand, in its very nature, a delicate and private handling. The Senate rejected the treaty by the very decisive vote of 16 to 35, MEN OF BOTH PARTIES ALIKE DEEPLY IRRITATED THAT THE PRESIDENT SHOULD SPRING THIS WEIGHTY MATTER UPON THE COUNTRY IN SUCH A FASHION, TAKING NO COUNSEL BEFOREHAND SAVE SUCH AS HE CHOSE TO TAKE."—*A History of the American People*, by Woodrow Wilson, vol. iv., 102.

Peace Perplexities

SENATOR KNOX holds that whether we shall have ratified the Versailles Treaty or not, "it [the Treaty] will apply to the United States as soon as it applies to three other Powers, because peace will then be a fact."

Speaking for the State Department, the Acting Secretary of State, Mr. Phillips, supports Senator Knox. He is quoted in a Washington dispatch to the *Sun* as saying that instructions from Paris make it clear that the United States would not be placed at a disadvantage in trade matters when the blockade was lifted, and that the blockade would be lifted and trade with Germany resumed after Germany had ratified the Treaty.

Attorney General Palmer, on the other hand, holds that ratification of the Treaty by the Senate must precede peace and that trade with Germany will have to await that event.

Our old friend, the *World*, holds that "even the favorable action of the Senate does not complete a treaty, for the President can then withhold it if he wishes, or he can proceed to negotiate an entirely new treaty. There are only two ways," says our contemporary, "by which peace can be legally restored between the United States and Germany. One is for the Senate to ratify the Treaty of Versailles, the other is for the President to negotiate a new treaty."

Now all this is bewildering. The State Department and the Department of Justice hold diametrically opposite views. The *World* and the great jurist who represents Pennsylvania in the Senate are as far apart as the poles, with Senator Knox flatly accused by the *World* of "pettifogging."

And lastly the *World* itself in one breath flatly contradicts what it had just emphatically asserted in another breath. In one paragraph it says that even if the Senate does ratify a treaty, that treaty is void because the President may withhold it. In the next paragraph it says that the only way the Versailles Peace Treaty can be made an effective treaty is for the Senate to ratify it. And, more bewildering yet, the only other way we may have peace with Germany is "for the President to negotiate a new treaty."

But the President has already "negotiated" one peace treaty with Germany. Yet it has not brought us peace, and, according to the *World*, it cannot bring us peace, because the President may "withhold" it. On the other hand, the *World* contends that the only way we may have peace is for the Senate to ratify the Versailles Treaty. But that will not bring us peace, either, because the President may negotiate a new treaty, and this mere Presidential negotiation of a new treaty will bring us peace. In fact, according to the *World*, a new treaty negotiation by the President is one of the only two ways by which we may have peace. The other way is for the Senate to ratify the Versailles treaty—yet that will not bring us peace, either, because the President may "withhold" it.

We confess that the *World's* line of argument seems to us rather rotatory. We have tried to follow it closely with the text right before us, but find we have traveled twice around a circle without getting anywhere. Maybe it's the heat. But, whatever it is, we are completely befuddled by the *World's* interpretation of the Constitutional questions involved. We are frank to say that after reading that journal's

discussion of the question, we are left in an embarrassing uncertainty as to whether we are afoot or on horseback.

But, no matter. What the country knows and what all the lay world knows is that, so far as the United States is concerned, the war is over and peace is here. Furthermore, League of Nations reveries to the contrary notwithstanding, it is here to stay. The business men of the country are going to go right on doing business, and doing business with our late enemies, if they want to, the moment the blockade is raised for our late belligerent associates. We have been "kept out of war" and we have been kept out of peace, but we are not going to be kept out of the markets of the world when the bars are down for every country but ours. In fact, according to the rather grieved reports of English experts in Germany, we are even now on the job in that country, with an American Chamber of Commerce founded in Berlin and with wide-awake American business men hard at work to capture German trade the moment any of our competitors enter the field.

Meantime there need be no let up in the theorizing as to whether we are technically at war or at peace. It will remain theorizing, pure and simple. There will be no trade embargo club-swinging. That would not be politically prudent.

But how about the others? If the United States loses all those priceless things that Brother Harvey says she will, then Great Britain, France, Italy and others of the great Powers will lose their independence and sovereignty, et cetera, et cetera, because the conditions are precisely the same as affecting every one of them.—*Boston Post*.

Neither existing conditions nor the terms of the Covenant as applied to the various nations are "precisely" or even approximately the same. Great Britain's Monroe Doctrine is command of the seas, France's is frontier protection, Italy's is the Alps and the Adriatic, Japan's is dominance in the Far East. None is relinquished. Each is confirmed and guaranteed under the Treaty and the League. America alone is required to sacrifice her essential national policy.

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BY GEORGE HARVEY

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Not the Sole Alternative

TIME was—some elders still remember it—when, to a certain set, “more royal than the King,” the sole argument against the abolition of slavery was the demand, “Do you want your daughter to marry a nigger?” Tell them that it was immoral to buy and sell men as chattels, and they replied, “Do you want your daughter to marry a nigger?” Urge that it was inhuman to flog men and women as beasts, and to separate husband and wife and mother and child at the auction block, and the answer was, “Do you want your daughter to marry a nigger?” Point out the economic unsoundness of the system of slave labor, and the unfailing retort came quick and pat, “Do you want your daughter to marry a nigger?” In their cheaply specious pretence, the only possible or conceivable alternative to the evils of human slavery was, that every young white woman should immediately be wedded to a black man.

To-day all men realize how contemptibly false that argument was. Yet to-day men are using its precise parallel in their campaign for denationalization. Object to the Covenant of the League of Nations, that it destroys the Monroe Doctrine, and they demand, “Do you want to have another war?” Point out that it would implicate this nation in all sorts of alien intrigues and conflicts, and they reply, “Do you want to have another war?” Show them what is obvious and indisputable, that the Covenant as it stands would violate our Constitution and abrogate the Declaration of Independence, and they are ready with the same pat parrot cry, “Do you want to have another war?” In their infatuated propaganda, the only alternative to another world war is the destruction of American nationality. If you do not favor the one, you must inevitably favor the other.

Now comes another application of the same specious sophistry. The President, who only a little while ago was inveighing with all the force of his unrivalled rheto-

ric against precisely such arrangements, proposes to our Senate an offensive and defensive alliance with France, a balance of power, under a treaty to be made for us by the League of Nations. Object, not to the purpose but to the technical form, and his facile echoes cry, “Don’t you want to stand with France against the Huns?” Point out that it violates the Constitution of the United States, in giving to an alien body power to make and unmake laws for this Republic, and they retort, “Do you want to see France overrun by Germany again?” Show how it impairs the essential sovereignty of this country, and their sole answer is, “Are you unwilling to aid the country that once so greatly aided us?” In their view of the case, either we must abandon France to the ravishment of the Huns, or we must abrogate our national sovereignty and rewrite our Constitution so as to read:



THE GREAT RENUNCIATION

PRESIDENT WILSON: "No! I don't think it quite suits my austere type of beauty."
 [It is reported that the United States of America have declined to accept a mandate for Constantinople.]
 —From "Punch."

"The President and Senate may make treaties, by and with the advice and consent of the League of Nations."

These insinuating question-arguments of to-day are just as impudently and wantonly false as was that of two generations ago. It was quite possible to get rid of the horrors of the slave trade and the human auction block without marrying every white girl to a negro. So it will be possible for the United States to cherish peace, to promote the universal reign of law, and to give the full measure of her aid to neighbor nations in their time of need, without abandoning the very principles upon which our greatness and our efficiency are based. Miscegenation was not the sole alternative to slavery. Denationalization is not the sole alternative to war.

The dear old Springfield *Republican* screws up the remnant of its courage sufficiently to remark:

It may appear exceptionally daring to offer advice to a man who is now generally supposed never to accept such offerings, but our bit of common counsel to the President is to call off his speaking tour, seek a conference with the elder statesmen of the Republican party and propose that they attain a domesticated peace without violence concerning the covenanted peace of the world (Paris edition) before the Senate goes into prolonged convulsions of debate on the question of ratification.

Heresy! Treason! Put him out!

Law Making by Aliens

DO the citizens of the United States wish to have their laws made for them by aliens? That is the question which now confronts them, since that is precisely the process which the President proposes for their adoption.

According to the Constitution, our national laws can be made in one of three ways: By Congress and the President; by Congress alone over the President's veto; and by the President and the Senate. In each case they are made exclusively by American citizens. The President must be a natural-born citizen, a Senator must be a citizen of nine years' standing, and a Representative must be a citizen of seven years' standing.

Now the President proposes the making of a law in which indeed he and the Senate will participate, but which *must* be approved by a majority vote of a body of nine of whom eight are aliens, and which shall remain law only so long as a majority of that same chiefly alien body may regard it as necessary. In brief, a treaty, which the Constitution declares to be "the supreme law of the land," by which judges in all the States are bound, is to be made and repealed by an alien body, in which the United States has only one vote out of nine.

We should greatly doubt whether the Supreme Court of the United States would regard such a law as constitutional, even if the Senate were to assent to be a participant in the making of the shameful thing.

It is true that an attempt was once before made to impose upon this country laws made by aliens. It resulted in the public arraignment of the maker of the attempt as "unfit to be the ruler of a free people."

"He has," said the Declaration of Independence of the German King who then tyrannized over the Colonies, "com-

bined with others to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our Constitution, and unacknowledged by our laws; giving his assent to their acts of pretended legislation."

That indictment applies with equal pertinence to anyone who attempts to subject us to treaties or other laws which derive their validity from any other source than our own Constitutional Government. A body composed of eight-ninths aliens would be "a jurisdiction foreign to our Constitution," and treaties dependent upon its sanction would be "acts of *pretended* legislation" by which American judges could not be bound.

The French Government will suppress the censorship and martial law as soon as the treaty has been ratified by America, Great Britain and Germany, three of the signatories, and, according to the forecasts of Messrs. Wilson and Lloyd George, this will take place at an early date for their respective countries.—*M. Clemenceau to the French Parliament.*

One minute, please!

"Divine Right" on Trial

THERE have been few announcements in connection with the settlement of the war more gratifying or more auspicious of future security for the world against a recrudescence of Prussianism than that of Mr. Lloyd George to the British Parliament, that William Hohenzollern will soon be put on trial before a tribunal in London, for the crimes which he has committed against the nations of the world. There is an unofficial addendum to the effect that imposition of the death penalty is not to be sought, which seems of doubtful propriety. The just judgment of a court should not thus be restricted nor discounted in advance. But even if there were such a restriction, the trial and punishment of the former Kaiser would be an epochal event.

It would be—let us say it will be—unique. Other monarchs, to be sure, have been tried, convicted and put to death, but in circumstances and through processes so essentially different from those of this case that no analogy is possible; save that they involved the same basic principle. Napoleon Bonaparte was summarily disposed of in life-long imprisonment, but not as the result of any judicial trial nor through international action. For the first time in the history of the world it is now purposed that the nations of the world shall bring before a judicial tribunal the former sovereign of an independent empire for trial for acts which he committed in his sovereign capacity.

It is unique, and yet it is entirely logical and in accord with the principles of justice which are more and more prevailing throughout the world. Long ago this nation, at any rate, ceased to regard regicide as a purely political offense, to the perpetrator of which asylum was to be given. It refused to recognize murder as a legitimate means of political agitation, and held that the assassin of a king was as much a criminal as the assassin of a private citizen.

It is a poor rule that will not work both ways. The inexorable logic of the case is that if the murderer of a king is not exempt from punishment, on the ground that he is a "political offender," then neither is the king who commits murder exempt from punishment, on the ground that he is a "political agent." In neither case can the plea of political

action be stretched to cover offences against the common law.

Nor will it do to urge that it was the governmental organization and not the individual that sinned. There are many men in prison in this land to-day who did not personally commit crimes, but were merely heads of corporations that sinned. The principle has been pretty well established in this and in other countries, that the head of a corporation is personally responsible for the acts of that corporation, and that a man who does something through an agent does it himself.

Of all men in the world, William Hohenzollern should be the last to plead personal exemption and to seek to throw the blame upon his subordinates. For of all men in the world he has pretended that his will was the only will, that nobody did anything save at his word. That was his boast before the war; and that was his boast all through the war; at least until the end, when there began to loom before him the danger of being held accountable for his crimes.

Nothing, we say, could be more salutary than the establishment of this principle, that chiefs of states are just as accountable to the law as the humblest citizens; that if a ruler breaks the law of the land he is accountable before the national courts; and that if he breaks international law, he is accountable before an international tribunal. The last vestige of irresponsible autocracy and of pretended "divine right" will be stricken down when the court orders "William Hohenzollern to the bar."

This is the most tremendous Fourth of July ever imagined, for we have opened its franchise to the whole world.—*President Wilson on the I. W. W.*

Meaning, of course, that hereafter July 4, 1919, will be the Day We Celebrate. What a pickle the world would be in to-day if the first child of the Rev. and Mrs. Joseph R. Wilson had been a girl! Gracious!

"The Whole Programme"

THE President, it is said, will insist upon "the whole programme." That is why he has revisited the United States. It is for that purpose that he plans to "swing round the circle." The entire programme concocted by him with alien aids and abettors in a foreign land must be accepted by the American people just as it stands. The Treaty of Peace must be ratified, Covenant and all, without amendment and without reservation. The Treaty with France must be similarly ratified, including the clauses which, flouting the Constitution of the United States, make its validity and its prospective abrogation dependent not upon our own Government but upon an alien Power. The President will insist upon this whole programme, we are told.

That is to say—

We must adopt the Covenant of the League of Nations which is absolutely opposed to all special alliances and balances of power; but also—

We must adopt a Treaty with France providing for a special alliance and a balance of power.

We must enter a League of Nations for avoiding, preventing and abolishing war; yet also—

We must enter an alliance for the sole and specific purpose of engaging in war.

We must solemnly declare for and pledge ourselves to maintain the independence and sovereignty of all nationalities under the sun; but at the same time—

We must abrogate and renounce our own independence and sovereignty.

Such is the programme to which the President has committed himself, and upon the adoption of the whole of which he purposes to insist. It is a programme of contradictions, stultification, and confusion worse confounded.

If he does indeed insist upon that, as a whole, without exception, amendment or reservation, if he insists that the Senate shall give its consent but shall not be permitted to give its advice, there may be only one course left open to Americans who cherish the independence and integrity of their country.

That will be, to make their opposition as broad and as comprehensive as his advocacy of the preposterous scheme.

If he insists upon the adoption of the whole programme, they may insist upon the rejection of the whole programme.

Another "Open" Covenant

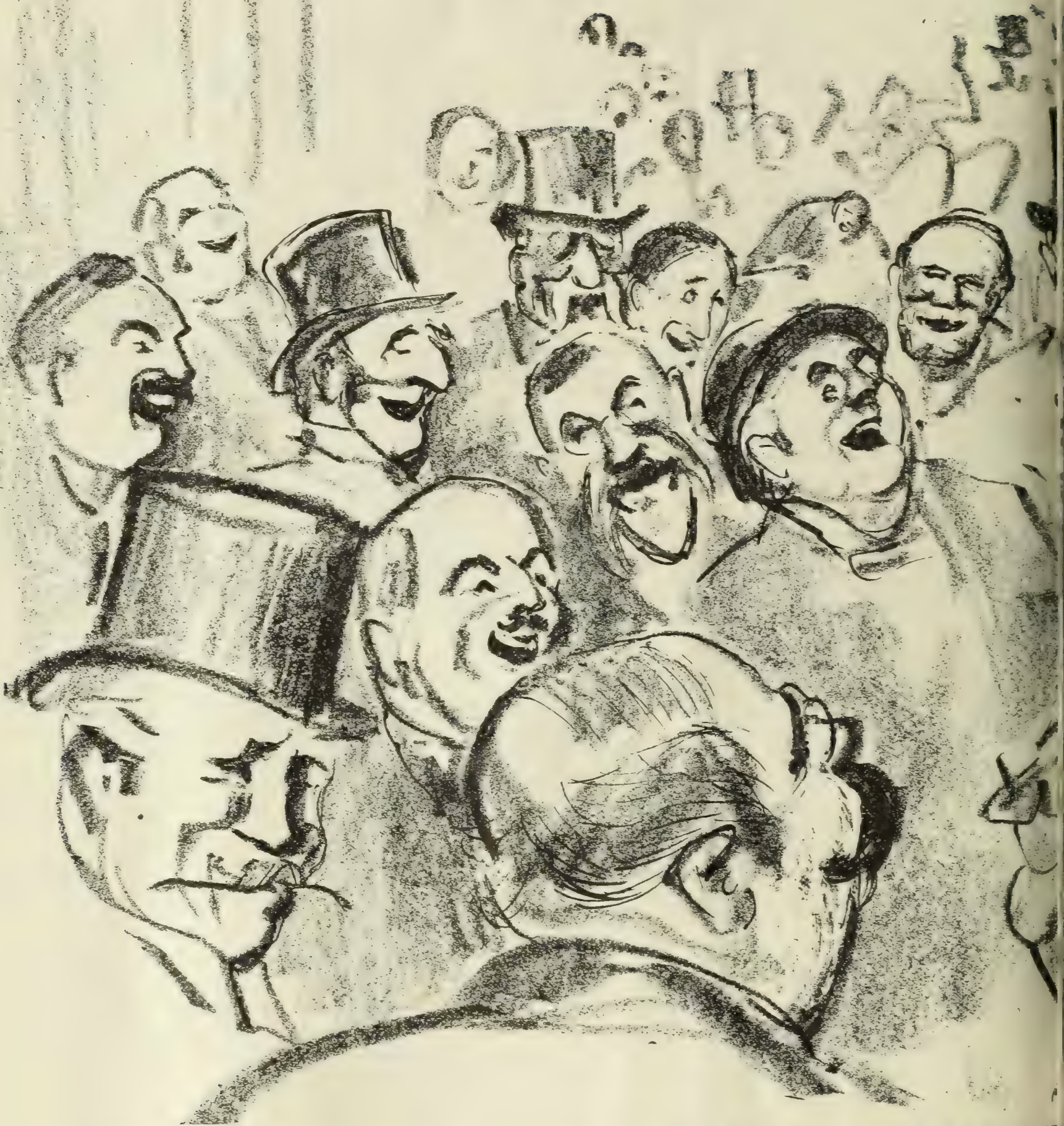
THE President is reported to have refused to authorize publication of the text of the treaty with France, on the ground that it was properly to be regarded as confidential until it had been laid before the Senate and that body had itself removed the injunction of secrecy. That was, of course, the old-time rule, but we had scarcely expected to find it revoked and upheld by the author of that resounding and glittering generality about "open covenants openly arrived at."

Besides, the President himself revealed—after denying—the existence of such a treaty, and its general purport. With such disclosure already made, why maintain the fiction of secrecy? We should say that the statement which the President himself made about it was one of the strongest possible reasons for making the complete text known, in order that there might be no misapprehensions about it, such as might rise from merely partial knowledge of it.

It seems to us mistaken policy for the President thus to disclose merely selected portions of treaties for publication, while keeping or trying to keep the instruments as a whole profoundly secret. He has done it before, notably in the case of the treaty of peace. He gave out for publication the literal and complete text of one long chapter of that instrument, and insisted that the rest of it should be kept under the seal of secrecy.

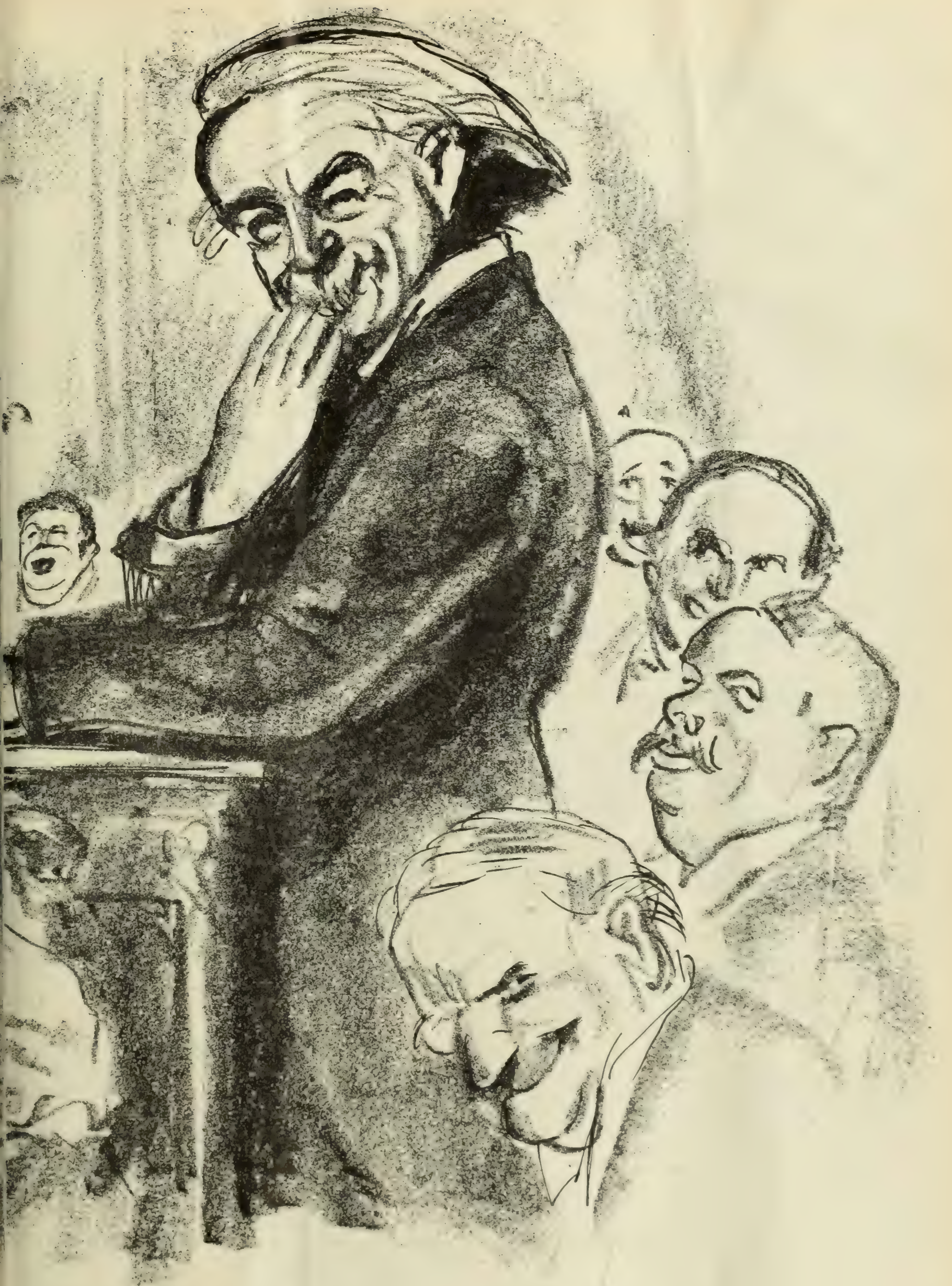
Why? Was it because he wanted to conduct a propaganda in favor of the Covenant of the League, that he thus blazoned it to the world in advance of the rest? If courtesy required that this French treaty be held confidential until it was given to the Senate and that body saw fit to publish it, why did it not require similar treatment of the Covenant?

We are ourselves sufficiently old-fashioned to recognize the desirability, in many cases, of withholding treaties from publicity until they are completely made—which means, of course, ratified by the Senate as well as negotiated by the President. But we trust that it does not require one to be old-fashioned to insist upon the need of consistency and courtesy in the matter.



THE LEAGUE

"I beg you to try it. I beg you to try it."
Commons which rocked with laughter



PARLIAMENT

ously," said Lloyd George to a House of
mentioned the covenant.—*The Tribune*.

The Week

WASHINGTON, July 10, 1919.

THE President has returned in circumstances supremely significant of his denationalizing zeal. His absence of approximately seven months has, of course, been unique in American history. It was indeed, as his press champion, Mr. David Lawrence, naïvely observes, an unprecedented length of time. But it was not alone the length of time that was unprecedented, but still more the purpose of his absence. He went away and he stayed away chiefly on business not pertaining to the United States of America. That is the significant feature of the case. It is conceivable, to those gifted with exceptionally exuberant imaginations, that a President of the United States might absent himself from this country on very important American business which, owing to some peculiar circumstances, nobody else could so well transact. But that was not the case during the last seven months. There was important American business to transact. But it was of a kind which could have been transacted much better by well selected and properly accredited Commissioners, with the President remaining at the seat of government. The real purpose of the President in going abroad was to intrude himself into the business of other nations and to dictate their settlement of it according to his preconceived personal notions.

He now comes home, after almost entirely neglecting the domestic concerns of this country, and acknowledges, as Mr. Lawrence also observes, that he is out of touch with the situation of affairs in America. Indeed, while he was abroad he declined to express himself concerning some important American affairs on the ground that his absence incapacitated him from doing so with the authority of knowledge. Yet according to the Constitution, he is to "take care that the laws be faithfully executed," and "shall from time to time give to the Congress information of the state of the Union." How could he do the former when he was three thousand miles away? How could he do the latter when he was "out of touch with the situation inside America?"

Now that he has returned, moreover, he apparently has no thought of devoting himself to domestic interests and trying to catch up with the duties which he has so grossly and so long neglected. On the contrary, he is intent upon prosecuting here the campaign of meddling in alien affairs to which he has given himself while abroad. The vast economic problems which weigh upon us and which involve the most vital interests of the people are not the things to which he now purposes to address himself. Rather will he give his attention to topics of alien interest, and seek to persuade the Senate and the nation to do the same. It has been a proverbial trick of some rulers to start foreign wars in order to distract popular attention from domestic ills. It would be quite analogous to press foreign topics upon the nation's attention, to distract it from the domestic problems which have been so much neglected.

It is all, as we have said, significant of the President's itch for subordinating national to international affairs, for sacrificing American nationality for the sake of his new Internationale. All other Presidents have found the business of the

United States great enough to absorb their entire time and attention. He alone overleaps such petty boundaries. With a couple of verbal changes Sewall might have addressed to him his epigram:

No pent-up U. S. A. contracts your powers,
But the whole boundless universe is yours.

Indeed he himself has said that national law is played out. Henceforth Internationalism ranks by the side of "that blessed word, Mesopotamia." It is well that American citizens should realize the fact that they have a President whose interests and whose policies are not American but cosmopolitan; and that it is for the sake not of American welfare but for the prosecution of international fads that he has deigned to revisit these shores.

The Fourth of July passed without the much-feared outbreak of "Red" devilry; for which we must be grateful. It is food for serious thought, however, that such devilry was so greatly feared that unprecedented police precautions were taken, to an extent of which the public little dreamed. Time was when we looked scornfully upon the panic-stricken nations of Europe, when they trembled with apprehension of May Day demonstrations, and Pharisaically thanked God that we were not as other nations, troubled with Socialists and Anarchists. There is need of national heart-searching, to discover the sources of and responsibility for our present ills and menaces, and the means of most effectually abating them.

There has just been an appalling disclosure of Bolshevism as it is practised in Russia, comprising wholesale rape, torture and massacre on a scale and in a fashion which would not have discredited a *corps d'élite* of Prussian Guards. Scarcely has the whole story of the war produced a more hideous passage than that which has just been made known to us. Of course, it is on no better authority than the personal observations and testimony of a fearless and upright American, formerly Consul at Omsk. Therefore we suppose that Mr. Villard will weepingly denounce it as a wicked invention of the Imperialists who are seeking thus to asperse the pure and gentle Lenine and Trotzky. We shall scarcely expect, however, to see our own Government ignore the statements of its former trusted agent.

It was a trifle unkind for half of the House of Commons to burst into derisive guffaws at Mr. Lloyd George's mention of the League of Nations, and yet if they had not done so we should have had to convict them of the proverbial British lack of a sense of humor. For here was the politic Welshman commending to them the League as a preventive of wars and a protection of France against German attack, and at the same time asking them to approve a special "balance of power" treaty for doing the very thing which the League was to do, and of a kind directly opposed to the fundamental principle of the League. Practically he said to them: "I commend to you the League of Nations. Of course, it isn't worth a tinker's dam, and we've got to repudiate it by making an honest-to-goodness balance of power. But—please be kind to it, and don't laugh!"

Of course, too, our British cousins can afford to laugh at the thing, because it does not play ducks and drakes with their national policies as it does with ours, and because it gives them five or six votes to one of any other people. Truly, from their point of view, whether in derision or in exultation, it is to laugh.

The Hunnish army is not to be outdone by any mere civilian. So Hindenburg sees Bethmann-Hollweg and goes him one better by insisting that he is responsible for the Kaiser's acts of war, and especially for his various proclamations concerning the waging of the war. Therefore he, and not the All Highest, should be tried. We shall probably soon hear from Tirpitz to like effect; and should from Zeppelin, were he still living.

The Conservative party in Germany, which is one of the major political divisions of the nation, has openly committed itself to war against the republican form of government and to the restoration of the Hohenzollern dynasty. This, we suppose, is another proof that the German people should not be held responsible for the acts of their late wicked Kaiser.

Americans will not go to war under a group of nations, but only under the mandate of our own law. . . . There is only one flag here, and that is our flag. There is no room here for the red flag. Kill it wherever you see it. It is the enemy. It loats when mobs rule.

No, it was not the President who said that. It was the man whom the President would not permit to go abroad in command of the army which he had created. But we know of nothing that the President has said that is more worthy to be the rule of life and action to every American citizen than those words of General Leonard Wood.

We suppose that the Huns must be permitted to have any sort of a flag they please to design, but it does grill us a little to have them make it the same colors as the Belgian. Presumably the red will signify the murders they have committed, and the gold the loot which they have taken, while of course the black will be symbolic of their one appropriate insign, the Jolly Roger.

Mr. McAdoo, exhorting the Methodist brethren in behalf of the League of Nations, declared it to have four essentials. The first was "The limitation of armaments"; for which the Covenant does not provide, save by suggestion. The second was "Guarantee of territorial integrity and political dependence"; which according to the Covenant means that we shall guarantee the political independence (limited) of other nations at the cost of renouncing our own. The third was, "Abolition of secret treaties" which, so far as we are concerned, never existed and never could exist, but which the President has seemed to be trying his level best to make. The fourth was "Compulsory conferences to discuss questions of common interest that may from time to time arise, and thereby to bring about coöperation among the nations concerned"; which suggests that what is needed is not so

much compulsory conferences as compulsory fulfilment of the agreements which are made at them. Germany entered without compulsion a conference at The Hague to discuss with other Powers questions of common interest; and then repudiated the resulting treaties as mere scraps of paper; and our President said that that was a matter of no concern to us. But Mr. McAdoo omitted to mention the fifth "great essential" of the League of Nations. That is, Abrogation of American independence.

Senator McLean wants our scheme of government transformed so as to have the Cabinet members and other important officials sit in the House and Senate two days a week, to answer questions and explain the conduct of their departments and bureaus. This has been suggested before, and is supposed to offer some conveniences and facilities for the conduct of business which the present system does not provide. We beg to point out, however, that this would not be, as Senator McLean is quoted as saying, adoption of the British system. Under the British system the Cabinet members would have to be regularly elected members of the Senate or House, and in case of an adverse vote on one of their policies they would have to resign from the Cabinet, or the whole Cabinet would have to resign. And the President himself would either have to share their fate and resign too, as the Prime Minister does, or he would have to be an entirely non-partisan automaton, as the King is. In that view of the case, we doubt if the present administration wishes to "adopt the British Parliamentary system." It wouldn't be good for its tenure of office.

Switzerland, always noted for its liberal policy towards aliens, is planning greatly to stiffen up its naturalization laws, so as to require residence for at least six years as an essential qualification for citizenship. Yet some States of this Union permit aliens to vote—that is, to participate in government—before they are naturalized at all.

Mr. McAdoo, formerly of the United States Treasury and Railroads, now of the Movies, condemns critics of the Covenant as "narrow and heartless partisans." That isn't quite as bad as "pygmy minds" or "insects," yet it is scarcely worthy of its author.

France splendidly celebrated our Fourth of July last week. It would be shame to us if next week we did not commemorate with equal zest and brilliancy her Fourteenth of July.

The Watch on the Rhine must have been slightly jarred by the firing of a Fourth of July salute from the ramparts of Ehrenbreitstein. *Donnerwetter! Teufelhunds!*

"We need give up nothing vital," says Senator Jones, of Washington, advocating our joining the League of Nations. No; nothing vital. Merely our national independence. And, mark you, we are not going to do that.

"Der Tag" for Mexico

A PRESS telegram from Mexico City informs us that the Mexican Ambassador, Bonillas, on his return to Washington, will ask for an agreement from the White House that no American troops be sent across the border.

The last time American troops went across the border they saved the Carranza troops at Juarez from a probable crushing defeat by the troops of Villa. Whether they went for that explicit purpose is undetermined. Mexican bullets had wounded Americans in El Paso. That seemed to be about enough, without splitting hairs as to which gang of ruffians fired the bullets.

Now, the White House is asked to send no more troops beyond the Rio Grande. Our cities may be riddled with the bullets of warring Mexican brigands; Mexican snipers on the south bank of the Rio Grande may amuse themselves shooting down American men, women and children on the north bank; hilarious Mexican raiding gangs may swoop down on American ranches, villages and towns and murder, ravish and pillage to their hearts' content. But we must send no troops across the border. The White House is asked to forbid such rudeness. Watchful waiting is again requested.

Meantime the murdering of our American men, the ravishing of our American women, the plundering and holding for ransom of our American citizens goes heartily on in Mexico proper. Hardly a day passes without a new horror of this nature getting through the State Department barrage and attaining the pitiless publicity of newspaper print. How many more there are which never get into print, which are buried in the oblivion of the State Department archives, Heaven only knows! We only know that their number is very great. The National Association for the Protection of American Rights in Mexico has just announced that there are 540 fully authenticated cases of Americans murdered in Mexico within four years. It is a ghastly record. To our country, to Americans everywhere, it is a record of unspeakable shame and humiliation.

Now, there is that in the air which portends that American endurance of this perennial infamy has about reached its limit. In Congress there are heartening indications of a swift and vigorous response to American public sentiment regarding this matter. The days of executive domination over the legislative branch of the Government of the United States are at an end. The excuse that war necessities make advisable suppression of the facts as to Mexico, no longer avails. Resolutions of inquiry have already been launched in Congress. Others will follow. Signs are abroad that there is impending a speedy uncovering of the entire record of all that miserable era of Mexican paltering, pottering, backing and filling, chuckling, watchful waiting, Vera Cruz bluffing, Scandinavian and Bayard Hale philosophizing and psychologizing which for the past seven years has brought upon us the contempt of the world and the super-contempt of the Mexican adventurers and bandits who have made such pitiable spectacles of our statesmen, and who have given expression to their real sentiments by a continuous performance of outrages upon American men and women

lawfully and peaceably going their ways in Mexican territory.

With the return of our seat of Government from Paris to Washington, the same old Mexican game is beginning all over again. The visit here of the unaccredited son-in-law of Carranza, Aguilar, as a propagandist and feeler-out of American sentiment, is one manifestation of it. The request that we send no more troops across the border is another. The reproduction and refurnishing of the old standard lies about Carranza having power and determination to protect Americans in Mexico, and to police the border, is still another.

And simultaneously with the recrudescence of these nauseating falsehoods and posturings comes the report of the murder in Mexico of Lee Roy Moyer, of Alabama; the murder, near Tampico, of Mr. Correll, and the unspeakably brutal maltreatment before her dying husband's eyes of Mrs. Correll; the confiscation of American Tampico oil properties to the extent of millions of money, together with the prevention, by armed military force, of drilling by Americans for oil on their own lands bought and paid for with their own American money.

What the White House will do about the insulting demand that we send no more troops across the border is anybody's guess. The White House has not been long enough in the country to become acclimatized. The White House eyes have been so long upturned in rapturous survey of all Humanity that the White House vision naturally cannot be expected for some time to adjust itself to the narrow, parochial field of mere American matters.

In the interim, any day may bring forth that which will put the final strain upon the American people's patience. And when that comes, the end for once and for all of the whole miserable Mexican mess will come. Speed the day and the hour!

The American people simply have to make up their minds whether they believe so great an expert in international law as William H. Taft has gone so far astray or whether they will have at least as much confidence in his knowledge and in his judgment as in that of the Harveys.—*Hartford Post*.

Right you are! But we should like to know the precise date upon which William H. Taft qualified as an "expert in international law" by comparison with Elihu Root, Philander C. Knox, David Jayne Hill and Hannis Taylor.

Of course, as the *Herald* says, "everybody will believe Mr. Lansing" when he says that he never heard of the decision to try Mr. Hohenzollern until Lloyd George made the announcement in London. Mr. Lansing is a truthful man. Moreover, as the *Herald* pertinently inquires, "Why should the most influential member of the Big Four take his own Secretary of State into his confidence when he refused to give any information even to the Senate of the United States as to what was doing?" And yet one can but wonder what, under like inconceivable circumstances, any other Secretary of State from Thomas Jefferson to Philander C. Knox would have said and done. We shall be surprised if Mr. Lansing does not return home before long, orders or no orders. One American "Minister Plenipotentiary" acting under royal decree, is all Europe can hold.

Poland; and Some Others

LET us assume that it is proper to put a Bill of Rights into the Polish treaty. That implies that it is legitimate for alien Powers to dictate the domestic policy of an independent and sovereign state. Such things, they tell us, have been done before. Probably; though not, we should say, in circumstances like the present. But then, never before were there circumstances like the present, in which the essential rights of national independence and sovereignty were so disregarded, and not only disregarded but attacked and denounced as inimical to the welfare of humanity; never before was the propaganda of indiscriminate internationalism so insidiously and so persistently pressed. In such circumstances, Poland may well thank God that her national powers are not still more restricted.

Apart from what the Poles might regard as its impertinence, the thing is probably quite superfluous. How superfluous it is, indeed, is indicated in the manner of its reception by the Poles themselves. They might naturally have resented such meddling with their domestic affairs, such demanding of a pledge from them to do the very things which they of course meant to do, and not to do the things which they never thought of doing. They might have thought that their record for centuries, their known character and disposition, gave sufficient guarantee of their civilization and humanity. But if they thus felt, they gave no outward sign of it. They always were good natured and tolerant.

There is, however, an old saying, which some people find it easy to forget at times, to the effect that he who seeks equity should practice equity. It would be highly interesting, though perhaps not void of embarrassment, if the Poles should apply that reasonable principle to some of the signatory Powers which have imposed these conditions upon them. They might, for example, say: "We will put a stop to pogroms if you will put a stop to lynchings. We will not discriminate against Hebrews if you will stop discriminating against Africans. We will give to minorities of alien origin full protection and full civic rights, if you will do the same—for example, to people of Asiatic origin."

Doubtless the Poles are entirely too courteous, too generous, and have too fine a sense of honor, to say anything of that sort. Yet we might wish that such considerations had risen in the mind of the American Delegate to the Peace Conference, at the time when he was negotiating the Polish Treaty.

It is to be observed, too, that while this treaty is made between the Big Five and Poland, its enforcement is largely committed to quite another agency. That impresses us as, to say the least, somewhat out of the ordinary, and in fact illogical. The rule is that contracts are to be executed by those who make them. This treaty is a contract between the Big Five on the one side and Poland on the other. We should say that those six signatories should be charged with the execution of it. But that is not the case. Instead, they wash their hands of the matter, and turn it over to a League of Nations which is not yet in existence. Perhaps that, too, is in accord with the New Diplomacy. For the Big Five and Poland to execute a compact of their own making would

look too much like assertion of national authority and assumption of national responsibility. The thing must be internationalized, and all the other Powers must have a chance to meddle.

God save the new Republic of Poland!

We have before this confessed a common inability with President Lowell to tell just what the Monroe Doctrine really is.—*Hartford Times.*

So we had noticed.

The matching of minds continued to the end with results painful to contemplate outside of England and Japan. Under the proposed tri-partite treaty the United States promises "to come *immediately* to the aid of France" in the event of unprovoked attack while Great Britain only "consents to come" when she gets good and ready. "A stranger and they took him," for fair!

Justice for Bolshevists

SEVERAL eminent and respected clergymen of various denominations have joined in a protest against what they regard as violent methods and repressive measures in dealing with Bolshevists and other enemies of public order and of the Government of the republic. They especially protest against "acts of violence toward the preachers of radical doctrines" and against the proposals, now before Congress, to make some of the espionage laws of war-time applicable in time of peace.

We are in hearty agreement with these gentlemen in deprecating lynch law or extra-legal violence. We do not believe in such measures in any case which can be properly dealt with by legal processes. But neither do we believe in a laxity of law which would permit treason against the United States to be plotted and hatched with impunity, or which would leave men free to incite all manner of offences against common morality and the common law. We believe in free speech; but we do not believe in freedom of incitement to vice and crime.

We trust that these estimable clergymen, and all who may read and be influenced by their manifesto, will bear distinctly in mind who and what the Bolshevists are, what they have been doing in Russia and elsewhere, and what they are striving to do in the United States.

In Russia they have erected a government which involves the negation of honesty, of democracy, of justice. It has decreed the repudiation of debts, the confiscation of property, the denial of the right of popular suffrage and popular sovereignty. These decrees have been enforced by violent means, including the theft of property and the general massacre, without even the form of trial, of all who are opposed or are suspected of being opposed to such principles of government. These facts are, we think, indisputable. They have been repeatedly testified to by the most trustworthy authorities and proved by documentary evidence.

The leaders of this monstrous iniquity stole from the

national treasury and other resources of Russia vast sums of money, and this they are now using for the extension of their infernal propaganda in other lands, and especially in the United States. They have sent agents hither, on various pretexts, and are subsidizing or seeking to subsidize "schools," teachers, lecturers, writers, agitators, and all possible agencies for the dissemination of their atrocious doctrines and for the fomenting of treasonable conspiracies against the United States Government.

We would not sanction lawless methods in dealing with them. We would not counsel "nailing their ears to the town pump." But we would urge the meting out to them of the last thing which they desire, of the thing which they dread and deprecate and denounce above all else: that is, justice. And we should receive with interest and gratitude from the eminent clergymen to whose utterance we have referred a supplementary statement of what, in their opinion, are the demands of justice in dealing with those who are deliberately inciting their fellows to commit theft, arson, murder and treason.

PEACE COMMISSIONS NAMED—E. F. DULLES, AMERICAN, HEADS THAT ON GERMAN TREATY EXPLANATION.—*Headlines of Paris dispatch.*

Who is Dulles? Should it not be Dallas? Page Texas!

We are not very reverent toward our forefathers; it is not the fashion.—*The Times.*

Confession is good for the soul, if one has a soul.

Unthinkable

Cannot the treaty [with France] be amended so as to eliminate all reference to the League of Nations?—*New York Herald.*

CERTAINLY not. No treaty growing out of the war can be amended with elimination of the League of Nations. The League of Nations is power paramount over all treaties and all nations. The French-Anglo-American treaty for defense of France is tied to the League of Nations by a thread which cannot be severed, any more than can one of the many threads tying the League of Nations to the Versailles Peace Treaty. We have the Highest Authority for that immutable dogma of Revealed Wisdom. Furthermore, there can be no amendments, revisions or reservations, interpretive or otherwise, of any treaty or any engagement subscribed to by our Administration Abroad which that Administration graciously permits the Senate of the United States to look over.

In addition to that, the *Herald* should bear in mind the tremendous sacrifices made by Our President when he consented to agree to any separate treaty with France whatever. That consent involved no less than an admission that he, Woodrow Wilson, was, perhaps, not infallible. The treaty with France was a recognition of that Balance of Power agreement which M. Clemenceau had advocated and Mr. Wilson had imperiously scouted. It involved an admission that Woodrow Wilson might actually be wrong about something.

But, greatest and most overwhelming of all humiliations, it involved an admission that the League of Nations itself

was impotent to do that one thing, prevent war, which is the very keynote of its arch, the one overmastering reason for its existence. If the war-eliminating League of Nations could prevent war and punish war-provokers, then surely it could protect France from Hun assault. And if the League could so protect France, what earthly reason was there for a Franco-Anglo-American treaty to protect France?

So here we have Mr. Wilson making three distinct and humiliating admissions when he signed M. Clemenceau's Balance of Power separate treaty—First, that he, Woodrow Wilson, is not infallible; Second, that an opinion handed down by him, Woodrow Wilson, was subject to reversal and was not graven in brass as a finality for all time; and, Third, that, so far as preventing war is concerned, the League of Nations is an impotent sham.

Now, these were enormous sacrifices for Mr. Wilson to make when he assented to M. Clemenceau's separate Balance-of-Power treaty. Surely it would have been ungracious of M. Clemenceau, in return for such self-obliterating concessions on the part of Mr. Wilson, to refuse to tie the separate treaty to the League of Nations with a little string! Not only would it have been ungracious, but it would have been fatal. Without the League of Nations string it cannot be conceived that Mr. Wilson would ever have assented to the separate treaty. Can it be imagined that he would consent to the severance of that string by Senatorial amendment? The thing is unthinkable. We are surprised that the *Herald* should even suggest it.

Catherine Breshkovsky, the "Little Grandmother of the Russian Revolution," declares that Russia, though delivered from the slavery of Czarism, "suffers under the despotism and cruelty of thousands of criminals called Bolsheviki." Nicholas Tchaikovsky, the "Father of the Revolution," has been and is fighting the Bolshevists in the north of Russia, as the foes of the real Russian freedom. Yet our own parlor Bolshevists clamor for the recognition of the gentle Lenine and the humane Trotzky as the real rulers of Russia and the evangelists of the "new freedom." Apparently those who for years were fighting the battle of freedom, sacrificing all that made life worth living and imperilling life itself in the holy cause, are now to be set aside as reactionary imperialists and bourgeoisie, in favor of those who skulked in The Bronx until the battle was won, and then, hyena-like, prowled forth to gorge upon the spoils.

"We shall hear no more," said a leading British journal, "of a congress (of European Powers) to settle the fate of the South American States." But that was a long time ago. That was in 1824, just after the promulgation of the Monroe Doctrine. The writer of those words had not the gift of a seer, to read the future and to discern that ninety-five years later a successor of Monroe would demand the abrogation of that Doctrine and would insist that if ever the fate of any South American States should be at issue, it should be settled by a congress consisting chiefly of European Powers.

You cannot earn a reputation and not live up to it.—*President Wilson.*

O, yes, you can.

Our Boys in France Cheer for the Monument

(From an Editorial in "Voila!")

UNDER date of Washington's Birthday, HARVEY'S WEEKLY makes a constructive suggestion, to which we wish to add the little weight of our absolute approval.

"What more fitting memorial to the gallant sons of America who fought and died abroad could be devised than an exact reproduction of the Washington Monument, to be erected through voluntary contributions of our whole people upon the famous battlefield of France?"

Nothing could be more fitting. The monument is the most beautiful and representative thing we have to give in

memory of our dead and in exemplification of the strong, simple fact of France and America united for all time.

You say it will take three million dollars and that you want it in twenty million small subscriptions, Colonel Harvey. May we hope for a chance to put in a little something from our spare francs?

["Voila!" is the weekly newspaper published by the Americans of the University of Bordeaux. The Editors are: Editor-in-Chief, 1st Lt. K. E. Olson; Managing Editor, Sgt. Russell Lord; Business Manager, Sgt. E. J. Paris; Advertising Manager, Pvt. J. W. Spencer; Circulation Manager, Sgt. John A. Blakemore. 1st Lt. W. W. Reynolds, Drama; Pvt. 1 cl. L. W. Taylor, News; Pvt. H. J. Ruse, Humor; Cpl. W. B. Murphy, Sports.]

A Few of This Week's Letters

SO AMERICAN!

SIR,—Washington will live in the hearts of his countrymen long after those who would tear down his work shall have noisily plunged into the eternal silence of eternal oblivion. I should like to see a Washington Monument in France—wish it were there now. It would look so American! More power to you.
Denver, Colo. HORACE G. BENSON.

HEARTY APPROVAL

SIR,—From your first suggestion of a replica of the Washington Monument in France I have intended signifying my hearty approval, but have steadily neglected to do so.
Freeport, Ill. C. F. HILDRETH.

EMINENTLY PATRIOTIC

SIR,—Like everything that emanates from HARVEY'S WEEKLY, your suggestion for a replica of the Washington Monument on one of the battlefields of France is timely, sensible and eminently patriotic. Keep up the good work.
Chicago. F. WILLIS RICE.

HIS BOY LIES THERE

SIR,—Your recommendation for the erection of a replica of the Washington Monument on one of the battlefields of France, is a most timely one, and I shall consider it a favor to be numbered among the subscribers to such a fund. The monument would be a great and fitting tribute to all our dead heroes, among whom I must number my boy who gave his young life to the Great Cause.
Los Angeles, Cal. T. R. GABEL.

A CONSTANT REMINDER

SIR,—Let me assure you of my most hearty approval of your idea, as a memorial to the American boys who laid down their

lives there—and as a constant reminder to the French people and to tourists in that country of the political and moral affinity existing between the American and French nations. I will subscribe.

Indianapolis, Ind.

W. J. GREENWOOD.

BELIEVES IN DIRECT ACTION

SIR,—Don't talk so much about building a Washington Monument in France. Build it!
New York City. JIM.

THE WHOLE FAMILY

SIR,—There being 66 in our little commercial family, I inclose check for \$66, hoping that they all may be life members for the Monument.
Omaha, Neb. E. E. BRUCE.

A PRIVILEGE TO SUBSCRIBE

SIR,—I most heartily concur in Col. Harvey's suggestion for a replica in France of the Washington Monument to our fallen heroes. I shall deem it a privilege to be among the subscribers to this noble cause.

E. FRIEDRICK,
Commander U. S. Navy,
U. S. S. North Carolina.

FLORIDA AND MONTANA HEARD FROM

SIR,—Have you heard from Florida in regard to the proposed Washington Monument? I live in Florida, although, thank God, I am a Montana man. Count on me to do my part when it comes to "digging up" for the Monument.
Miami, Fla. ARTHUR HARRIS.

The Monument—Where?

I. CANTIGNY.

II. CHATEAU-THIERRY.

III. MEUSE-ARGONNE.

What Is Your Choice?

IV. BELLEAU WOOD.

V. ST. MIHIEL.

JUST RIGHT

The suggestion of Colonel George Harvey that the American monument to be erected in France shall take the form of an exact replica of the Washington Monument strikes one as just right. It would be dignified, it would command the landscape for miles around, and the reproduction in France of the shaft which dominates our capital would suggest the unity of ideals of two great republics. We believe that an added sentiment would be attached to such a memorial if the family of every American soldier in the great war should contribute from a dollar up to its erection.—*Leslie's Weekly*.

MOST APPROPRIATE

Of all the suggestions made as to a suitable monument to worthily commemorate the deeds of valor and heroism of the American soldiers on the soil of France, none strikes us as being more appropriate than the suggestion made by Colonel George Harvey, Editor of HARVEY'S WEEKLY, New York, that the people of this country erect on the famous battlefields of France, preferably at the Marne or Chateau Thierry, a replica of the Washington Monument. Colonel Harvey, having made the suggestion, should inaugurate the work, and make his WEEKLY the medium for raising the fund.—*Woodstock (N. J.) Monitor-Register*.

Letters From Our Readers

MR. WILSON AND MEXICO.

Sir,—Several years ago, President Wilson used the *Saturday Evening Post*, with its millions of readers, as a medium to convey to the American people his ideas in regard to Mexico. Recently George Creel, who has been the President's spokesman, used the same medium for a frank and cynical attack on Carranza and his Government. I say "frank" because he confesses to what most Americans who have lived in Mexico know: that American investments in Mexico do not rest on corrupt concessions, but represent actual cash invested in the country; and I say "cynical" because he also confesses that "Everything this man [Carranza] is today, he owes to Woodrow Wilson. Merely one of a number of rebel chieftains, it was our arms and ammunition which carried him to victory."

This has been hinted at, and whispered, but this is the first time that it has been officially stated, or stated by an ex-official, that Woodrow Wilson, for the sake of forcing Huerta out of power, supplied arms and ammunition to a rebel chieftain. Whence does Creel get his inspiration? Is it from Woodrow Wilson, and with his approval, or is he peeved at something which happened in Paris, and he is trying to get back at his late chief? It is said that Villa is about to capture Jaurez. Is there any connection between this and Creel's propaganda? Are we to back Villa now, and furnish him with arms and ammunition to overthrow Carranza? President Wilson traded the canal tolls to Great Britain to have a free hand to drive Huerta out of Mexico; is England beginning to put the screws on again, for the protection of her oil interests? Having permitted the Monroe Doctrine to show its head in the League of Nations, is she insisting that the United States should get busy? As the constitution of the League was first drawn, she would have looked after her own interests in Mexico, but perhaps she has made another trade with Mr. Wilson. Is the bloodshed which has been going on in Mexico for years to be again augmented? Are we again to encourage the Mexicans to kill each other in the name of democracy and Liberty? Is the old desire of Mr. Wilson "to triumph as the friend of Mexico" to continue indefinitely?

Eagle Springs, N. M.

B. F. BUTLER.

LIGHT ON MEXICO

Sir,—I note an editorial in a recent number of your WEEKLY, treating of Mexico. I spent the summers of 1911 and of 1913 on the border and in the interior of Mexico, and thought I knew a lot about the country and people, but I am less sure now. I do know, as few seem to realize, however, that the Mexican situation is a matter in which the truth needs searching out by one of your facilities and ability who can spur our Government to do something righteous and sensible.

I suppose the present Administration is at last beginning to learn some of the Mexican truth, but its policy toward Mexico (and toward some Central American countries also) has been worse, if possible, than that of Taft, who apparently did not even try to learn the facts. We have had ten years of bungling and puerility.

Five years ago, I believed in and hoped for Carranza, but as he has developed, I have had to change. It is hard to get the truth, for, aside from the censors on both sides of the line, all sources of information seem to have been either deceived, interested or intimidated. Judging from my knowledge and experience, the best light on Mexico is to be found in articles by William Gates, one in the February NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, and a series in *The World's Work*.

It would be a great work (in more senses than one) to get our Government to learn some facts about Mexico and our relations thereto, and then act sensibly and justly. If a good move is made, some fool butts in and spills the fat into the fire.

The Mexican people, especially the Indians and those with Indian blood, have the making of a great and noble people, and the great mass of them have hoped for help from us for a half-dozen years; but every attempt has been blind or bungling.

Yet, if our people would only go at it aright, it would be easy to win the friendship of the Mexicans and help them to become a nation instead of an ulcer on the face of Mother Earth.

Chattanooga, Tenn.

F. C. FREEMAN.

MORE ABOUT TEXAS

SIR,—Some time ago you published a letter from a Mr. Brown, in which he stated that the sentiment in Texas was rapidly changing concerning the Wilson administration. Later you published another letter confirming Mr. Brown's observation. I can now corroborate both.

My business keeps me in Texas about half of the time, and, therefore, I have had occasion to talk to many people there. Two years ago if a man criticized the most obvious mistake, or inconsistency, of the Administration, it was almost equal to taking his life in his hand. The last trip I made from Dallas to El Paso—a month ago—I talked with seven men in the smoking room. They were all Texans, all Democrats, and all intelligent, and, apparently, representative men. Every one of the seven roasted Mr. Wilson unmercifully, and four out of the seven were outspokenly against the League of Nations, while the other three were in doubt.

I have talked to many others in Texas, as well as other States of the southwest, and I am sure the sentiment is rapidly turning from the League of Nations. Before you and the courageous Senators, such as Reed, Borah, Lodge, Knox, Johnson and others turned your guns on it, apparently everybody was for it. Why do not the great dailies publish the speeches against the thing as well as the Administration's propaganda for it?

Santa Monica, Cal.

H. H. HUGHES.

THE LEAGUE NOT UNDERSTOOD

Sir,—I have just read your magnificent address, "America and Humanity." It is the most powerful indictment of the League of Nations I have read, and one of the most stirring appeals to patriotism I ever saw.

I am convinced that the great majority of the people in this country have not seriously thought about the League of Nations. Woodrow Wilson has such a hold on the minds of so many of the people that when he says the League of Nations will prevent war, the people swallow it, bait, hook, sinker and all.

Your address should be read by every intelligent man and woman in this country.

Baltimore, Md.

RICHARD W. EDMONDS.

MACAULAY ON W. W.

SIR,—The letter from Mr. Shepard headed "Meredith and Wilson" refreshed my memory of a commentary by Macaulay on Robert Harley. It runs to this effect:

He constantly had, even with his best friends, an air of mystery and reserve which seemed to indicate that he knew some momentous secret and that his mind was laboring with some vast design. In this way he got and long kept a high reputation for wisdom. It was not till that reputation had made him an Earl, a Knight of the Garter, Lord High Treasurer of England, and master of the fate of Europe, that his admirers began to find out that he was really a dull, puzzleheaded man.

A note is added to the page quoting Pope, who once said of Harley: "That lord talked of business in so confused a manner that you did not know what he was about; and everything he went to tell you was in the epic way; for he always began in the middle."

Amherst, N. H.

RICHARD D. WARE.

"AMERICA AND HUMANITY"

SIR,—I have endeavored to read carefully the speeches of Senators Lodge and Knox, the contributions of Mr. Root, the speeches of Mr. Taft, and other articles relating to the League of Nations, and I desire to say that the speech which you delivered at Syracuse University, and which is published in THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW for July, is the most comprehensive and clearest production which I have read upon the subject.

It seems to me that if those opposed to the adoption of this Covenant have a fund for the purpose of disseminating information, the best thing they could do would be to distribute your editorial in great quantity throughout the country.

Cincinnati, O.

PHILIP REUTTINGER.

"PATRIOTIC AND TRUE"

SIR,—I have read with increasing interest your Commencement address delivered at Syracuse University last month. It is noble, patriotic and true. It strikes at a fast growing sentiment of non-patriotism, that seems to me destructive of American sovereignty and of the American Republic. I have been amazed at the position occupied by many parties, churches and men of note in regard to the League of Nations.

Greeneville, Tenn.

W. E. F. MILBURN.

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"Soap Bubbles"

—Senator Brandegee

The People Await the President

THE first treaties of the United States were made with the Creek Indians. For reasons which he set forth in a communication addressed to the Senate on August 6, 1790, President Washington proclaimed the necessity of designating "a proper person" to enter into negotiations and added, "For this purpose I nominate to you Henry Knox," whose appointment was duly confirmed. Subsequently he presented the treaties as drawn for "your consideration" and "your advice whether I shall ratify the same." Later he sought a "decision" from the Senate as to "whether you will advise and consent to the ratification" of a treaty with Spain. Invariably, in fact, as is well known, our first President was scrupulous to the point of meticulousness in observance of both the letter and the spirit of the Constitution and in courtesy toward the co-ordinate branch of the treaty-making power. Unvaryingly, too, his successors emulated his example.

Autre temps, autres mœurs!

"I avail myself of the earliest opportunity," said President Wilson to the Senate on July 10, "to lay the Treaty before you for ratification."

We must assume that he was speaking colloquially. Technically, of course, as indicated by Washington, the Executive ratifies a treaty "with the advice and consent of the Senate." It is quite possible, however, that having negotiated this particular treaty in person, in violation of all established precedents, "in his own name and by his own proper authority," Mr. Wilson considered that already, as President, he had confirmed his action as Prime Minister and required only perfunctory acquiescence of the Senate as a matter of idle form.

The correctness of this surmise, previously indicated by repeated assertions to the effect that he would not accept the slightest change in the momentous document, seems thus to be confirmed by his own careful limitations of his desire. Although speaking in obviously chastened mood and after a manner far less truculent and more propitiatory than usual, the President made it clear that what he wants is unconditional consent unaccompanied by advice, such as Washington was wont to seek, which he considers at least superfluous, and not inconceivably impertinent.

Disappointment awaits him. He will get the advice; he will not get the consent. That is now the unescapable and unalterable fact. Whether Mr. Wilson realizes it or not cannot be determined with surety from anything he has said; it would be good for himself and for the country if he did; seemingly he has a glimmering, but he is so accustomed to deceive himself in essaying to interpret "the spirit of America" and in this instance has been so egregiously misled by the affrighted sycophants whom he left at home that conjecture respecting his real view is idle. That he will be the unwilling recipient of advisory suggestions attendant circumstances can hardly have left him unaware, but it is still a question whether even the ultimately disastrous consequences of his early flattering experiences abroad have shaken his supreme confidence in his powers of persuasion.

If not, we feel sorry for him. When, if at all, he goes

forth to incite the people to revolt against their form of government and to minatory measures against their representatives in the Senate he will confront audiences differing greatly in their attitude toward himself from any which he has ever faced before in the United States. We question whether his candid friend the *Evening Post* is not guilty of exaggeration in asserting that the country is suffering from an attack of "anti-Wilson influenza," but the most casual observer cannot fail to realize that the people are in an inquiring, not to say distrustful, frame of mind. They cannot understand why their President, who is sworn to serve them and them alone, should attach equal importance to the welfare and desires of "men everywhere," why he should never mention specifically or seem to think differently of America, why he should be so ready and willing to sacrifice the Monroe Doctrine when all other nations are safeguarding their distinctive policies more jealously than ever, why he is content to let pass uncontradicted the British insistence that it is for the League, not for the United States, to decide whether our most vital declaration shall be regarded as valid, why he should reserve no way out of what may prove to be a disastrous permanent alliance except by unanimous consent of eight other Powers, why this country should have only one vote to Britain's six, why even Japan should be permitted along with others to have a say about our immigration, why we should pledge ourselves in advance to send our sons and grandsons to fight the battles of those whose concerns are not ours and whose territorial integrity may be undeserving of preservation, and why, finally, we should not keep our eyes on the ground to see where we are going instead of lifting them skyward only to take desperate chances of stumbling over precipices to destruction.

These and other like doubts are weighing seriously upon the minds of Mr. Wilson's countrymen, some of whom are beginning to question even his sagacity as a consequence of the outcome of his matching of minds with European statesmen. Americans are practical folk, after all, and they want to know about these things. They hoped he would tell them in his speech to the country before the Senate, but instead he gave them a mere rhapsody admirably couched to win first prize for rhetorical exercises in a post-graduate school, but wholly unsuited to the grave purposes in hand.

There was but one real point in the entire dissertation. It was contained in these words:

Every true heart in the world, and every enlightened judgment demanded that, *at whatever cost of independent action*, every Government that took thought for its people or for justice or for ordered freedom should lend itself to a new purpose and utterly destroy the old order of international politics.

That, however, suffices. It spells complete repudiation of nationalism, of patriotism, of Americanism. It calls for substitution of internationalism, of a common emotion, of a super-state. It can mean nothing else.

So let that be the issue! And let Mr. Wilson go to the people upon it. They are only too keen to have him come out into the open and speak up. Thus far he has played only cuttlefish politics. Now let him prove his statesmanship, his wisdom and—his patriotism!

Where Stands Mr. Taft?

EVERYBODY knows that William H. Taft is for a League to Enforce Peace. But is he now for the Covenant in its present form? Does he stand with President Wilson for its ratification without the dotting of an i or the crossing of a t? Despite all evidences to that effect, we frankly do not believe it. He has not said publicly that he is, and we cannot find that he has advised any of his friends in the Senate to vote for acceptance unqualified by effective amendments or reservations. Although, somewhat obtusely to our mind, he has gone so far as to create a common impression that he would support any plan proposed by Mr. Wilson, we are not yet convinced that that understanding is correct. We do not see how it can be. Shortly after the President returned to Paris Mr. Taft was asked by the State Department to submit and did submit suggestions involving material changes. The document which he forwarded to Paris lies before us. Here it is exactly as written:

LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

Memorandum for the President:
From William H. Taft.

Duration of the Covenant.

Add to the Preamble the following:
"from the obligations of which any member of the League may withdraw after July 1, 1929, by two years' notice in writing, duly filed with the Secretary General of the League."

Explanation.

I have no doubt that the construction put upon the agreement would be what I understand the President has already said it should be, namely that any nation may withdraw from it upon reasonable notice, which perhaps would be a year. I think, however, it might strengthen the Covenant if there was a fixed duration. It would completely remove the objection that it is perpetual in its operation.

Article 4.

Unanimous action by the Executive Council or Body of Delegates.

Insert in Article IV, after the first paragraph, the following:
"Other action taken or recommendations made by the Executive Council or the Body of Delegates shall be by the unanimous vote of the countries represented by the members or delegates, unless otherwise specifically stated."

Explanation.

Great objection is made to the power of the Executive Council by a majority of the members and the body of Delegates to do the things which they are authorized to do in the Covenant. In view of the specific provision that the Executive Council and the Body of Delegates may act by a majority of its members as to their procedure, I feel confident that, except in cases where otherwise provided, both bodies can only act by unanimous vote of the countries represented. If that be the right construction, then there can be no objection to have it specifically stated, and it will remove emphatic objection already made on this ground. It is a complete safeguard against involving the United States primarily in small distant wars to which the United States has no immediate relation, for the reason that the plan for taking care of such a war, to be recommended or advised by the Executive Council, must be approved by a representative of the United States on the board.

Article 15.

Japanese Immigration and Tariff.

Add to Article XV:

"If the difference between the parties shall be found by the Executive Council or the Body of Delegates to be a question which by international law is solely within the domestic jurisdiction and policy of one of the parties, it shall so report and not recommend a settlement of the dispute."

Explanation.

Objection is made to Article XV that under its terms the United States would be bound by unanimous recommendation for settlement of a dispute in respect to any issue foreign or domestic; that it therefore might be affected seriously and unjustly by recommendations against the exclusion of Japanese or

Chinese, or by recommendations forbidding tariffs on importations. In my judgment, we could rely on the public opinion of the world, evidenced by the Body of Delegates, not to interfere with our domestic legislation and action. Nor do I think that under the League as it is, we covenant to abide by a unanimous recommendation. But if there is a specific exception made in respect to matters completely within the domestic jurisdiction and legislation of a country, the whole criticism is removed. The President has already specifically met the objection as to limitation upon the tariff when the fourteen points were under discussion. Nevertheless, in respect to the present language of the Covenant, it would help much to meet and remove objections.

Article 8.

Duration of Armament Limit.

Add to the first paragraph of Article VIII, the following:
"At the end of every five years, such limits of armament for the several governments shall be re-examined by the Executive Council, and agreed upon by them as in the first instance."

Explanation.

The duration of the obligation to limit armament, which now may only be changed by consent of the Executive Council, has come in for criticism. I should think this might be thus avoided without in any way injuring the Covenant. Perhaps three years is enough, but I should think five years would be better.

Monroe Doctrine.

Add to Article X.

a. "A state or states of America, a member or members of the League, and competent to fulfill this obligation in respect to American territory or independence, may, in event of the aggression actual or threatened, expressly assume the obligation and relieve the European or non-American members of the League from it until they shall be advised by such American state or states of the need for their aid."

b. "Any such American state or states may protect the integrity of any American territory and the sovereignty of the government whose territory it is, whether a member of the League or not, and may, in the interest of American peace, object to and prevent the further transfer of American territory or sovereignty to any European or non-American power."

Explanation.

Objection has been made that under Article X, European governments would come to America with force and be concerned in matters from which heretofore the United States has excluded them. This is not true, because Spain fought Chili, in Seward's time, without objection from the United States, and so Germany and England instituted a blockade against Venezuela in Roosevelt's time. This fear could be removed, however, by the first of the above paragraphs.

Paragraph (b) is the Monroe Doctrine pure and simple. I forwarded this in my first memorandum.

It will be observed that Article X only covers the integrity and independence of members of the League. There may be some American countries, which are not sufficiently responsible to make it wise to invite them into the League. This second paragraph covers them. The expression "European or non-American" is inserted for the purpose of indicating that Great Britain though it has American dominion, is not to acquire further territory or sovereignty.

No analysis or exposition is required to show that these suggestions of Mr. Taft, in common with those submitted by Mr. Root, were either ignored or put aside. Now the question arises, How essential did or does Mr. Taft consider his proposed amendments to be? Mr. Root defined his position with characteristic definiteness in his letter to Senator Lodge. Under no circumstances would he vote or advise others to vote for the Covenant as it stands. All of the Republican Senators save one or possibly two are equally resolved to safeguard beyond the shadow of a doubt the independence of their country as a free and unentangled nation.

What is the final attitude of Mr. Taft? His thousands of puzzled and distressed friends are entitled to know. He cannot speak too soon. The line of cleavage between Americanism and Internationalism is being sharply drawn. There is no twilight zone in patriotism. Where stands Mr. Taft?

We ask the question of our former President as of right and necessity, but, as we have indicated, without trepidation. It is still to our mind inconceivable that, at the finish of a fight for liberty, William Howard Taft, son of Alonzo Taft and father of a gallant volunteer in the service of his country, will be found in the company of men who, wittingly or unwittingly, are conniving at the downfall of the Republic.

We Appeal for Mercy

THERE are times, we confess regretfully, when we feel certain misgivings as to the real effectiveness of the constructive suggestions which heed to a sense of duty prompts us to proffer to the present Administration. Indeed we may go so far as to admit that it is this realization, supplementing a natural disinclination to invite criticism by seeming presumptuousness, that accounts for the restraint which, judging from their communications, weighs heavily upon the minds of many of our readers. It is with no little hesitancy, therefore, that we now take the liberty of directing the attention of our happily returned and ensconced Chief Magistrate to a circumstance of grave importance which might otherwise, in the press of accumulated tasks, escape his undivided attention.

The circumstance to which—or, speaking more exactly, to whom—we allude is the Hon. Gilbert M. Hitchcock, Senator of the United States from the sovereign State of Nebraska. True it is and we would not deny that in times past Mr. Hitchcock has not been so invariably submissive to duly assumed authority as to merit kindly consideration. We cannot recall offhand whether he was one of the Wilful Twelve, but our recollection is distinct that he voted, contrary to instructions, to place an embargo upon the shipment of munitions to the Allies and in other instances, most notably when the President called Senator Chamberlain a liar for speaking the truth, he behaved in such a way as to give just cause of offense.

Since those days of unhappy differences, however, he has never wavered in his fidelity to ideals, however illusory, as beheld by his lord and master. During the past few months in particular he has subordinated self to a degree never before recorded of a Nebraskan. He has spoken in support of the sacred Covenant over and over again from platforms overweighted to the point of danger by Mr. Taft. His arguments or appeals or whatever they might be called lacked cogency no doubt, but they were his and his alone and were put forth with a fervor worthy of any man upholding a cause which he knows to be pernicious.

And that is not all. As the rankest member of the Committee on Foreign Relations, Senator Hitchcock has tilted frequently and disastrously to his reputation with his fellow pygmies and once trifled so transparently with the truth that even Senator John Sharp felt obliged to call him to account. Day in and day out he has hewed wood and drawn water for the absent Executive under the painstaking direction of Mr. Tumulty and in all ways at all times has proved himself a good and faithful servant.

Now he enters into his reward. That is to say, his

services being no longer essential, he finds himself, conformably to established usage, out in the cold, cold world,—a castaway, ostentatiously ignored and contemptuously put aside after having been securely tied to the mast. We could scarcely believe our eyes when we read, first in the *Herald*, that Senator Hitchcock, who has borne the brunt of battle “has not yet been consulted by the President nor has he received any word from the White House nor was he among those with whom Mr. Wilson conversed,” after the great deliverance. It seemed incredible. And yet on the following morning the other correspondents confirmed the report and noted further that when the reception committee called at the White House the President “deliberately turned his back on Mr. Hitchcock” and later conferred with Senator Swanson. The immediate consequence was the abrupt departure of the Nebraska pygmy, as he must now regretfully be designated, for the north shore of Massachusetts, whose cooling breezes greatly facilitate calm reflection upon the vicissitudes of inhuman existence.

It is too bad. Something ought to be done about it; but what? The helplessness of the Senator himself is only too apparent. Not only is he, as we have noted, bound hand and foot by his conscienceless commitments but he is in a partisan corral which bears all appearance of being horseshoe high and hog tight. Ordinarily succour might be sought hopefully through an appeal to the imperfectly revealed self-interest of an ambitious potentate, but so clearly is there nothing here to be gained that we see nothing for it but to cry out beseechingly to the highly developed bowels of compassion of one who loves his fellowmen everywhere, and such is the purpose of this plaintive invocation.

For the pygmy himself we ask nothing. He got only what was coming to him and he ought to have known better. It is in the name of humanity that we crave indulgence, denial of which, we gravely apprehend, might break the heart of the world.

One of the most irritating features of the whole business is that they put it all over him.

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BY GEORGE HARVEY

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"Words, Words, Words"

THE President was almost at his worst. In literary form nobody, we imagine, will venture to pretend that he exhibited the felicity of style which hitherto has often charmed even those whom it failed to convince. In spirit there was, say his apologists—whom he has instead of eulogists—a fine moderation; but it was the apologetic moderation of timid weakness rather than that of conscious and confident strength. There was the apprehensive laboring of the man who realizes that his cause is bad, and who is trying with "resounding generalities" to make it appear as little bad as possible.

Apart from some specific points in it which require specific consideration, the first general criticism of the address is, that it was "Buncombe." That is to say, it was meant not for the Senate to which it was directly addressed, but for the wider audience of the nation at large; which he sought to reach through the medium of the Senate. This, which is admitted by his apologists as well as charged by his critics, was glaringly obvious. There was scarcely a sentence in it that was of the slightest value or interest to the Senate in its work of considering the Treaty for ratification. His talk about not breaking the heart of the world but following the vision with lifted eyes and freshened spirit, was very rhetorical and very dramatic, but it had absolutely nothing to do with the actual details of the Treaty. It gave the Senate none of the information which it had a right to expect, to guide it in its supremely important work. It was in fact nothing but an eloquent rehearsal of what the President's editorial toadies in the press had been saying over and over again for months. It was not the sort of thing that the Constitution contemplates for Presidential communications to Congress.

It was the more inappropriate, to use no stronger term, for the President to present such stuff to the Senate, because of two major reasons. One was, the secrecy with which the Treaty had been made. In the first of his Fourteen Commandments the President spoke for "open covenants openly arrived at;" in his Farewell Address to Congress he said "You will know all that I do;" and in last week's address to the Senate he said "You have been daily cognizant of what was going on." But the fact is, as he knew right well, that the covenant was not "openly arrived at," that Congress did not know all that he did, that the Senate had not been daily cognizant of what was going on; and that its lack of information was due to his own censorship over the news of the Conference. He thus came back to a Senate which he had kept in the dark, and he refused, or at least failed, to enlighten it.

The other reason was, that there had been raised in the Senate certain very specific points of objection to the Treaty, upon which consideration of it was bound to dwell, and upon which final action upon it was bound to turn. The President knew that this was the case. He knew what those points were. He knew that they were what the Senate was most interested in. And he dodged them, every one. The Senate wanted to know why it was necessary to destroy the Monroe Doctrine by adopting a false characterization of it; and the President told them that "a cry had gone out

from every home in every stricken land from which sons and brothers and fathers had gone forth to the great sacrifice that such a sacrifice should never again be exacted." The Senate wanted to know why we should not be permitted to withdraw from the League of Nations at will; and the President said that "The only question is whether we can refuse the moral leadership that is offered to us." The Senate wanted to know to what extent we were to be bound to meddle in every war or danger of war that might occur anywhere in distant parts; and the President vouchsafed the information that if we rejected the Covenant of Denationalization, we should "break the heart of the world."

A little later, with a select company of Democratic Senators and some others he informally discussed certain of these points; and he announced his willingness to appear before the Foreign Relations Committee and give it whatever information it desired. But that did not and could not atone for his amazing failure to improve the great opportunity of his address to the Senate. It was more and worse than a failure to improve it: It was an egregious neglect to perform a public duty; if indeed it did not come perilously near to being a slight to a coordinate branch of the Government. The Senate of the United States had no need of disquisitions upon the world's weariness of war; of a lecture upon the difficulties of diplomatic negotiation; or of exhortations to seek the good, the true and the beautiful. It knows as much about such matters as—with all respect—the President himself, and has just as high ideals as he. What it wanted, what it was entitled to, was an explicit and practical report upon the President's extraordinary mission, and it did not get it. Instead, it got a rhetorical exploitation of the President and his peculiar doctrines. It wanted facts: It got "words, words, words."

Washington, July 10.—President Wilson's address to the Senate, in which he presented the peace treaty, was a disappointment to the Republicans.—*The World*.

It surely was; also to the Democrats; also to the whole people,—all of whom had hoped for clear exposition and got only hot air.

Impertinence

THE President went to the limit of propriety when he made it known that the Senate must ratify or reject the Treaty of Peace as it stands, without amendment or reservation. He went to the limit, but may be exculpated from the charge of transgressing it, because while of course he has no right to forbid the Senate to do anything it pleases with the Treaty, he has the right to decline to accept it for exchange of ratifications with the other signatories if the Senate puts it into a shape unsatisfactory to him. We may charitably assume therefore that the warning which we have recalled was intended to be merely to that effect, that if the Senate wanted him to accept the Treaty and to report its ratification to the other Powers, it must make no changes in it.

It is a different and a much more serious matter for the President to attempt to dictate to either House of Congress its rules of procedure, as he is reported to have done on

Thursday of last week. We are told that he insisted that any modifications of the Treaty or any appended reservations, would require a two-thirds vote. In this he was of course wrong, as the veriest tyro in parliamentary law should know. The Constitution of the United States, Art. I, Sec. V, Par. 2, says that "Each House may determine the rules of its proceedings." Elsewhere in various places it names the exceptions to that grant of autonomy. It prescribes the necessity of a two-thirds vote for conviction in impeachments, for ratification of treaties, for expulsion of members, for overriding vetoes, for removal of political disabilities, and for submission of Constitutional amendments. But apart from these specific cases, "each House may determine the rules of its proceedings."

It has, moreover, long been the rule and practice of the Senate to amend treaties by a majority vote. Rule 37, made by the Senate itself in pursuance of its Constitutional right, explicitly declares that that may be done. And it has been done. We are told that no fewer than sixty-eight treaties have been amended before ratification by the Senate, that in every case merely a majority vote was required, and that the demand for a two-thirds vote has never before been made. Obviously, that is quite logical and just. For a treaty can be ratified as it stands only if two-thirds of the Senators favor it; and if two-thirds thus favor it, they can certainly prevent any amendments from being made. The adoption of an amendment or reservation by a majority vote is proof positive and conclusive that there is not the necessary two-thirds majority in favor of ratifying it unchanged.

The real significance of the President's remarks upon the subject is in its revelation of his itch for meddling with matters that are none of his business, and his vaulting ambition to dominate the Legislative as well as the Executive department of the Government. If he had any business to interfere in the matter, the interference which he has essayed would be on the wrong side. But as he has not the slightest business to do so, consequently his attempt was impertinent.

George Harvey declares that the L. of N. would make the U. S. a British colony. Does he mean that he would rather have seen it become a German colony?—*Brooklyn Citizen*.

No; but we probably would have become one before now if, in the graphic phrase of Mr. Roosevelt, we had not finally been "dragged into the war stern first."

"Only a Declaration"

DODGING in his address to the Senate the question of the misrepresentation and practical destruction of the Monroe Doctrine in the Covenant of the League of Nations, the President is reported to have discussed it privately with a select group of Senators and to have expressed the opinion that the Covenant was a guarantee of recognition of the Doctrine, which Doctrine had never before had any standing in international law but had been "only a declaration of the President of the United States."

In that amazing utterance the President confirmed the most severe criticisms which have been passed upon his attitude toward the Monroe Doctrine and upon the treatment of that Doctrine in the Covenant of the League of Nations.

It is of course perfectly true that the Monroe Doctrine has "never had any standing in international law," but has always been "only a declaration of the President of the United States." That should forever remain true. We do not want it made a matter of international law, and therefore subject to amendment, modification or abrogation by any congress of the Powers. We want it to remain just what it has been for ninety-five years, "only a declaration of the President of the United States." Just so the Declaration of Independence has "never had any standing in international law," but has been only a declaration of the Continental Congress. There are those who esteem a declaration of national policy, made by the President of the United States and approved by the Congress and the people, as an important and weighty matter, entirely apart from the consent, acknowledgement or recognition of any other Powers.

The worst of the President's blundering remarks is, however, his characterization of the Covenant's reference to the Doctrine as an acknowledgement or a recognition of it. It is no such thing, and if the President is not aware that it is not, he betrays ignorance or lack of appreciation that should be incredible and which is unpardonable. The Covenant indeed "recognizes" something which it calls the Monroe Doctrine, while it is not the Monroe Doctrine as James Monroe promulgated it and as the United States has maintained it for nearly a century. It describes it as a "regional understanding for the preservation of peace." It is no such thing. It is not regional. It is not an understanding. It was not made "for the preservation of peace."

The damning fact about the Covenant is that it misrepresents the Monroe Doctrine in a way that is calculated utterly to destroy its value and its validity. And the President asks us to sanction that misrepresentation and to ratify that destruction; and tells us that if we do not do so the heart of the world will be broken!

We do not want "recognition" of the Doctrine; any more than England wants our recognition of her Magna Charta. We want maintenance of it as our own national policy, such as it has been for nearly a century, and in which capacity it has during all that time been most tremendously effective. A Doctrine which has been sufficient to defeat the purposes of the Holy Alliance, to drive France out of Mexico, and to shut Great Britain and Germany out of Venezuela, beside in a hundred other cases proving similarly efficient—such a Doctrine is good enough for us, even if it is nothing but a "declaration of the President of the United States."

London, July 9.—The House of Commons to-day adopted an amendment to the Finance Bill, moved by J. Austen Chamberlain, Chancellor of the Exchequer, giving the Government power by an order in council to extend colonial preference to any territory of which any portion of the British Empire may become a mandatory under the League of Nations. The vote was 195 to 58.

Of course; and when Mr. Hogge asked whether the League covenant did not guarantee equal opportunities for all nations, Sir Auckland Geddes complacently replied that there was nothing in the covenant preventing the British Government from giving such preference if it should see fit to do so. And he was right. They certainly didn't miss a trick.

Roosevelt and the League

SOME of the dove-cotes in Corioli are greatly fluttered by the words of Senator Johnson concerning Theodore Roosevelt and the League of Nations. That plain-spoken statesman from the land of plain-speaking bluntly declares that if any man says that Theodore Roosevelt would have favored the League of Nations "that man lies." To that "short and ugly word" he adds confidently that if Theodore Roosevelt were now living, instead of favoring or even acquiescing in the League "he would be the one man who would defeat it." How does the Senator know? pipe the Denationalists. Has he direct communication with the spirit world?

It is not necessary. The Denationalists themselves have admitted the truth of Senator Johnson's words. Only a little while ago, as we quoted him in these pages, one of the foremost advocates of the League described Theodore Roosevelt as the one man who would have defeated it, and gleefully chuckled over the fact that "the Power called God" had taken that gallant spirit out of the way. That monstrous indecency served at least one good purpose. It fixed forever, on the Denationalists' own testimony, the attitude of Theodore Roosevelt toward the League.

But even that was not necessary. Long before that revolting utterance Theodore Roosevelt himself had made indisputably plain his attitude of implacable and aggressive hostility to any such League as that provided for in the Covenant of the Denationalists. Here are his exact words, the words of him who, being dead, yet speaketh:

There is no limit to the greatness of the future before America, before our beloved land. But we can realize it only if we are Americans, if we are nationalists, with all the fervor of our hearts and all the wisdom of our brains. We can serve the world at all only if we serve America first and best. We must work along our own national lines in every field of achievement. We must feel in the very marrow of our being that our loyalty is due only to America, and that it is not diluted by loyalty for any other nation or all other nations on the face of the earth. Only thus shall we fit ourselves really to serve other nations, to refuse ourselves to wrong them, and to refuse to let them do wrong or suffer wrong.

Senator Johnson is right. The author of the words which we have quoted could not possibly have favored or tolerated any proposition for becoming Denationalists instead of Nationalists, for serving America only after we have served every other tribe and nation, for declaring "national law played out," for abrogating the independence of the United States, and for making this country not an integral nation but a vulgar fraction of an international league. To say that he would have done so is to lie; or to play the insufferable fool.

Misrepresentation

COMMENT has hitherto been made upon the gross misrepresentation of the Monroe Doctrine in the Covenant of Denationalization, and there has been much speculation concerning its authorship. The thing is so utterly incorrect that we have wondered who could have been so ingeniously false or foolish as to have made it. Surely General Jan Smuts, chief author of the Covenant, could not have been so mendacious. Surely Lord Robert Cecil, his collaborer, could not have been so ignorant of

an instrument with which his father had enjoyed a special familiarity. Who could have done it, either through dense misapprehension or sinister design?

Now we are reluctantly compelled to wonder if it was not the President himself who did it; though of course not through either of the motives which have been suggested. His extraordinary capacity for involuntary misrepresentation has already been observed. It was again signally displayed in his statement, to the Senate, of the causes of our entry into the war. He said:

The United States entered the war . . . not because our material interests were directly threatened or because any special treaty obligations to which we were parties had been violated, but only because we saw the supremacy and even the validity of right everywhere put in jeopardy and free government likely to be everywhere imperilled.

The fact is, of course, that we entered the war primarily for the very reasons which the President thus denies. The Act of Congress recognizing a state of war, which the President approved without demur, explicitly declared that that momentous step was taken for the sole reason that—

The imperial German Government has committed repeated acts of war against the Government and the people of the United States of America.

Moreover it will be recalled that the President himself gave the most positive indications to the same effect which he now repudiates. Early in the war, when it was patent to all mankind that "the supremacy and even the validity of right everywhere" were "put in jeopardy" and free government was "likely everywhere to be imperilled," he declared that it was no business of ours, that we were not even concerned in knowing what it was all about, and that our supreme duty was to remain neutral in thought as well as in act, and to keep out of war. The very causes which he now declares led us into the war he then scorned and flouted as inconsiderable trifles, and declared that they must not and should not lead us into war.

If the President, in his curiously tortuous "single track mind" can thus glibly repudiate himself and misrepresent an act of Congress which he himself approved, it can scarcely involve lese majesty to conceive it possible that he was capable of repudiating James Monroe and of misrepresenting his Doctrine.

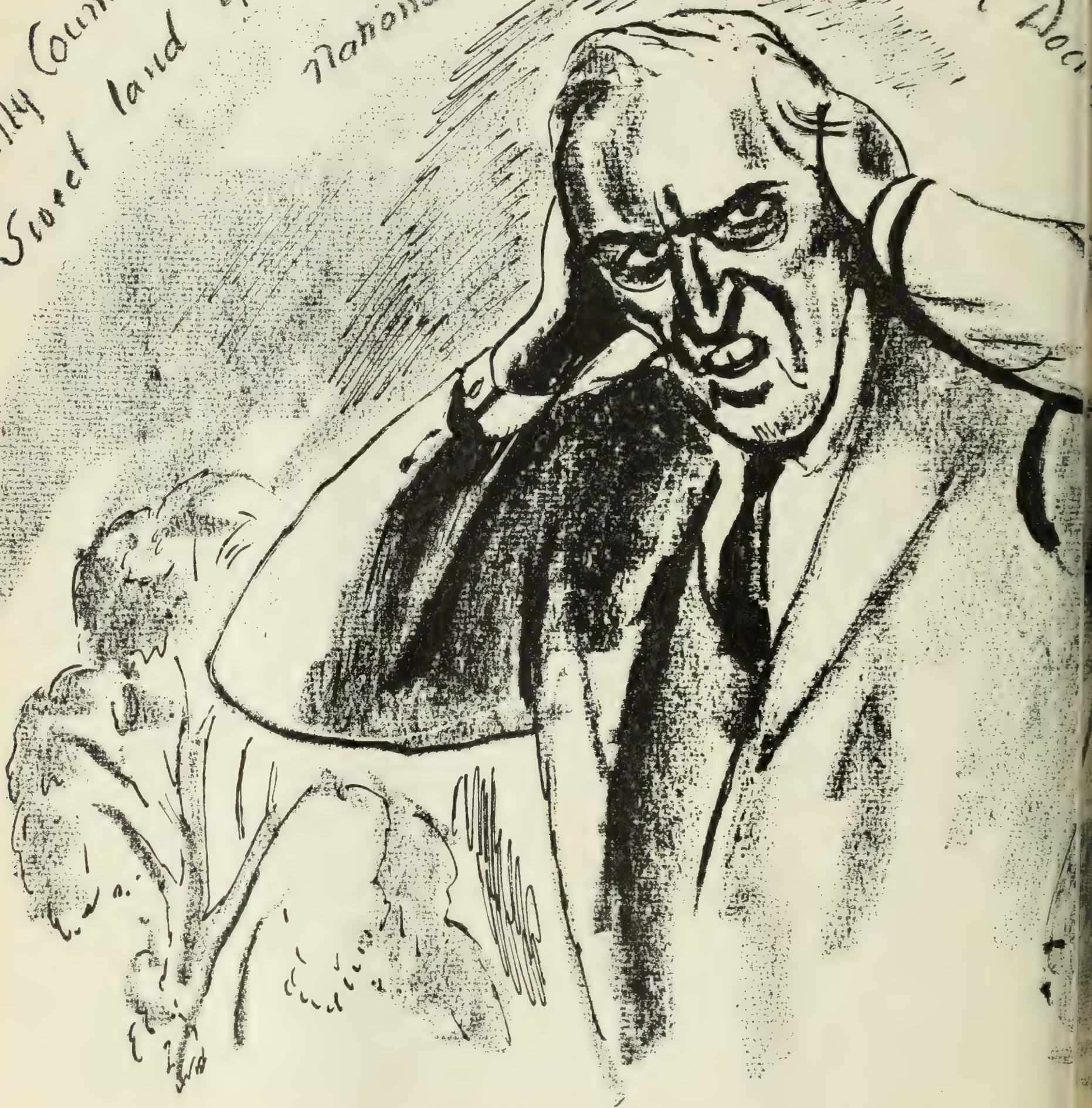
The Irish question was brought up by Senator Phelan. Mr. Wilson said that this problem was one of the most difficult ones he had to consider while abroad, involving many discussions of the subject. But he held that as the Irish question related to the territory of Great Britain, recognized by international law, and as the questions before the conference related wholly to territory taken from the enemy and not possessed by the Allies, no headway could have been made with the Irish situation. Mr. Wilson said that he wished the American people to understand the delicacy of his position in the matter.—*The Times*.

They do, we guess. Anyhow the Rev. Francis P. Duffy seemed to be under no misapprehension when on the same evening, speaking in Madison Square Garden "for Archbishop Patrick J. Hayes as well as for the men of the old 69th regiment," he said:

It is not we who have injected into political life this question of American protection to foreign Powers. It was President Wilson [hisses and boos]. When I read his first speech I thought, "How about Ireland?" And I am in hopes yet that he may be induced to take some open stand in accordance with his own principles and the principles of so many of his political followers and declare in a manly fashion his adherence to the principle of self-determination for the nation of Ireland.

My Country is of Thee
Sweet land of liberty -
National Independence

Monroe Doc



“VOICES N

Control of Domestic Affairs

Entangling Alliances

America First



THE AIR"

The Week

WASHINGTON, JULY 17, 1919.

GERMANY has ratified the Treaty of Peace. That ought instantly to have meant something specific and definite. But it did not. Instead it meant uncertainty and speculation, as to whether the ratification by the central government of Germany was sufficient, or whether it would be necessary to have supplementary ratifications by the individual German states, parts of whose territories were surrendered. To the practical American mind the speculation seems superfluous, seeing that in diplomatic relations the central government acts for all the states. Yet the question was raised very seriously in Paris, and it in turn provokes wonder at the ineptitude with which the Treaty was drafted. Certainly skilled diplomats should have seen to it that all essential points were fully provided for in the instrument itself. Even if some of the makers were so much absorbed in the exploitation of grandiose doctrines and fads as to be insensible to mere matters of business detail, there should have been somebody among the thousand to see that the Treaty was technically workable and efficient.

The decision that immediately upon Germany's ratification, without waiting for ratification by any of the Allies and Associated Powers, the blockade be lifted and trade generally resumed, puts in rather a peculiar light the "raw head and bloody bones" scare of a little while ago, about this country's not being able to resume commerce with Germany until it had itself ratified the Treaty, and the consequent danger that other nations would get into the market ahead of us. The superficial and fictitious character of that pretence is now confessed by those who were most active in making it.

It is gratifying to observe that trade with the Huns is not to be entirely free, but that there will be certain restrictions calculated to protect against German "dumping" some of the industries which have been created in this country during the war, such as the manufacture of dyes. We venture to assume that if the Administration approves such discrimination when effected by decree, it would not disapprove it when effected by means of tariff rates. There is no occasion for desperate eagerness to resume commerce with the "shameless Hun;" and certainly so far as it is resumed, care should be taken to assure that it will not be at the expense of our own industries.

When the war will end seems to be "one of those things no fellow can find out." The President told us officially and formally that it had ended with the signing and going into effect of the armistice. That was on November 11, 1918. Yet it was some days after that that new "war measures" were put into effect; and it was not until nearly eight months afterward that "war-time prohibition" became effective. Now, more than eight months after the President's announcement of the ending of the war, uncertainty still prevails as to the probable date of the expiration of war measures; and the intimation is given that at least so far as the calling off of war-time prohibition is concerned, it may

not be until the Treaty is ratified by our Senate. We should say that if the war is sufficiently ended to permit resumption of normal trade with Germany, it should also be sufficiently ended to permit the resumption of normal trade conditions within the United States.

There is some logic in Italy's demand for a grab in China. If Japan is to take over Germany's loot in that defenceless country, and probably a lot more, Italy seems to be equally entitled to take over Austria's holdings. Of course it would be done in the sacred name of self-determination.

One of the most unpleasant stories in connection with the whole Chino-Japanese business is that given with much circumstance and positiveness in the *New York Sun* on Sunday last. It is to the effect that Mr. Lansing, General Bliss and Mr. White opposed the handing over of Kioa-Chau and Shantung to Japan, and remonstrated against it in a memorandum which they presented to the President; holding that it would be a gross violation of China's rights; but the President, supported by Colonel House, overruled them and insisted upon giving that Chinese province to Japan because he "wanted to save the Covenant of the League at any cost," and that sacrifice of China was Japan's price for supporting the Covenant. It has already been made pretty clear that the new Triple Alliance was the price of France's support.

The abominable feature of such jockeying is, of course, its cynical repudiation of the sacrosanct principles which the President has hitherto so unctuously proclaimed. "There must be no more special alliances or balances of power," he austere decrees; "but we'll make a special alliance with France and establish a balance of power with her, if she'll support the Covenant." Also, "We must afford guarantees of political independence and territorial integrity to all nations;" but, in the next breath, *sotto voce*, "Japan may spoliage China all she pleases, if only she will support the Covenant." Indeed, why not? Seeing that the President is ready and eager to sacrifice the United States itself for the sake of the Covenant, why should he not sacrifice China? He cannot care much less for America than he does for China. And it would be better to break China than to break the heart of the world.

The Turkish Government, in a desperate attempt to "save its face" and to rehabilitate itself among the Powers of the world—in which of course it cannot succeed—has condemned to death three of its chief ravishers and murderers. It is a grim and ghastly joke, seeing that the judges and executioners of the wretches are probably every bit as bad as the three thus to be disposed of. With the exception of William Hohenzollern and a few other Huns, there are probably no men in the world who more richly deserve the heaviest penalty of the law than these unspeakable miscreants—the worst of whom, by the way, as might be supposed, is half German and was trained at Potsdam, which accounts for his excelling all mere Turks in

sheer, revolting deviltry. But after all the chief crime of these men in Turkish eyes is their failure to win the war. So long as they were triumphant, and were torturing Armenians to death by the hundred thousand, they were gallant champions of Islam against the hated Giaour. Remember that they were the leaders of the "Young Turks," who overthrew Abdul Hamid and established a "reformed" government; which presently far surpassed in iniquity the worst deeds of the Hamidian reign. Thus "Amurath to Amurath succeeds." We have no doubt that similarly those who have now condemned Enver, Talaat and Djemal to death would outdo those butchers in crime, if they had a chance and thought they could do it with impunity. There is little more hope of reforming a Turk than a Hun.

The temperate and urbane Sir Edward Carson says "seriously" to the United States: "You attend to your own affairs; we will look after ours." That is, of course, a gentle and courteous hint to the President to accept some modification of the Covenant of Denationalization, since it is only through that malign instrument that there could be any danger of our meddling in Irish or British affairs. It would be a not inappropriate *tu quoque* for the President to reply in his familiar phrase, "May I not suggest that if Sir Edward would keep his mouth shut the 'Irish question' might also be closed?"

Another splendid and unprecedented achievement is added to the record of this wonder-year in aviation. First we had the first crossing of the Atlantic by an airship. Next we had the first such crossing in a single flight, without a mid-sea stop and without a line of guardships. Now we have had the first round trip, an airship coming from England to America and almost immediately returning thither. Also, it is to be observed, there has been demonstrated the practicability of trans-Atlantic flights by both heavier-than-air and lighter-than-air vessels. Each type has its own advantages, the one in speed, the other in carrying capacity and ability to remain aloft indefinitely. The bearing of these interesting demonstrations upon naval construction should be obvious. The battleship, even the swiftest cruiser, must hereafter have protection against attacks from above, which it will not be easy to afford. The same is true of our coast defences. What barrier can they present against invasion by a fleet of airships laden with explosives or poison gases, which can come across the Atlantic, fly over our cities on their errand of destruction, and return without landing? The answer probably is that airships must be met by airships; wherefore our aviation service at once rises to the highest importance for national defence.

"Are Americans no longer proud of what this nation has accomplished?" shrills the *Living Church* in the course of an hysterical exhortation to the ratification of the Covenant of Denationalization. They are, they are, Reverend Brother. They are proud of what it has accomplished during the last hundred years and more, under the principles and the policies established by Washington and Jefferson and Monroe and Lincoln, and enacted in the Constitution. They

are so proud of it that they are unwilling now to abandon those principles and policies and to treat that Constitution as a "scrap of paper."

Seeing the extent to which the President purposes to turn the management of the world over to the League of Denationalization, it is interesting to recall an expert observation upon that point:

Joint international administration, in so far as it has been applied to territories or peoples, has been found wanting wherever it has been tried. . . . If the League of Nations attempts too soon to administer any people or territory directly through an international personnel, it will run a very serious risk of discrediting itself.

It was no mere pigmy mind nor insect that said that, but no less an authority than the author of the League scheme himself, General Jan Smuts.

Huns and Bolsheviks run true to form, to the very last. In withdrawing from Polish territory, in accordance with the requirements of the Treaty, the former are stealing cattle, furniture, and everything movable that they can lay their thievish hands upon, while the latter have been running a wholesale counterfeiting plant in Switzerland, turning out millions of dollars of American and English bank notes. There is a fine sense of humor, however, in manufacturing counterfeit American money with which to finance Bolshevik propaganda in this country.

The astounding blunder, by which vast stores of army food which were not wanted and could not be used were permitted to go to waste through deterioration instead of being promptly put upon the market, is variously charged against this, that and the other official, bureau or office. The only point upon which there seems to be unanimous agreement is that the Secretary of War, upon whom responsibility must ultimately rest, is one of the ablest public officials the President has ever known.

In one matter of war-time legislation it is gratifying to be able to give unqualified commendation to the sensible and statesmanlike course of the President. In vetoing the Agricultural Appropriation bill, with its incredibly foolish "rider" abolishing the "daylight saving" plan, the President spoke words of soberness and truth, and exercised his veto power for the great good of the nation.

We hear privately from London that the chief difficulty in inducing anybody to accept the Ambassadorship to Washington arises from a decision of the Cabinet that the Embassy must keep dry conformably to the laws of the country and regardless of special privileges,—from which we infer that if total abstainers were not so scarce in England our cousins might be less polite.

King Albert of Belgium has bestowed the decoration of the Order of the Crown upon ex-Senator James Hamilton Lewis in recognition of his "devotion to the cause of Belgium." The colors of the ribbon are said to be most unbecoming to Jimham's complexion. Anyhow, he declined it.

Somebody Tells Lies

IT is fair that those journals which had space to give to the report on conditions in Ireland made by the visiting delegates, Messrs. Dunn and Walsh, should give equal space to the formal and specific denials of the Dunn-Walsh charges which the Chief Secretary for Ireland has recently made public. The London *Times* of June 18 devotes an entire page to these charges and the answers thereto. Charge and answer confront each other in parallel columns of type. There are 47 specifications and 47 rejoinders.

When these shocking Dunn-Walsh accusations were first made public they aroused emotions of intense indignation and, indeed, of absolute horror. Even the cold-blooded villainies of the Bolshevik madmen of Russia but little exceeded the atrocities which Mr. Dunn and Mr. Walsh accused English Government officials of practicing in Ireland. The indignation and the horror were not confined to this side of the water. They were felt and found vigorous expression in England itself. There was a peremptory demand that those responsible make immediate answer.

That answer has now appeared and after careful reading of it there can remain no question in the mind that either Messrs. Dunn and Walsh lied deliberately, maliciously and so outrageously as to verge on the grotesque, or that the authorities who replied to them are liars correspondingly conscienceless and infamous. There is no middle ground. Either Messrs. Dunn and Walsh or the English Government authorities are the greatest liars that ever set their hands to a public document. You may read the statements of both and take your choice as to which of the two you will thus brand. It is flatly either one side or the other. There can be no compromise.

It is, of course, impossible within the space restrictions of this publication to give even the most condensed outline of the remarkable document the *Times* publishes. It can only be said that each and every one of the 47 charges formulated by Messrs. Walsh and Dunn is either denied flatly and *in toto*, or with such specifications as to the facts on which the charge was possibly based as to make the formulation of such an accusation on materials so paltry even more shamelessly contemptible than would have been a straight, up-and-down lie itself. An instance of this last occurs in the case of charge 42, which reads:

During the past winter and spring, streams of ice-cold water were poured upon men confined in gaol, and they were compelled to lie all night on cold floors in unheated cells in their wet clothing. Many of them were afterwards removed to hospitals suffering from pneumonia.

To which the answer is as follows:

These statements are untrue. The following constitutes the only pretext for making such a charge:—On one occasion in February last, four prisoners in Mountjoy Prison, after exercise, instead of returning to their cells, climbed up to a ledge upon the roof of one of the wings of the prison. They could not be reached or induced to come down, and, after being repeatedly cautioned that if they did not come down the hose would be used, it became necessary to get them down to use it. They did come down. The incident occurred in the presence of the Visiting Justices. Changes of clothing were at once provided for these prisoners. Two of them availed themselves of the change of clothing. The Medical Officer took charge of the

other two, and had one of them removed to hospital and the other to bed. No illness resulted to any of the prisoners.

As an instance of the flat denial type of reply, the case of charge 14 may be cited:

Charge—Many of the persons the delegates met in the vicinity of Westport corroborated the stories of brutal treatment to which prisoners in Westport gaol were being subjected, the details being horrible beyond belief.

Reply to Charge—There is no prison in Westport.

And so on through the entire list of 47 charges and answers. It is open to anybody to say which side is a monumental liar. One side or the other is. To date, that is the only unqualified certainty that emerges from the controversy.

During the conference it developed that the President expects Japan to indicate an absolutely definite time when they will retire from the possessions granted them in succession to German rights. It is said here that the President made determined efforts to persuade the Japanese to specifically announce the time of withdrawal from Shantung in signing the peace treaty.—*The World*.

But did they? They did not. Their sole response came from Baron Makino himself, who remarked laconically and quite pointedly, "Japan is not too proud to fight."

An Excellent Receiver

THE country owes a great debt to Mr. Edwin N. Hurley for having resigned as chairman of the United States Shipping Board at this time. The debt would have been about \$1,000,000,000 greater if he had resigned a year ago, taking with him the greatest galaxy of high-priced press agents ever assembled under one roof. But we shall not quibble over the date. The sufficiently satisfying fact is that, although he might have stayed longer, he has gracefully withdrawn. Doubtless he could have remained another twelve months before the President would have found an opportunity to put aside the world's affairs long enough to estimate the amount and condition of the wreckage usually referred to as a "shipping programme."

Just as we are grateful for Mr. Hurley's resignation, so we are grateful for the appointment of Judge John Barton Payne. It would be difficult to picture two men of more divergent characteristics. Judge Payne is an excellent administrator, a wise counsellor, and possesses all the qualifications of a really first-rate receiver.

For in truth he should be known as the Receiver, rather than the Chairman, of the Shipping Board, because that institution now represents the greatest bankruptcy in history. It is a receivership in fact, as well as in theory: because, just as Mr. Hurley's programme went to the scrap-heap, his policy went to the waste basket. Judge Payne will have the double task of salvaging the wreckage and creating a policy.

After spending millions on wooden canal boats (misnamed ocean carriers), and steel ships with inferior boilers, poor plating, and generally faulty designs, Mr. Hurley promised to set aside all the old economic laws and put the American flag on the seven seas. His policy has gone the way of his programme. Every attempt at extenuation for the policy or the programme meets the same fate when the cold facts are uncovered.

The policy Mr. Hurley proposed to Congress was based upon the assumption that the Shipping Board could sell to

the public, without considerable loss to the Government, the bottoms it had laid down, and that Americans could drive foreign competitors out of the trade routes in little or no time. When this policy was proposed, the WEEKLY pointed out that it was absurd on its face. Without considering at all the high American rates of maintenance, we knew that the British yards were turning ships out much cheaper than American yards, and that any attempt to dump the ships on the market would drive prices to the bottom and the Government would hold the bag to the extent of more than \$1,500,000,000. At that time Mr. Hurley took the position that our great quantity-production would result in wiping out the differential between American costs and those of the Clyde. Of course this theory exploded. A few ships were sold at something like fair prices, but the rate could not be maintained in the face of a glutted market.

From Mr. Hurley's testimony at his final appearance before the Senate Committee, it is possible to present some fairly tangible figures bearing upon the extent of the bankruptcy, and the impossibility of initiating—to say nothing of carrying forward—the programme he proposed:

Senator HARDING. I want to know, approximately, what the cost is of the programme on which you have fixed by closing your cancellation programme?

Mr. ACKERSON. About \$200 or \$202 a ton on an average of every ship that will have been completed when this programme is completed.

Senator HARDING. Are all these ships in the programme on the ways?

Mr. ACKERSON. No, sir.

Senator HARDING. Do you mean to say, then, that the Shipping Board proposes to go on constructing for the American programme at \$200 a ton when you have already had it demonstrated that ships can be built at private contract for \$50 less per ton?

Mr. HURLEY. It is costing Great Britain from \$140 to \$160 per ton now. That is what she would accept a contract for. That is for 800,000 tons that she is now building for Norway.

Senator FLETCHER. Do you mean that that is the Government price?

Mr. HURLEY. That is the price of private shipbuilders.

Senator HARDING. That is the price for foreign account. What is the price for domestic account?

Mr. HURLEY. I imagine \$130 to \$150. She puts a clause or condition in every contract, whether it is private or foreign, that the labor increase will have to be taken care of by the buyer.

Senator FLETCHER. She is working on the cost-plus basis, is she not; time and line?

Mr. HURLEY. Yes; time and line.

Senator SIMMONS. How much more does it cost during war to build under Government contract in this country than it costs to build under Government contract in Great Britain, both building for emergency purposes?

Mr. HURLEY. It did not cost them over \$100 or \$110 a ton over there during the war. Their rates have increased since the war, and their production has decreased. Their big increase in wages has come since the armistice was signed.

In other words, every ship built by the American Government costs approximately 100 per cent more than the ships built by British yards during the war, and 75 per cent more than those built on the Clyde since the armistice was signed—in addition to the fact that ours are inferior.

When these costs are thoroughly considered, a fairly good idea may be had of the tremendous task which has been assigned to Judge Payne. If he can evolve a plan of meeting British competition without huge loss to our Government, then indeed he should be recognized as the greatest receiver in history.

There is approximately \$3,000,000,000 at stake.

Two Notable Addresses

TWO memorable addresses, both by Governor Coolidge, of Massachusetts, were delivered at the recent Commencement exercises of Harvard and Amherst. In both these discourses Governor Coolidge went back to certain basic, steady fundamentals in our American life which he, with many others, has regretfully noted a tendency to abandon in these tumultuous years.

In the Amherst address the Governor dwelt with commendatory emphasis upon the adherence of that venerable seat of learning to instruction in the classics, not only of Greece and Rome but of modern history and of modern literature, as vitally essential to equipment for a broad understanding as well as for a practical application of those root principles which govern human action and disclose in clear light man's duties and responsibilities, both personal and patriotic. Speaking of Amherst's sons who were soldiers in the late war, the Governor said:

These young men that we welcome back with so much pride did not go forth to demonstrate their faith in science. They did not offer their lives because of their belief in any rule of mathematics or any principle of physics or chemistry. The laws of the natural world would be unaffected by their defeat or victory.

They went to war because they were inspired by patriotism, and inspiration to patriotism comes from the classics both ancient and modern. Continuing, he said:

I do not under-estimate schools of science and technology. They have a high calling in ministering to mankind. They are important and necessary. I am pointing out that in my opinion they do not provide a civilization that can stand without the support of the ideals that came from the classics.

In his Harvard address, Governor Coolidge drew an impressive contrast between the emoluments and deference paid to instructors, the teacher often being the clergyman as well, in pre-Revolutionary days, as compared with now. The teacher, in the times which bred our great American patriots, "held a place in the community that was not only secure but high. The rewards of his services were comparatively large. He was a leader of the people. From them came the inspiration to liberty. It was in the meeting houses that the Revolution was framed." Continuing, Governor Coolidge said:

This dual character [of clergyman and teacher] little exists now, but the principle is the same. Teaching is the same high calling, but how lacking now in comparative appreciation! The compensation of many teachers and clergymen is far less than the pay of unskilled labor. The salaries of college professors are much less than like training and ability would command in the commercial world. * * * We have lost our reverence for the profession of teaching and bestowed it upon the profession of acquiring.

This will have such reaction as might be expected. Some of the clergy, seeing their own rewards are disproportionate, will draw the conclusion that all rewards are disproportionate, that the whole distribution of wealth is unsound; and turn to a belief in and an advocacy of some kind of a socialistic state. Some of our teachers, out of like discontent, will listen too willingly to revolutionary doctrines which have not originated in meeting houses but are the importations of those who lack nothing but the power to destroy all that civilization holds dear.

It would be well if both these addresses were widely reprinted and widely read. To those who are seeking, with a view to their extirpation, the root sources of those doctrines of destruction the preaching of which is now prevalent, we would especially commend a close examination of those remarks in the Harvard address that we have quoted above.

A Difference of Opinion

(From the *Syracuse Herald*)

The Commencement address by Col. George Harvey was, as might have been expected, a masterly plea, and we give it that praise the more sincerely and willingly because it was uttered in defense of the wrong side of a current controversy of over-topping import. It was a long and carefully prepared attack on the League-of-Nations covenant, and as such it exhausted all the ammunition in the anti-League arsenal. But it was sadly inconclusive, and it must have been disappointingly so to such of the Colonel's auditors—if such there were—who had formed no opinion on the subject and were honestly seeking light. Colonel Harvey is a very able man and a very intense hater of President Wilson.

With regard to his thesis, of which the exposition was, like a memorable address of the brilliant and debonair John Van Buren, "all italics," he eloquently deprecated assertion as a substitute for reasoning; and yet, from first to last, his discourse was an incandescent flame of assertion. He did not discuss the covenant in detail, but was content with a generalization that the League is an unholy, nay, infamous, compact; that it surrenders American sovereignty, liberty and independence; that it makes the United States a colony of Great Britain, and that the Chief Magistrate who has been its conspicuous advocate is guilty of constructive treason or treachery to the Republic—or words to that effect.

The Colonel proposed as a substitute for the League of Nations an international tribunal to settle all disputes between the nations and to enforce its decrees by strength of arms. If this differs in any essential respect from the League of Nations, we cannot see how and why.

THE CHANCELLOR'S COMMENT.

To the Editors of the *Herald*:

It is seldom that one finds in the leading editorials of the *Herald* anything to which to take exception. They are sound and well considered. But it seems to me that yesterday Jove nodded. The great editor is so obsessed with the League of Nations, whether or no, that his vision is shortened and his logic warped at times.

The editor's objection to Colonel Harvey's address is that it was not an argument because it was "an incandescent flame of assertion." But assertion is argument and convincing if it be the assertion of facts. What is the editorial that reviewed it but "a brilliant flame of assertion." Was it anything more?

And would its assertions bear exact analysis? The argument for the League of Nations is hardly conclusive upon the assertion that three men who repudiate the Paris league once declared for a league, and that our immortal Roosevelt advocated a court of arbitration, and an alliance of "great nations." To have any force, it must be shown that these eminent statesmen believed in and defended this league made in Paris by foreign nations and proposed in platform speeches by President Wilson. That they never have done at any time or anywhere.

To say that because Colonel Harvey prefers a great court of nations to arbitrate differences between nations he advocates the same thing as the league, which starts off by making an offer of our Constitution and our Declaration of Independence to the pool of nations proposed by President Wilson, is not true. To venture an "assertion," I will say that there is no comparison between the two. In an alliance or court of arbitration we would go with full reservation of our constitutional rights. We surrender nothing national. We offer only our own powers in our own way. The Congress, our constitutional authority, votes it. Our people are still in control. The Paris League bargains away every right and privilege and puts them into a pool of nations, big and little, in which we have one vote and are subject to orders.

Colonel Harvey's dislike of Woodrow Wilson is, I suppose, a political privilege. Many would like President Wilson more if he would treat the co-ordinate branch of the government upon which is placed equal authority, more respectfully. All of us want peace, but some of us are not ready to surrender our constitutional government even for peace. We have refused to do that several times, and we will refuse it again.

JAMES R. DAY.

Paris, June 26.—President Wilson, on the advice of Secretary of State Lansing, will not use the Presidential seal in signing the peace treaty, it was learned this afternoon. Instead he will use an ordinary seal finger ring, with a small, meaningless seal upon it.

Miss Beatrice P. Webb of Washington incloses the above clipping with a request that we give an "interpretation" of

the performance. The explanation is simple. The seal was not "meaningless," according to the best information; on the contrary, it bore Mr. Wilson's initials in stenographic characters drawn by himself, thus clearly indicating to posterity that he attached his signature, not in an official capacity as authorized by the United States Government, but as a personage acting "in his own name and by his own proper authority." Clearly, therefore, the distinction prescribed by the Secretary of State, though nice, was indubitably warranted by regard for exactitude.

Voilà tout! We are a Bolshevik. Also an anarchist. That is to say, the Rev. Rolfe P. Crum of St. Mark's Episcopal Church of Syracuse denounced us in a sermon for "disseminating Bolshevism and anarchy" in the university. "The rector announced in strong terms," records the *Journal*, "that he would recommend the deportation of such men from the country." Mercy! We had never anticipated anything worse than jail. And from what country? We wonder. The doctor's name does not sound very American. Anyhow he "stated further that those who are opposing the League have a sin to answer for before God." So we judge that we are to be deported to Heaven. Well, that will be all right. As members in good standing of the same church, we can have it out with the doctor at the foot of the Throne. Meanwhile, *vox populi, vox Dei!*

E. Alexander Powell, whose "The Army Behind the Army," the story of the part played in the war by the men who did not get to France, will be published this summer by the Scribners, has just sailed for Europe. In a ship letter to his publishers he says: "During four years and a half in every warring country I have seen nothing like the performance during the examination of my luggage. They found in my luggage an automatic pistol, a red necktie (not a very bright one, either), a copy of HARVEY'S WEEKLY and a cocktail mixer, and I became at once an object of grave suspicion."—*The World*.

As the French say: The life, it is bitter.

Dare we reject it and break the heart of the world?

What rubbish! France takes no stock in it, England laughs at it, Italy spurns it, Japan ignores it, China hates it. Dare we reject it? We do, and if the heart of the world must be broken by America's determination to preserve her independence, in the terse words of the *Sun*, "Let it break!"

There is a widespread demand in England that we forgive the over \$4,300,000,000 loaned her during the war. The *London Times* vigorously denies that any such desire exists, but the evidence is conclusive. That proud Albion should even discuss such a situation is a disturbing, even an alarming, circumstance.—President Darwin P. Kingsley of the *New York Life Insurance Company*.

It doesn't alarm us.

Hello! hello! 1267 Franklin? Is Senator Brandegee there? Is this Senator Brandegee? What about that "American plan" for a League of Nations? Have you received it yet? No? How is that? Weren't you promised that—oh, pshaw, cut off again!

We regret the necessity of notifying Dr. P. H. Elkins of Old Town, Maine, that we do not possess official information enabling us to answer his queries as to Who and Why is Colonel House and How he Got his Hold.

A New Site for the Monument

The Argonne—Grand Pré—Meuse Battlefield

SIR,—I have been interested in your plan for a reproduction of the Washington Monument somewhere in France as a memorial to the dead American soldiers. The proposition seems to me a most excellent one, and one that ought to appeal to every American whether he had relatives in the service or not.

I would like to make a suggestion with reference to the location of the Monument. In recent numbers of the WEEKLY, you mention four proposed sites:

1. Cantigny.
2. Chateau-Thierry.
3. Belleau Wood.
4. St. Mihiel.

I am puzzled to understand why you should have omitted the Argonne-Grand Pré-Meuse battlefield. If I am correctly informed, the first three names suggested by you represented battles where the Americans were brigaded and fought with either French or English troops, and then only in rather restricted numbers. The fourth, St. Mihiel, was an all-American battle and victory, I believe, but as the Germans were abandoning the Salient when attacked, the victory was not as glorious a one as at

least one other—the Argonne-Grand Pré-Meuse fight.

This was entirely an American victory. There were no Allied forces engaged.

It was by far the most bitterly contested and the most important battle or series of battles in which the American troops participated, and is often referred to as the greatest of American battles. It seems to me preëminently fitting that a monument erected to America's part in the war should be on this battlefield, not only on account of the importance and magnitude of the victory, but of the number of Americans engaged and the enormous casualties suffered.

I will cheerfully subscribe to such a monument as you propose anywhere in France, but would be specially glad to contribute to it, if I felt that it were to be erected, say, on the citadel at Grand Pré.

I had four sons in the service, all in the Field Artillery, one of whom gave his life for his country.

J. F. C.

Albany, N. Y.

(The name of the writer of this letter is withheld at his request. The initials "J. F. C." shield a personality connected with one of the greatest figures in American literature.

—THE EDITOR.)

Six Sites for the Monument

I. CANTIGNY.

II. CHATEAU-THIERRY.

III. MEUSE-ARGONNE.

IV. GRAND PRÉ CITADEL.

V. BELLEAU WOOD.

VI. ST. MIHIEL.

What Is Your Choice?

A Few of This Week's Letters

SEVERAL MONUMENTS SUGGESTED

SIR,—I do not see that anything is gained by having one great monument, especially in view of what the sculptor Gutzon Borglum has written. I believe that three or four smaller monuments, more fitting than a general shaft, would be far better. The sites you suggest in your maps are very good selections. Would you not consider splitting up the \$3,000,000 so as to give all the boys a show? This would give Americans an incentive to go over all the battlefields, and I think it would be acceptable to the French.

Buffalo, N. Y.

WILLIAM KILMARTH.

AT THE NATIONAL CEMETERY

SIR,—As one of the first papers in the Northwest to respond with a hearty "Amen" to your proposition for a memorial structure in France, the *News* now wishes to give a vote in favor of its location at the place where the great National Cemetery is being established—provided, of course, that topographical suitability and facility of access are existent. Under such proviso, no other location deserves consideration.

Twin Falls, Idaho.

C. L. LONGLEY,
(The Twin Falls News.)

PARIS OR NEW YORK

SIR,—On the day the armistice was signed I wrote suggesting that a simple statue be raised in Paris or New York to the memory of our most gallant boys who, in 1914 and 1915, at once joined the British and French armies and went to help them

in their dire need. Being a "mere woman" and a very quiet home-keeping one, I have no hope of seeing my plan realized, but would you consider it a possible and proper thing that a space be used for a few words on the Washington Monument to honor these Americans—glorious word!

"Such is the devotion, such the elevation of view, such the simple and true grandeur of which the American soul is capable."

Could any words be finer to the memory of our boys of 1914 than these which Mr. Lawrence Abbott quotes from Emile Boutroux's eulogy of Victor Chapman?

Englewood, New Jersey.

LORAIN VANDERPOOL HOMANS.
(Mrs. Sheppard Homans.)

BERLIN THE IDEAL SITE

SIR,—You have suggested five sites for the proposed location of the replica of the Washington Monument in France. I notice that Dr. Nesbit of Greensburg, Pa., writes in favor of Metz or Berlin. By all means—Berlin. That is the ideal site. That is where its lesson would be most potent. Why not carry the message of liberty where it is most needed?

Toledo, Ohio.

M. J. WILLIAMSON.

A VOTE FOR MEUSE-ARGONNE

SIR,—In answer to your query "What is Your Choice?" I would say that I think the most appropriate place for the Monument would be on a selected spot in the Meuse-Argonne offensive. That is where our artillery shone splendidly.

Milwaukee, Wis.

P. L. T.

Letters from Our Readers

WHY GUARANTEE PLUNDER?

SIR,—Somebody, I guess connected with High Wall Street Finance, has put out the enclosed folder, "Peace and Its Price," in the name of certain insurance companies. Note therefrom:

I.

That our National Debt now amounts to...\$24,321,021,951
And was before the war..... 1,282,044,346
Hence it has increased by.....\$23,038,977,605
Which largely exceeds the sum.....\$22,068,044,346

given as the total of the before-war National Debts which all the Entente Allies had carried over from previous wars, namely United States, Great Britain, France, Russia, Italy, Japan, Portugal, Belgium, Rumania, Montenegro and Serbia, Greece. The cost of preserving the "Status Quo" and the "Balance of Power" has increased vastly since the time of the Napoleonic Wars!

II.

That the United States lost in men killed.....75,820
That the war increased our National Debt
by \$23,038,977,605
Assuming that our army killed one Ger-
man for each man ours lost, it cost us.....\$303,864

to kill one German. They came high.

Query, can even the United States afford to bind themselves to go into the next European war to "preserve the territorial integrity and existing political independence of all States members of the League of Nations?"

III.

The map of Africa, in the folder, shows that Germany is to be deprived of:

Togo Land	33,650 square miles
Kamerun	191,130 " "
German South West Africa.....	322,450 " "
German East Africa.....	384,318 " "

Total in Africa.....931,558 " "

An area approaching the half of that of our 48 States.

IV.

The map of Asia shows, surrounding our island of Guam in the Pacific Ocean, and directly in line between Hawaii and the Philippines, these Colonies of which Germany is to be deprived, the Ladrone, the Caroline and the Marshall Islands. Who is, by getting them, to control our trans-Pacific cables, Japan or Great Britain? And are we to guarantee such possession to them?

V.

The folder is very vague as to the partition of Austria-Hungary and of Russia, and absolutely silent as to that of the Turkish Empire. N. B.—By agreeing to the Covenant now lying in the womb of the Treaty with Germany, we will pledge ourselves to guarantee any partition which may be made at Paris of Russia and Turkey, with both of which the United States are and have ever been at peace!

Again I say of the Paris Congress, "Parturiunt montes et nascetur ridiculus mus."

Thackeray's lecture on George the Second criticises him for having at one time spent "two whole years," out of a reign of thirty-three years, in his "beloved Hanover;" other writers, for using British money and troops to care for his patrimony. W. W. has spent well nigh one sixteenth of his eight years in beloved Europe, and has brought back, perhaps not a "Cadaver," but certainly a mighty bad bargain.

Let me also repeat that the self-selected "Leader of the Democratic Party," vain as he is, has, since November, 1918, had but one idea in his mind, i. e. to prolong a technical state of war (with his hundreds of thousands of appointees under war emergency acts in office and feeding at the public trough) for effect on the Presidential Election in November, 1920. Of twenty-four months, he has already used up eight, one third of the whole.

When the fighting stopped we had, on the Western Front, the "second largest Allied army," we also had at sea the second largest navy. France first as to army, Britain first as to navy, each get all they can in the partition of the spoils of victory; we ask for and get nothing. But why guarantee the plunder to the others?

STUYVESANT FISH.

New York City.

NO FURTHER.

SIR,—I wish to commend HARVEY'S WEEKLY for the great work it is doing to keep our Country out of the dangerous entanglements—so far as we now know it—of the present League of Nations. If a League could be formed to establish international

arbitration and the observance of international laws, and even perhaps the lessening of national armaments, well and good. But we must not go further than this. We went into the war not to "make the world safe for democracy," but to make it safe for Americans so that any citizen of the United States may go where he sees fit for a lawful purpose, and be protected in his person and in his property; further than this we must not meddle with the affairs of Europe. We can best help them by helping ourselves and protecting and enlarging the greatest prize on earth, American Citizenship.

Farmington, Me.

BYRON M. SMALL.

FOR KEEPING AT IT.

SIR,—I want to thank you personally, in this way, for keeping at it so brilliantly in HARVEY'S WEEKLY. I take great comfort in your slashes at this attempt to hitch our wagon not to a high-hanging star, but to a low-hanging foreign morass of nobody knows what depth and filth.

The cause of this League of Nations, as it seems to me, lies as deep as our history and the great issue between plantationism and diversified industrialism, the first round of which was closed by the Civil War. The issue is still alive in the form of the plantation Ku-Klux now holding the whole South in a deadly grip by its fraudulent "grandfather" laws; and the Ku-Klux came to full power in the Government on March 4, 1913. As it had alliances with Great Britain in the last century to make plantationism regnant in this country, by internationalizing our domestic market in the hope of such conditions that its staple cotton would command a practical monopoly in the world's market, through slave labor here and a balance of trade so against this country that American dollars abroad would be so cheap as to premiumize the purchase of American cotton by foreigners, so it had an alliance with Germany to reduce this whole country to a coolie cotton plantation, with the old cotton South holding the cat-o'-nine tails. Colonel House's book, *Philip Dru: Administrator*, which in many respects is Mr. Wilson's *New Freedom* in a different dress, tells the whole story of the plantation purpose.

South Norwalk, Conn.

R. A. BENEDICT.

APPRECIATION

SIR,—I was in France with the American Expeditionary Forces for almost twenty-one months, arriving home the 22nd of April this year. Mr. Creel saw to it that only news favorable to the Administration reached the soldiers, and not until March of 1919 were the true facts known to us. Your paper had been sent to a comrade, and from then on you had numerous ardent supporters. On my return I sought your publication on the newsstands and each week purchase a copy. After finishing with it I pass it on to those needing enlightening and am surprised at the number who so heartily agree with all you have to say. I wish that copies could be placed in the hands of every voter and particularly those members of Congress who are ever ready to jump when the ringmaster cracks his whip.

You are rendering a great service to the public and in that you have my sincere good wishes for your continued success.

Danville, Ky.

G. C. POTTER.

INTERNATIONAL YAWPS

SIR,—Permit me, as one American, to salute another whose patriotism is unabashed and unafraid. It is refreshing to read in your WEEKLY genuine sentiments of virile Americanism when the air is vocal with the insistent yawps of mongrel internationalism. Continued vigor to your pen, sir, and the thanks of one who is in small danger of forswearing belief in the old-time principles of this republic to chase after the hybrid impossibilities of flagrant world-Socialism, or worse, whereof Lenine's Russia is so blissful and alluring an example.

Glens Falls, N. Y.

A. N. C. FOWLER.

"OUT OF SIGHT."

SIR,—Permit an humble high-school teacher to say that the WEEKLY is simply "out of sight." I should not know how to get along without it.

Springfield, Ill.

W. E. ARCHIBALD.

 AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE IS SAVED

HARVEY'S WEEKLY

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WEEK ENDING JULY 26, 1919

No. 30

President Wilson Violates His Own Treaty

DOES President Wilson regard the Franco-American Treaty as a mere scrap of paper? If not, why did he deliberately violate one of its most important provisions within a fortnight after he, as "President of the United States," and Mr. Lansing, as "Secretary of State of the United States," attached their official signatures to the agreement?

That he did that very thing there can be no question. Article 4 of the Treaty reads:

"The present Treaty will be submitted to the Senate of the United States at the same time as the Treaty of Versailles is submitted to the Senate for its advice and consent to ratification."

Submitted by whom? By the President himself, of course, who alone is empowered to submit treaties, who alone with the Secretary of State has a right to sign them and who with the Secretary of State did sign this one. And it was as "President of the United States of America" that he entered into this engagement with the duly authorized representatives of the French Republic and gave in writing under the great seal of this honorable Nation that solemn pledge.

Did he keep it? He did not. This is what he said and all he said respecting the Treaty on July 10, when he submitted the Treaty of Versailles to the Senate:

I shall presently have occasion to lay before you a special treaty with France, whose object is the temporary protection of France from unprovoked aggression by the Power with whom this treaty of peace has been negotiated. Its terms link it with this treaty. I take the liberty, however, of reserving it for special explication on another occasion.

He did not submit the Treaty; he did not divulge its terms; he did not even summarize it; he simply "took the liberty" of violating it.

Why? There must have been some reason for the incorporation of that particular provision in

the Franco-American Treaty. There is none such in the Franco-British Treaty, wherein Article 4 provides merely that "the present Treaty shall before ratification by His Majesty be submitted to Parliament for approval," not coincidentally with the submission of the Treaty of Versailles nor at any other specified time.

How can this marked difference be accounted for? We can only conjecture, of course, but it is surely a fair presumption that the provision was not inserted at the instigation of the President, who would hardly have gone out of his way to bind himself unnecessarily to do a certain thing upon a certain day. Seemingly, then, the idea must have originated in the French Government.

But why should M. Clemenceau have desired so particularly that the two treaties should be placed before the Senate simultaneously? Again we can only guess, but is it not reasonable to surmise that he, being aware of the co-equal treaty-making powers of the Senate, felt that all interests, especially those of France, would best be served by presenting to that body both agreements as embodied in the two treaties at one and the same time, and thus enable it to consider and act upon each with full knowledge of what the other contained?

Such procedure would possess at least the merit of frankness and open dealing and could not fail to impress the Senate favorably. It seems strange that the Premier should not have taken for granted that the President would take this natural course, but being old and wise and prudent he apparently preferred to take no chances; so he put it in black and white, and the President signed the commitment.

Why he subsequently broke his pledge is a matter of speculation. Perhaps he feared that

one of the treaties might run crosswise to the other, or that the Senate might think that, if one were ratified, the other need not be. Then there was the question of the need of a special pact if the League were anything more than a shell. Discussion, involving close analyses and striking contrasts, at any rate would better be averted if possible; so all of M. Clemenceau's painstaking caution went for naught, and the presentation of full information to the Senate which he thought was assured was not made after all.

Or it may be that there were things in the separate treaty itself which the President thought would better not be revealed at the moment. In any case, to the best of our knowledge, it has not yet been published in this country, which seems strange, if we are correctly informed that it has appeared in England, in view of the enterprise of our great newspapers in promptly presenting to their readers the texts of documents of such obvious importance, unless, of course, prevented by the censor.

Anyhow, here it is:

WHEREAS the United States of America and the French Republic are equally animated by the desire to maintain the Peace of the world so happily restored by the Treaty of Peace signed at Versailles the 28th day of June, 1919, putting an end to the war begun by the aggression of the German Empire and ended by the defeat of that Power; and,

WHEREAS the United States of America and the French Republic are fully persuaded that an unprovoked movement of aggression by Germany against France would not only violate both the letter and the spirit of the Treaty of Versailles to which the United States of America and the French Republic are parties, thus exposing France anew to the intolerable burdens of an unprovoked war, but that such aggression on the part of Germany would be and is so regarded by the Treaty of Versailles as a hostile act against all the Powers signatory to that Treaty and as calculated to disturb the Peace of the world by involving inevitably and directly the States of Europe and indirectly, as experience has amply and unfortunately demonstrated, the world at large; and,

WHEREAS the United States of America and the French Republic fear that the stipulations relating to the left bank of the Rhine contained in the said Treaty of Versailles may not at first provide adequate security and protection to France, on the one hand, and the United States of America, as one of the signatories of the Treaty of Versailles, on the other;

THEREFORE, the United States of America and the French Republic having decided to conclude a treaty to effect these necessary purposes, Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States of America, and Robert Lansing, Secretary of State of the United States, specially authorized thereto by the President of the United States, and Georges Clemenceau, President of the Council, Minister of War, and Stéphen Pichon, Minister of Foreign Affairs, specially authorized thereto by Raymond Poincaré, President of the French Republic, have agreed upon the following articles:—

ARTICLE 1.

In case the following stipulations relating to the Left Bank of the Rhine contained in the Treaty of Peace with Germany signed at Versailles the 28th day of June, 1919,

by the British Empire, the French Republic, and the United States of America among other Powers:

"ARTICLE 42. Germany is forbidden to maintain or construct any fortifications either on the left bank of the Rhine or on the right bank to the west of a line drawn 50 kilom. to the east of the Rhine.

"ARTICLE 43. In the area defined above the maintenance and assembly of armed forces, either permanently or temporarily, and military manœuvres of any kind, as well as the upkeep of all permanent works for mobilization, are in the same way forbidden.

"ARTICLE 44. In case Germany violates in any manner whatever the provisions of Articles 42 and 43, she shall be regarded as committing a hostile act against the Powers signatory of the present Treaty and as calculated to disturb the peace of the world"

may not at first provide adequate security and protection to France, the United States of America shall be bound to come immediately to her assistance in the event of any unprovoked movement of aggression against her being made by Germany.

ARTICLE 2.

The present Treaty, in similar terms with the Treaty of even date for the same purpose concluded between the French Republic and Great Britain, a copy of which Treaty is annexed hereto, will only come into force when the latter is ratified.

ARTICLE 3.

The present Treaty must be submitted to the Council of the League of Nations and must be recognized by the Council, acting if need be by a majority, as an engagement which is consistent with the Covenant of the League; it will continue in force until on the application of one of the Parties to it the Council, acting if need be by a majority, agrees that the League itself affords sufficient protection.

ARTICLE 4.

The present Treaty will be submitted to the Senate of the United States at the same time as the Treaty of Versailles is submitted to the Senate for its advice and consent to ratification. It will be submitted before ratification to the French Chamber of Deputies for approval. The ratifications thereof will be exchanged on the deposit of ratifications of the Treaty of Versailles at Paris or as soon thereafter as shall be possible.

The Franco-British Treaty is substantially identical, with the exception that, instead of being "bound to come immediately" to the assistance of France, like the United States, she merely "agrees to come immediately." Great Britain exempts all of her Dominions from any obligation "unless it is approved by the Parliament of the Dominion concerned," and makes it a condition of her agreement "that a similar obligation is entered into by the United States of America," whereas the Franco-American Treaty contains no such proviso as to the participation of Great Britain.

We take pleasure in affording the Senate of the United States an opportunity to inspect this transcript of the Franco-American Treaty, pending the arrival of the original, and we cannot deny to it the additional privilege of meditating upon its amazingly quick violation by the President of the United States who negotiated and executed it.

American Independence Is Saved

THERE must be *effective* reservations."

Those are the words of Chairman Will H. Hays of the Republican National Committee. They embody the unalterable determination of a majority of the United States Senate, of the Republican party and of the American people. There need be no further concern respecting the preservation of the independence of this Republic. The fight has been won. Those who are unwisely conveying the contrary impression to the President are either ignorant or deluded or vainly bluffing. We are telling him the truth. Sooner or later he will realize that fact. The sooner the better for the country and for himself.

What precisely are those reservations? Mr. Hays sets them forth succinctly and accurately in these words:

These reservations must safeguard the sovereignty of the United States in every particular; must guarantee the Monroe Doctrine beyond the shadow of a doubt; must either eliminate Article X, entirely or so modify it that our own Congress shall be morally as well as legally free after a specified period to decide when and where and to what extent our soldiers shall be employed; must retain our full control of immigration, tariff and all other purely domestic policies, and must provide full rights to withdraw from the league at any time without hindrance or conditions of any kind, upon giving suitable notice.

Mr. Hays does not say in so many words that he would advocate ratification of the treaty if these reservations were incorporated, but the inference is plain and unmistakable. He would. So would Senator Lodge. So would practically all of the Republican Senators. Consequently Mr. Hays is fully warranted in adding:

It is up to the Administration to decide whether it will or will not accept these essential guarantees of American independence, which would unquestionably be promptly accepted by the other nations.

The correctness of the last statement is beyond question. Both France and England have made it clear that they attach slight importance to the proposed League or what the Covenant contains. They will accept readily whatever the United States may offer. Indubitably, then, it is "up to the Administration to decide" whether it will join in conserving the interests of the country, or get no ratification of the Treaty which the President personally negotiated. There is no other alternative.

But let there be no misunderstanding. When Mr. Hays says "effective," effective is what he means. Mere "interpretations" having no binding force will not go. The guarantees of American sovereignty must be rockribbed and copper-fastened. They must constitute a part of the Treaty itself and be accepted as such by the other Powers. When poor Senator Hitchcock truculently declares that the President will not permit an *i* to be dotted or a *t* to be crossed, he talks like an ass, but not a whit more childishly than the *New York Times* when it weakly admits that Mr. Wilson "might accept explanatory reservations, but none of vital effect." Men are not mice. Neither are the winners of this fight for the Nation fools. They cannot be deceived. The country has come to realize that. They cannot be coerced or cajoled. The President has discovered that. His artful attempts at circumvention have failed. Twist and squirm as

he may, he can only beat his head against a stone wall. More than a sufficient number of Senators to prevent ratification have given mutual and absolute pledges never to accept the Covenant as it stands, regardless of the effect upon their political fortunes, and a clear majority will vote for effective reservations. That is all there is of it.

Now what is the President going to do?

Will he put his heel in the ground, as he has so many times threatened to do, and concede nothing? Then the Treaty will surely be rejected and the responsibility for its defeat will be his and his alone as a consequence of his unwarranted assumption of dictatorial authority.

Will he appeal to the country as he promised? We doubt it. From the day of the first announcement to this effect, as our readers are aware, we have regarded this absurd menace as a bluff. The reason is plain. Mr. Wilson cannot successfully defend his utterly un-American proposals before an American audience and he knows it. His only hope from the beginning has been to prevail through appeals to sentiment rather than to reason. Not once in his many dissertations has he advanced a single concrete argument in support of his proposition. He has not even attempted to do so. The simple fact, of which obviously none can be more painfully cognizant than himself, is that he has none to offer. Such a tour as has been heralded would prove a ghastly failure. He would get nowhere with his emotional invocations and he now apparently knows that also.

Will he continue his secret "clarifying counsels" with Republican Senators, in flagrant violation of his own vaunted maxim of "open covenants openly arrived at"? Perhaps. Thus far his efforts to wheedle even those reputed to be the weakest-kneed have availed nothing; and yet what better method could be devised of marking time? For that is what the President is now doing. He is groping vaguely for a way out and none appears to even his glorified vision.

Summing up: The only weapon in negotiation or diplomacy whose use Mr. Wilson understands or has ever wielded effectively is power, and he has lost that. The war is over. The Senate no longer fears him, and the country is with the Senate on the issue of American independence. These are the immutable facts.

What the President is going to do about it remains a question which we doubt if he himself could answer. As we have remarked, he obviously and rather hopelessly, we suspect, is seeking a solution of the perplexing problem with which he has brought himself face to face and, we trust, is praying for inspiration.

What ought he to do? is the more pertinent query; and the true answer, we venture respectfully to suggest, may be found in the frank, clear and concise statement of Mr. Hays.

1. There must be effective reservations.

Surely the President realizes that.

2. Guaranty of the Monroe Doctrine "beyond the shadow of a doubt."

The President holds that such guaranty is afforded with the full assent of the other Powers by the Covenant. If so,

since ratification cannot be secured otherwise, why should he not acquiesce in a mere change in phrasing?

3. Either eliminate Article X entirely or "so modify it that our own Congress shall be morally as well as legally free, *after a specified period*, to decide" whether upon occasion our troops shall be used abroad.

All admit that Congress cannot be deprived of its *legal* right to make or refuse to make war at any time. The doubt is as to its *moral* right to reject a call from the League after having subscribed to the Covenant. Mr. Hays insists rightfully that this full prerogative shall be clearly preserved, but only if desired "after a specified period" of time. That is to say, he grants the propriety of retaining only the technical right, which cannot be relinquished anyway under the Constitution, during the process of readjustment, as a part of the aftermath of the war itself. Why should not such a provision satisfy the President as serving all immediate purposes and leaving to future generations determination of their own duties and obligations under conditions which cannot now be foreseen?

4. Control of immigration, tariffs, etc.

Again the difference is one of phrasing only. The President urges that the Covenant does guarantee such control, also with the understanding and consent of the other Powers. Then what can be the objection to making that fact clear by substituting language of whose meaning there can be no doubt?

5. Right to withdraw without hindrance or conditions.

Opinions of advocates of the League differ as to whether the Covenant confers this unqualified privilege. Senator John Sharp Williams, as we note elsewhere, thinks not, but Senator Swanson, after consultation with the President, asserted positively that "no authority is given anywhere to compel the retention of a member after giving the required notice of withdrawal." It is not necessary to argue the question. The mere divergence in opinion of these two distinguished Covenanters suffices to establish the doubt. Assuming, as doubtless we may assume correctly, that the view of the President coincides with that of his designated spokesman, it is difficult to discern any good reason why he should refuse to concede simple clarification of expression designed to resolve all uncertainties.

Now that is all there is of the whole matter. Mr. Hays naturally would not presume to pledge the Republican Senate, and could not, of course, commit the Republican party, but as Chairman of the Republican National Committee he speaks with a certain authority, and, in this instance, undoubtedly depicts the attitude of not only the Senate and the party but of the country. If so, it is indeed "up to the President" to show whether he is wise enough to heed immutable facts and big enough to put aside personal pride and stand forth before his fellows, as in years gone by he did appear convincingly, as a true patriot devoted to the interests of his own country. But if his cloud-enveloped head still swims to the old Edna May-Salvation Army refrain—

When I ask you to "follow the light,"

I mean to follow ME,

he may as well throw away the horse chestnut which he has carried so long and so advantageously in his trousers pocket. The war is over. The fight for American independence is won.

A Gratifying Symptom

OUR neighbor the *World* submits and undertakes to demonstrate the following:

As a discoverer and exploiter of mare's nests in the treaty of peace and the covenant of the League of Nations, HARVEY'S WEEKLY easily ranks with Senator Lodge or Senator Knox, to say nothing of Borah, Johnson and Brandegee.

If Col. Harvey had ever read the covenant of the League of Nations and had acquired the most elementary notion of its contents, he would have discovered that Mr. Taft's suggestions were neither "ignored" nor "put aside." On the contrary, four of them were incorporated into the covenant substantially in the language in which Mr. Taft presented them, and the fifth was incorporated in a modified form.

Instead of being ignored and put aside, Mr. Taft's recommendations were all made a part of the covenant of the League.

Patiently ignoring as better becoming the Shawnee County *Gazette* than the New York *World* Mr. Cobb's insinuations of inattention and incompetency, let us reason together. Mr. Taft made two vital recommendations. One related to the right of withdrawal from the League. This privilege, under Mr. Taft's proposal, would be unqualified by conditions of any kind. The Covenant, however, adds the following express stipulation:

"——— provided that all its international obligations and all its obligations under this covenant have been fulfilled at the time of its withdrawal."

If this proviso does not make all the difference in the world, if not to the *World*, then we frankly concede our inability to comprehend even "a most elementary notion." That the obligations assumed under the Covenant are continuing is undeniable. Consequently they could never be "fulfilled" to the letter. Whether at some future time it could be maintained arbitrarily that they had been complied with sufficiently to justify honorable withdrawal is perhaps a question, but there is no doubt that the League, not the United States, would be the judge.

Upon this point an illuminating colloquy took place in the Senate on July 15. Senator Swanson, appearing as the spokesman of the Executive in place of the deposed pygmy from Nebraska, had asserted that "the contention that the United States could not withdraw without the unani-

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mous consent of the council or assembly, the only bodies that can act for the League, is wholly untenable." Subsequently, in the absence or silence of Senator Swanson, Senator Borah addressed Senator John Sharp Williams.

Mr. BORAH. I should like to ask the Senator from Mississippi if he understands that the United States has a right to withdraw from the league upon the simple fact of giving notice, and that no other member of the league can object that the United States has not complied with or has not fulfilled its international obligations or its covenant obligations?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I suppose the question as to whether the United States in such a case had fulfilled its international obligations would be, in the first place, a question which would present itself to the conscience of the United States. I suppose, in the second place, if the other nations which are members of the league differ from the United States about that, they would express their difference.

Mr. BORAH. If they did object, could the United States still withdraw? Would it have a right under the covenant to withdraw?

Mr. WILLIAMS. The United States could physically remain absent, but it would be subject to the obligations which it had incurred to the league, whatever the league decided they were—

Mr. BORAH. Oh, precisely.

Mr. WILLIAMS. After the United States had put its interpretation upon them. I will say further that I can not imagine a case in which the United States would withdraw if the United States thought there was any obligations resting upon it—

Mr. BORAH. Precisely so; but can the United States be the sole judge?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Or if the league thought there were any obligations resting upon the United States.

Mr. BORAH. What I desire to know is: Has the United States a right under the league covenant to interpret its own right to withdraw, and, if the United States says that it has performed its international obligations and has performed its covenant obligations, has any member of the council the right to say "nay"?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Not any member alone; but the league, by unanimous vote of all the other powers—I am not an expert judge, the Senator understands—might, I should say, if I were going to construe it, say, "We do not think that the United States has complied with its obligation, whatever it is," and then the question would come before the league to be decided.

Mr. BORAH. And if the league decides that we have not fulfilled our international obligations?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Then we would be theoretically and technically a member of the league, though we might be absent physically, until we did comply with the obligations.

Nothing could be plainer. Under Mr. Taft's proposal the United States would possess an unqualified right to withdraw at any time of its own volition. Under the Covenant the United States could never withdraw unless the other members of the League agreed that she had "fulfilled" all of her obligations and, in the event of doubt as to such fulfillment, "the League would be there to decide." Assuming for present purposes that Mr. Cobb, having read, will now study the two propositions, we would greatly appreciate an expression as to whether he is of the same opinion still that this particular recommendation of Mr. Taft is in fact "made a part of the Covenant."

Another equally important suggestion by Mr. Taft was to add to Article X:

Any American state or states may protect the integrity of any American territory and the sovereignty of the Government whose territory it is, whether a member of the League or not, and may, in the interest of American peace, object to and prevent the further transfer of American territory or sovereignty to any European or non-American power."

Mr. Taft calls this "the Monroe Doctrine pure and simple," and we concur. The *World*, on the other hand, bewilderingly pronounces it an "intricate provision for the reservation and recognition of the Monroe Doctrine," which

is "incorporated into the Covenant in a simplified and more direct form" thus:

Nothing in this covenant shall be deemed to affect the validity of international engagements, such as treaties of arbitration or regional understandings like the Monroe Doctrine, for securing the maintenance of peace.

We have too much regard for Mr. Cobb's intelligence to believe for a moment that he really regards this murky paragraph as either simpler or more direct than Mr. Taft's provision. One need hardly be capable of apprehending even an elementary notion to perceive that it does not specifically recognize the Monroe Doctrine at all but only vaguely upholds the validity of policies as unlike that great national policy as darkness is from light. Again assuming due attentiveness on the part of our distinguished neighbor, we would inquire merely: If he seriously considers that the Monroe Doctrine falls within the classification noted, with what other nation has the United States entered into an "international engagement" with respect to it; by what "treaty of arbitration" is it mentioned; and when and by whom was it pronounced a "regional understanding"? And where, in Mr. Taft's plain definition, does Mr. Cobb discern sufficient, or any, similarity to justify the assertion that his recommendation is "made a part of the Covenant of the League"?

These queries, we trust, will be regarded as pertinent and as propounded in good faith. If they can be answered convincingly, none will be quicker than ourselves to herald the fact; but they have not been as yet and one cannot be blamed for doubting that they can be.

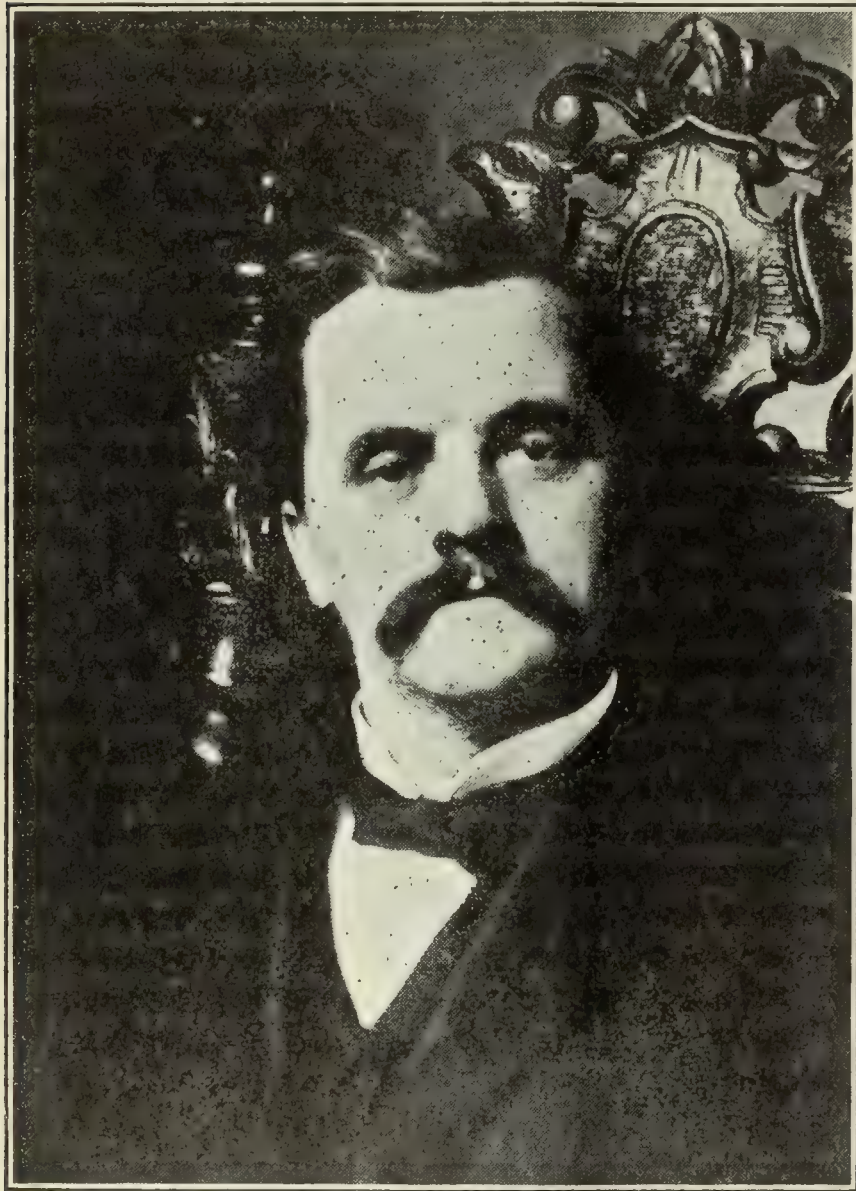
The most gratifying circumstance is that at last the *World* seems to have awakened to the desirability of discussing this momentous question in its manifold phases upon its merits. We gladly accord the great public journal full credit for having maintained scrupulous impartiality in its news columns; conformably to its established tradition and practice; but the simple truth is that its editorial treatment of a subject of such vast importance has been far from adequate and not altogether creditable. Its lack of understanding has just been strikingly illustrated by the pathetic upshot of its mighty hullabaloo about the necessity of hasty ratification to permit "trading with Germany" and its unfairness is sufficiently indicated by its persistent and unrelieved insistence that fifty United States Senators are actuated solely by partisan and personal motives. Surely this cannot be the fact.

We can and do, as much on our account as on that of others, make allowance for the pardonable outgivings of excessive zeal in advocacy or criticism and we fully appreciate the difficulty of a public journal, whose President and Editor have unwisely accepted official appointments, maintaining that "drastic independence" pledged to its followers by the *World*; but there are proper and necessary limits to personal obligations in the rendering of real public service, and we welcome the symptoms noted of our virile neighbor's return to its true anchorage.

It took the *Times* and the *Evening Post* a long time to discover the greatness of Senator Colt, and all because he declared for a League with reservations.

The Scandal of Shantung

SENATOR NORRIS has performed a service of inestimable value, entitling him to the gratitude of the nation and of the world, in his authoritative exposure of what may with all possible moderation and reserve be called the Scandal of Shantung. From what some may regard as a selfish and nationalistic point of view, the circumstances which he has disclosed may not form the most serious objection to the Treaty of Peace as it now stands. But that suggests not the smallness of this objection, but rather the magnitude of any other which is greater. We cannot blame Americans for regarding the betrayal of America as a more serious offence than the betrayal of China. From the inter-



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SENATOR NORRIS OF NEBRASKA

national point of view, however, and from that altruistic point of view which we are told should now prevail above the selfish, it would be difficult to imagine anything more abhorrent than the sordid knavery which Senator Norris has exposed; and which the *World* cynically affects to regard as a mere "mare's nest."

Let us review the facts of record in the case, categorically stated:

In 1896, Germany, having discovered the value of Kiao-Chau Bay as a harbor and point of entrance into the inestimably rich Chinese Province of Shantung, sought a long-term lease of it. This China definitively refused to grant. Thereupon Germany began seeking some other means of securing

it. Her opportunity came a year later, when somewhere else in China two German missionaries were killed in a riot. Disregarding the usual methods of exacting indemnity for the wrong, Germany utilized the incident as a pretext for seizing arbitrarily the land which she coveted. Warships were sent to Kiao-Chau, the German flag was raised in token of conquest, and in March, 1898, under ruthless military pressure, China was compelled to sign a treaty giving to Germany a lease for 99 years of a large tract of land commanding the entrance to the Bay of Kiao-Chau, and railroad and mining concessions tantamount to control of the entire Province of Shantung—one of the richest, most populous, and in all respects most important provinces in the whole empire.

This performance was universally regarded, outside of Germany, with reprobation and detestation, as criminal spoliation of a helpless nation. Upon such immoral and arbitrary violence did Germany's sole "title" to the Kiao-Chau "lease" and the Shantung "concessions" rest.

Now had that "title" been transferred, by treaty and sale or by conquest and seizure, to Japan, the latter Power would have been in no better position than that of a receiver of stolen goods. But it was, as a matter of fact, not thus transferred, so that Japan did not acquire even that worse than dubious "title" to China's property. Upon the outbreak of the war in 1914, China offered to join the Allies, to enter the war, and with Allied help to expel the Germans from Kiao-Chau and resume possession of her property.

That offer was refused, for a time; until Japan could enter the war and, with British aid, capture the German holdings. Japan then promised China that at the end of the war she would restore Kiao-Chau to her, on condition that it be made an open commercial port, and a concession of land nearby be made to Japan. That was a fair proposal, and China agreed to it. Then Japan and the other Allies induced China to enter the war, in which she rendered them very substantial aid.

When China thus entered the war at the solicitation of the Allies, however, the "treaty" which Germany had extorted from her in 1898 was automatically abrogated and annulled, and of course whatever "title" Germany had to the lease at Kiao-Chau and the concessions in Shantung was under international law voided, and China came into full legal title to her own. Of this fact China took pains to remind the Allies, particularly including Japan.

But at the end of the war that fact was ignored, and Japan's promise to return Kiao-Chau was also ignored. Instead, at the Peace Conference the Allies treated China as an entirely negligible factor in the settlement. They treated the "rights" of Germany in Shantung as perfectly valid and unimpeachable, as though they had been honestly acquired and had not been annulled by war. And in the infamous Articles 156, 157 and 158 of the Peace Treaty they transferred all those "rights" in their entirety to Japan, without so much as the slightest reference to China's interests, or even mention of China save in a single case where it was necessary to mention her in order to describe the loot. And the country whose rights were thus ignored and whose prop-

erty was thus despoiled was not an enemy, but a serviceable friend and loyal ally!

We should doubt if ever in the history of the world there were a more flagrant, barefaced, and inexcusable piece of international scoundrelism than this. It amounted simply to this: That the vast properties which Germany stole from China in 1898, with the stern disapproval of the other Powers, and which China legally regained in the war, Japan was authorized to steal from her again in 1919, with the approval and connivance of those same Powers. And the President of the United States, preaching "guarantees of political independence and territorial independence to great and small states alike," consents to and condones the crime, as the price at which Japan is to be bribed to support his holy Covenant!

Again in the name of national honor and international morality, we thank Senator Norris for his great service to the cause of right; and we leave to the President's press champion, the *World*, its own conception of a "mare's nest."

Tact

Those most familiar with the President's tact and skill believe he ultimately will consent to make easy the way out for the statesman-politicians, and accept qualifications that do not change the effect of the document.—*The World*.

SUCH tender consideration will surely appear as a revelation to officially loathed pygmy minds and ought to touch without breaking responsive hearts. The skill of the President is commonly conceded, but when it comes to tact, la, la! It was clever no doubt to ostentatiously place his "services and information" at the "disposal of the Committee on Foreign Relations" and the proffer may yet be accepted, although, as Mr. Borah sententiously remarked, the Senate and the country are concerned far less with the trials of the Peace Commissioner than with the contents of the document which he brought home.

Nearly all of the Senators, we are informed, can read and write, and evidences are manifest that some of them can speak quite intelligibly. It is but natural then perhaps that they should feel that, since the President disdainfully ignored them in constructing the Treaty, they can get along without his assistance in construing it. And if anything could be more stupid than the picking of McNarys and Colts who are not even members of the Foreign Relations Committee for secret confabs instead of seeking frank consultation with Lodges and Knoxes we cannot imagine it. The merest tyro in diplomacy, we should think, would have realized in advance that so invidious a course could have no other effect than that which it did have of welding the opposition solidly together. It was no trifling blunder, moreover, to bestow upon Senators Borah and Norris, for flatly refusing to confer behind closed doors, the credit of being the real champions of "open covenants openly arrived at."

The plain fact is that every step the President has taken since his return has tended only to enhance his reputation for furtive dealings, and we are by no means certain that the net result of his "tactfulness" will not prove as dis-

astrous in the judgment of the American people, who are sick and tired of all such shenanigan, as the outright deception practiced upon France and the Senate in connection with the Franco-American treaty.

There Are Others

THE President dwells with unctuous eloquence upon the universal desire of the world for such a League of Nations as is provided for in the Covenant of Denationalization and the unanimity with which the Allied Powers regard it as a practical necessity; and his voluble press agents and propagandists are unwearying in their declarations that the only opponents of that precious scheme who are to be found from Dan to Beersheba, not to say from China to Peru, are the "pygmy-minded insects" of the United States Senate.

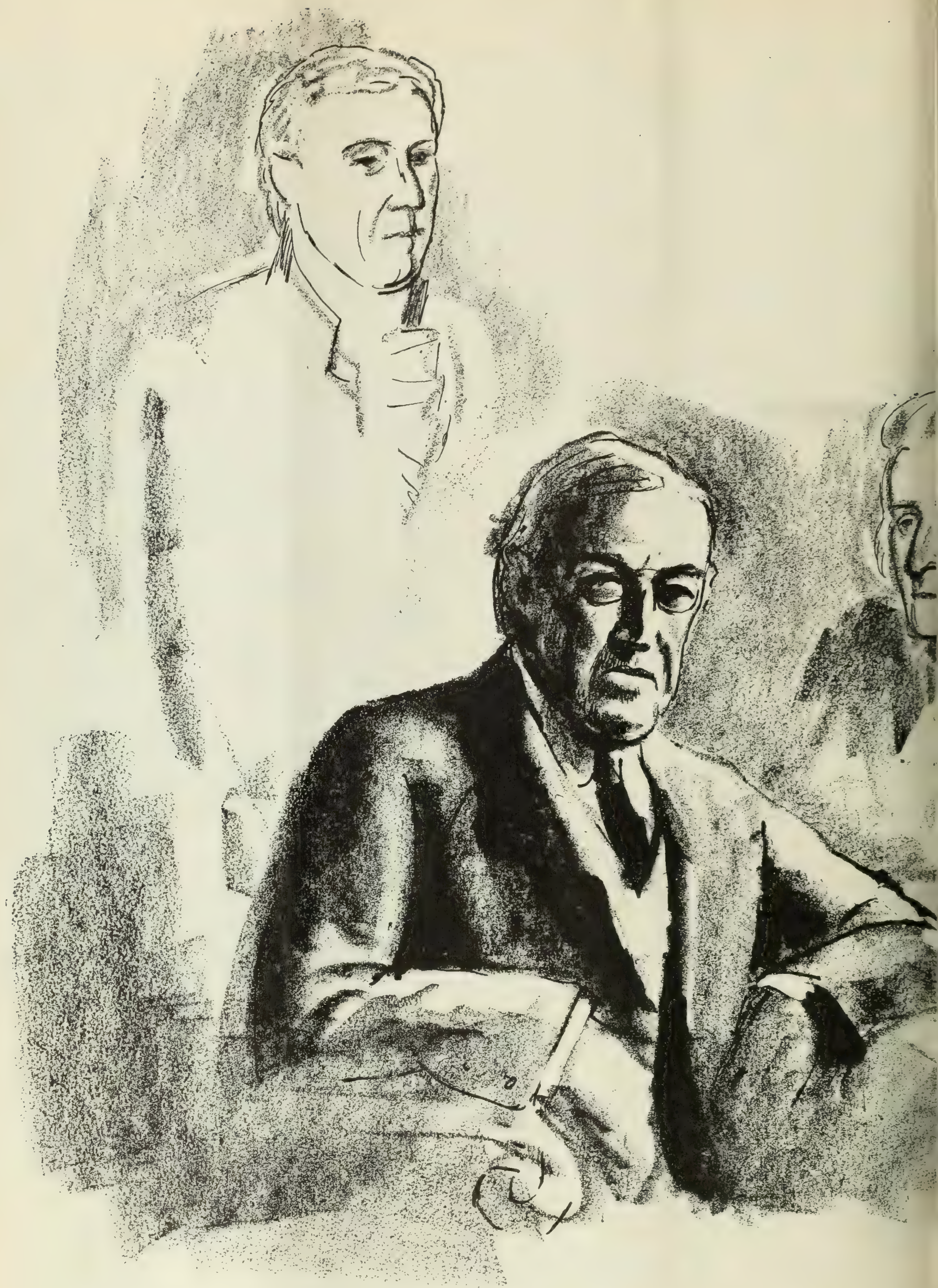
Yet there are others. We recently quoted some passages from *The Spectator* of London, unmistakably indicating that that preeminently thoughtful and representative journal regarded the value and the success of the scheme with the gravest of doubts. Also *The Daily News* of London, a conspicuous advocate of peace and good will, declares that the Treaty of Peace, comprising the Covenant, is disappointing, a travesty on the President's Fourteen Commandments, and a perilous menace to peace. Really, we do not recall that any "pygmy-minded" Senator has ever criticized it more severely than that.

France, too. It will be recalled that M. Leon Bourgeois, perhaps the foremost French advocate of peace through the reign of law, strongly urged some radical changes in the Covenant before it was adopted, but under the domination of the President the Big Four rejected his suggestions. Now the Peace Committee of the French Parliament recommends that the Covenant be revised as soon as possible after its adoption, so as to include in it the amendments of M. Bourgeois; and the Prime Minister, M. Clemenceau, approves the recommendation.

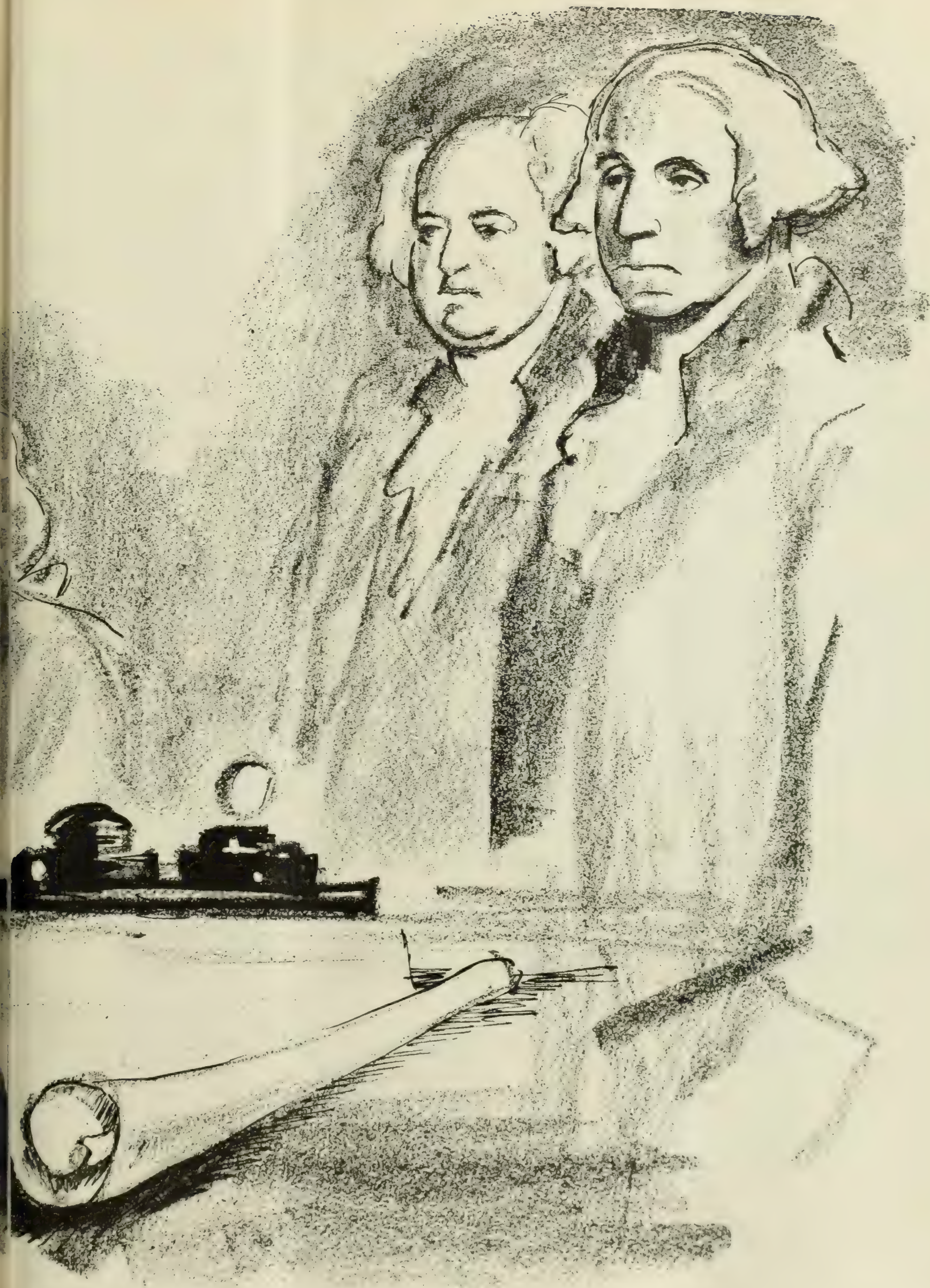
There is also to be considered the attitude toward the Covenant of the League which was manifested by the British Parliament, when the House of Commons was spontaneously convulsed with mirth at very mention of the thing, and when the Prime Minister with difficulty smoothed down his own risibles as, with Rabelaisian unction he implied the plea, "Don't nail his ears to the pump!"

On the whole, therefore, we cannot claim for the majority of the United States Senate any monopoly of criticism of the Covenant. Nor can we perceive that it is any more turpitudinous for our Senate to propose amendment of the thing before it is adopted than for the French chamber to demand that as soon as it is adopted it shall be torn to pieces again and radically revised. As a matter of practical common sense we should say that the former plan was the better.

At any rate, if we should—as we shall—decline to ratify the thing as it stands, letter-perfect, the heart of the world may be broken, but we are quite sure that there are many hearts in France and Great Britain that will not be so much as cracked, but will continue to beat in complete integrity, in unison with our own.



PYGMIES C



THE PAST

The Week

WASHINGTON, July 24, 1919.

“THE Senators went in one by one;” in dignified emulation of the minstrel jingle about the Ark. They were carefully chosen, too; the supposedly weakest first. If only two or three of those who were least outspoken against the Covenant of Denationalization could be persuaded—of course by scrupulously proper means—to swallow the thing outright, hook, bob and sinker, 'twould be a famous victory. It does not appear, however, that any penetration into The Presence had the desired result. Not a single one of the chosen guests appears to have been converted; or perverted. All emerged American nationalists still.

Such a result was indeed to be expected, because it was not conceivable that any of them was susceptible of denationalization by rational and righteous means, since such means could in the nature of things not be employed to that end, and of course it was not supposable that any of them could be affected by unrighteous influences. How impossible it was that the President should ply them with any but the loftiest and purest influences is evident from his own words:

There are illegitimate means by which the President may influence the action of Congress. He may bargain with members, not only with regard to appointments, but also with regard to legislative measures. He may use his local patronage to assist members to get or retain their seats. He may interpose his powerful influence, in one covert way or another, in contests for places in the Senate. He may also overbear Congress by arbitrary acts which ignore the laws or virtually override them. He may even substitute his own orders for acts of Congress which he wants but cannot get. Such things are not only deeply immoral; they are destructive of the fundamental understandings of constitutional government and, therefore, of constitutional government itself. They are sure, moreover, in a country of free public opinion, to bring their own punishment, to destroy both the fame and the power of the man who dares to practise them.

It is of, course, inconceivable that the President should exercise any such abhorrent influences upon the Senators who are summoned into audience. There can be no such bargainings at the White House as there appear to have been at, for example, the Quai d'Orsay, where we are told eminent Peace delegates consented to what they knew to be wrong in order to gain support for something which they particularly wanted to have adopted. We may therefore regard the Senatorial pilgrimages to the White House with entire equanimity. The process will not pervert the Senators, and if it does not convert the President, it will at least leave him no worse off than he was before.

The unwillingness of Senator Norris to go to the White House for a secret conference with the President over the Shantung scandal is perfectly explicable and commendable. Conferences between Senators and the President may be highly desirable, seeing that the President is supposed to have important information which the Senate needs for its guidance in dealing with the Treaty, seeing that he would not or did not impart it to the Senate in his address to that body, and seeing also that he cannot properly be summoned before a Committee. But the propriety of holding such conferences only under seal of secrecy is of the most

doubtful, or worse than doubtful, propriety. We must remember that the matter in hand is public business: not only national but international; and that the President himself long ago announced it as a maxim and principle of his Administration that there could be no public business which should not be publicly transacted. What sort of predicament would a Senator be in who should have to explain his vote on a great public law by saying: “I cannot tell anybody why I am voting as I am. The President prevailed upon me to do it, but I am pledged not to reveal the means he employed to do it”! What a spectacle it would be for gods and men if Senators and the President should get together secretly to dispose of the property and liberties of another friendly and supposedly independent nation! What a scandal it would be for the Senate to vote a great public law and a great international treaty, and to admit that it was doing so for secret reasons which it could not reveal to the very people who were to be governed by that law and whose interests were to be determined by that treaty! And this, mind you, in the sacrosanct name of “open covenants, openly arrived at”!

Apologists for the Scandal of Shantung, like the *New York World* and *Evening Post*, point with a great deal of high-daddy enthusiasm to the reputed promise of Japan to restore the whole of the territory which she is grabbing to China in the course of six months or so. That would be a vastly more convincing—or less unconvincing—argument if there were so much as a hint of it in the Treaty of Peace. But there isn't. If such was really Japan's intention, or the intention or understanding of the Peace Conference, why was it not put into the Treaty, in black and white? So far as that instrument is concerned, China might just as well have no existence, save as the source from which Germany twenty-one years ago grabbed the loot which Japan now purposes in turn to grab. The Treaty provides for the transfer of the lease and concessions from Germany to Japan, but there is never a hint of any restoration of them to China, in six months or in six thousand years. That is the infamy of the thing. In the name of “territorial integrity” it despoils China; in the name of “self-determination” it disposes of her property without saying so much as “by your leave.”

Japan is permitted to grab Germany's loot in China. But Italy is not permitted to take over Austria's holdings. Why? Austria's concession in China was obtained far more honestly and decently than Germany's, and was immeasurably less offensive to Chinese independence and integrity. Can that fact be the reason why Japan's claim is preferred to Italy's? Or is it that Italy does not insist upon a share in the partition of China as pay for her support of the Covenant?

The Mexican problem, we are told by Administration organs, will bring to the United States the first test of the League of Nations. That is a statement which we must regard as frank with unconscious cynicism. Of its truth, in case this country were so fatuous as to adopt the Cov-

enant, there could be no doubt. Under that malign influence, the settlement of our controversies with Mexico over the border raids and outrages, over American property rights in Mexican lands, and all other issues, would be settled not by direct negotiation between ourselves and Mexico, but by the dictation of an alien council, composed chiefly of European and Asiatic Powers. That is precisely what critics and opponents of the present League scheme have all along insisted would be the case, and that has been one of the grounds of their objection to the Covenant. It is refreshing, if surprising, to hear League advocates now confess it to be true. Yet at the same time they have the effrontery to insist that the Monroe Doctrine would not be in the least degree impaired.

It seems fairly obvious that quicker action on the Treaty could have been obtained through publication of it at the time of its presentation to Germany. The report was assiduously circulated in this country then that Mr. Lloyd George was responsible for its suppression, but the *Echo de Paris* declares that it was withheld at the instigation of President Wilson who "foresaw inconvenience and risk in opening an important discussion in the United States during his absence." Well, he is back now; so we suppose the debate may proceed without danger. But, my! what a lot of chickens are coming home to roost!

Commend to us the fine moderation and *ex cathedra* wisdom of the leader of the "Dry" contingent in the House. The other day somebody ventured the suggestion that it really ought not to be made a crime for a person on a railroad train to administer a few drops of brandy to a fellow passenger who was stricken with illness, perhaps dying for need of it. "No occasion," scornfully thundered Mr. Volstead, "ever arises when liquor is really needed as a medicine." That settles it.

The "Drys" in the House of Representatives refuse to permit the alcoholic contents of patent medicines to be printed upon the wrappers of such wares. Hitherto, we believe, the law has required such statements to be printed upon the wrappers and labels, just as the presence of opium, chloral or other such drugs must thus be disclosed. There seems to be something highly suspicious in this change of front on the part of the Prohibitionists. We should think that they would want the alcoholic contents to be thus advertised, in order that the brethren might be warned against imbibing "bitters" that were stronger than wicked cocktails. As it is, the patent medicine folk will be enabled to put up cocktails, highballs, rickeys and all manner of iniquitous beverages under the innocent guise of bitters, compounds and syrups, to the delectation of the unregenerate, and, we sadly fear, the undoing of many an unsuspecting teetotaler who is innocently seeking relief from stomach-ache or quinsy. Can it be that the canny patent medicine manufacturers are "in cahoots" with the Anti-Saloon League?

The considerable raising of freight rates on the railroads, as soon as they are restored to private ownership, is inevitable. That is the dictum of Mr. Clark, of the Interstate Commerce Commission, and we are afraid that it is quite true. Certainly the railroad companies cannot pay out hundreds of millions of dollars from the public treasury, to cover deficits, as the government administration is doing, and they cannot do so from their own pockets; while it is too much to hope that restoration to private ownership will immediately transform a deficit into a surplus. We know of nobody better qualified than a member of the Interstate Commerce Commission to consider whether it would not have been better to permit the railroads some years ago to make the slight increase in rates which they then asked and needed to keep themselves prosperous and efficient, than it was to starve them into inefficiency and threatened bankruptcy. We are not at all sure that a reasonable increase in rates then would have enabled the roads to give such good service as to have obviated all need of government operation during the war, with its enormous expense to the country and general demoralization. Of course, lamentations over spilled milk are in one respect futile. But they may be worth while if they effectively impress a lesson of prudence for the future.

The campaign against the free dispensing of habit-forming drugs is doubtless a good thing, and a much needed thing. It would be instructive to know what relationship there is between it, or the occasion for it, and the going into force of prohibition; as it will be to watch hereafter the progress of drug-using under the "dry" regime. We do not look for an exact duplication of the experience of China; yet we are not unmindful of the principle that like causes produce like effects.

Let Mr. *Punch* look to his laurels. Here is the London *Spectator*, without ever cracking a smile, deploring the hardships and burdens which the Treaty of Peace imposes upon the British Empire in giving it possession of Mesopotamia, East and West Africa, and various other regions. But in spite of all that, it will accept the Treaty.

Seldom have we heard a more offensive boast of arrogant wealth than in Mr. Ford's declarations: "If I wanted to know about it, I could hire a man to tell me in five minutes;" and "The only way I can do anything is by hiring a good expert." He has no wish to know things himself, so long as his wealth can command the services of other men's brains. That is the apotheosis of venality.

While we are restoring one Poland in the West, it will not be well to make another Poland in the East.

Judging from present indications, it is the heart of the heavens that is breaking.

The Cost of Food

WHEN we think of the cost of food, we think first of all of the cost of beef. But the cost of beef, we are told, is conditioned upon the price of pork. Now the price of pork, according to Mr. Armour, is largely determined by the price of corn, upon which the porkers—saving the razor-back variety—are fed. Now corn is at a top-notch price partly because of the higher wages of farm hands, but still more because of the sympathy between it and wheat, which is, after all, the real basis upon which food values are determined.

And the Government, says Mr. Armour, is responsible for the high cost of wheat, because of its guarantee of \$2.26 a bushel for it; to make which guarantee good, Congress has appropriated a billion dollars of the people's money.

So then we have the taxpayers of the country paying a billion dollars to keep up the high cost of living! What was it that Lewis Carroll had the mob in *Sylvie and Bruno* cry? "Less bread! More taxes!"

Meantime, without in the least discrediting Mr. Armour's diagnosis, which is no doubt largely true, it will be well to consider also the relationship between high prices of food and all commodities, and inflation of the currency. For it is a well known principle that an inflated currency means a depreciated currency, and a depreciated currency means high prices.

We are still, of course, nominally on a perfectly sound gold basis. Yet our circulating medium is inflated—or, let us say, expanded—to an extent unprecedented in our history. Down to 1881, with the single exception of 1865, when it was \$20.58, our per capita circulation never rose as high as \$20. From 1881 to 1903 it ranged from \$21.44 to \$29.42; never reaching \$30. From 1904 to 1916 it ranged from \$30.77 to \$39.29; never reaching \$40. In 1917 it was \$45.74; and in 1918 it was \$50.81.

This expansion of the currency has proceeded *pari passu* with increase in the cost of living. Thus reckoning the "index number" of the cost of commodities at par, or 100, in 1913, the year before the war, but a year when inflation had already begun to a marked degree, we find that back in 1905, before inflation was greatly marked, it was only 84, while in 1918, with inflation at full blast, it was 195.

We may add that there has been a noteworthy parallel in this respect between America and other countries. Thus the cost of commodities, expressed by index numbers, was as follows:

	United States	United Kingdom	Canada	Australia	France
1905	84	84	84	84	85
1913	100	100	100	100	100
1918	195	217	190	173	312

The per capita circulation in the same countries in 1915 was:

United States	United Kingdom	Canada	Australia	France
\$39.58	\$28.38	\$38.09	\$43.07	\$83.06

The actual circulation in the United Kingdom was less than here, but the increase of it was proportionately greater;

hence the greater increase in cost of living. The circulation in France is very much greater than here, and so is the increase in the cost of living.

In the United States the increase in circulation from 1913 to 1918 was 47 per cent, while the increase in prices was 95 per cent, or practically twice as much. Perhaps, therefore, we may charge half of the increase in prices to the increase in circulation, and the other half of it to the causes which we have quoted Mr. Armour as suggesting.

Comforting Reassurance

WHAT will be the rule for ambassadors and ministers and consuls in foreign lands under the well known amendment? Can they keep something on the ice? Or will the iceboxes in the legation buildings be rated as American territory? We should like to get more light on this subject; we especially hanker for the views of those who do not expect to be made ambassadors in the near future, as their views will be more disinterested and unprejudiced. Could Col. George Harvey oblige with an opinion?—*The Evening Sun*.

Why the astutely quizzical Don Marquis classifies us with those who are without expectation of political preferment involving self-stultification we are quite unable to divine; however, it doesn't matter. Historically and theoretically, we may say in reply to his question, houses owned or rented by the United States for the use of its ambassadors are "rated as American territory."

So, too, are ships which float the Stars and Stripes. Did not our returning Chief Magistrate, when he boarded the *George Washington* at Brest, ejaculate with emotion, "This is America"? Whether in practice, during this period of unhappy transition, legation buildings are so held and consequently bone-dried, we cannot say. A courteous inquiry addressed to His Excellency, the Hon. Hugh C. Wallace, American Ambassador to France, would undoubtedly elicit the desired information as of the present.

What will happen after, if at all, our people turn over the management of the affairs of their country to a European-Asiatic council, the Lord only knows, but we have the comforting reassurance of Great Britain, uncontradicted by our own representatives, that in the event of a dispute arising, "the League will be there to settle it."

Senator Colt, on leaving the White House after a long talk with President Wilson, made it clear that the President, when the proper times arrives, will make public at least part of the facts in his possession relative to the Shantung section of the treaty. He indicated, further, that there are some things that Mr. Wilson is willing to tell the Senators but not to state publicly about the incident.—*The Herald*.

The "proper time" seems to be about now, even though, as the *Herald* inconsiderately adds, "so long ago did President Wilson abandon his announced policy of 'open' diplomacy and 'open' legislation, honored principally in the breach, that the American people have ceased to take even an academic interest in his professions along that line." Nevertheless we suspect that our neighbor will agree that the people do take much more than an academic interest in the betrayal of China and will acclaim lustily the Senate's certain repudiation of it.

Gratitude

NINE hundred and thirteen regular army officers, including one hundred and ninety-seven generals, have been demoted to their pre-war ranks; and this is only the beginning. During the next two months, every officer in the regular establishment will automatically return to the rank he held in April, 1917.

Striking an average, this means that the major general who commanded a division, if not a corps, in the Argonne, will become a colonel; the brigade commander will become a major; the regimental commander will become a captain; and so on down the line to the non-commissioned ranks, and if Mr. Baker has his way, they will one and all become little more than school-teachers or property clerks.

Now, putting aside altogether, for the moment, the question of justice and gratitude, and mindful that army men as a class are the least mercenary in the world, it is nevertheless interesting to note that a colonel receives \$4,000 a year; a lieutenant colonel \$3,500; a major \$3,000; and a captain \$2,400. Considering the depreciation in the buying power of the dollar, we daresay that many of these officers will find it quite as engrossing if not as interesting trying to support their families in the future as they found the task of making the world safe for democracy in the trenches.

The rule is arbitrary. Services count for nothing in this new order. The men who made good in France will get no consideration. If they were passed over the heads of incompetents abroad, they will now find themselves ranked by the same incompetents when they return to their peace assignments.

No class of men was ever treated more shabbily. Never before were the leaders of a victorious army deliberately punished as a recognition of their services. We feel quite sure, however, that one or two classes will be well satisfied, if not actually pleased, with this abominable treatment. We refer to those pernicious politicians and disgruntled officers from civil life who long ago declared war on the regulars, and blamed them for every weakness in an organization which, in its early stages, was merely the inevitable result of our blind military policy.

They swore to "get" the regulars, and they seem to be on a fair road to success.

We are told that this absurd policy is necessary because of the fact that it would be manifestly impossible to maintain a corps of officers appropriate to an army of 4,000,000 when that army is reduced one tenth in size. Of course. But could anything be simpler than to reorganize the entire personnel on the basis of accomplishment? Surely, if all the incompetents—particularly the older ones—were retired, the men who made good in the war could be placed where they would be most useful to the service, and incidentally receive the recognition they merit. Such a simple policy would remove much of the deadwood from the top of the service and greatly increase the army's efficiency.

But so far as we are informed, Mr. Baker has no such thought in mind. Doubtless the necessity for action of this sort will compel his attention when he discovers—what most

people know—that many of the really capable officers find that they cannot afford to remain in the service, and are preparing to resign in disgust.

Meanwhile it is to be regretted that the old feud between the line and staff is again becoming evident. It seems to be contaminating the entire service. It starts with General Pershing and General March, and, like a virulent disease, runs through the various ranks to the doughboy and quartermaster clerk. Hardly a line officer returns from France without the most vicious stories about the staff; and vice versa.

This of course has always been one of the chief weaknesses of the regular establishment. The country would be benefited if a few dozen ranking officers who criticise each other so violently in private were given an opportunity to hold joint debates in public. The atmosphere would be greatly cleared thereby.

The Democratic Senators to whom the collapse of the President's crusade through the "foggy bottoms" of the Republican zone brought the greatest cheer were with few exceptions from the South Atlantic States. The group includes Senators Overman (N. C.), Smith (Ga.), Bankhead (Ala.), Simmons (N. C.), Smith (S. C.), Shield (Tenn.), and Martin (Va.) from the South, and Senators King (Utah) and Myers (Mont.) from the West.—*The Sun*.

We could name several others who are in the same boat, but when they get down to cases all are pretty certain to fall in behind Vice-President Marshall, who detests denationalization as much as anybody but feels, in his own rueful words, that "we've got to stand behind the old man."

Forsaken

SOME months ago the WEEKLY called attention to the fact that troops from France, shell-shocked, gassed and wounded, whose minds had given way in the trenches, had been brought back to America and were herded into St. Elizabeth's insane asylum along with the degenerate and criminal insane. Denials, that denied nothing we had printed, were followed by excuses, and then came promises that conditions would be remedied as soon as it was humanly possible to do so. This was before the armistice was signed in November.

The other day we went over to St. Elizabeth's to see some of these boys. For a while we looked over the beautiful grounds and well-kept buildings, and then went to some of the wards where casual visitors do not go. We had been told that the soldiers and sailors were segregated from the unfortunates who are picked up in the streets and taken sometimes from the slums, but this was a mistake.

We were taken through many wards, where we saw hundreds of men and boys cooped up in long, poorly-lighted corridors. Many of them wore army and navy uniforms or the remnants of them. Others were civilians, dressed as fancy dictated. Some were disheveled and others were naked. Some were quite mad. They shrieked and cursed and galloped about and threatened to fight. Why all the inmates were not reduced to this state by their environment

we do not know. Others were huddled under the benches that line the wall, and refused to come out or to speak. Some were timid and fearful and would not approach strangers. Some were bruised and cut.

Many of the soldiers stood with folded arms; others sat stolidly upon the benches and stared vacantly at the walls in blank despair. Others sat on the window sills and peered through the bars out into the sunshine. Some of them were manifestly in a condition bordering on the hopeless, while others talked coherently and asked that messages of various kinds be delivered for them. Many of them hoped to be released in a few days, while others, ashamed of their condition or environment, covered their faces or slunk away.

In these corridors we saw soldiers who carried scars from the Argonne, Soissons, and Chateau Thierry; a sailor whose mind had failed after eleven months at Dunkirk; another who had collapsed mentally after many months in a Turkish prison camp; and another who had broken down in the sub-chasing service. These men, and many others who had had similar experiences, we talked with in those sunless corridors.

We talked with the guards and asked them what amusement, recreation, or occupation the men had, and were told that nothing was provided except a walk. They were supposed to be taken out for an airing every morning or afternoon, but this did not always happen. One guard said that none of the fifty-one occupants of his ward had been out in three weeks. The barber came and shaved them twice a week. They were bathed regularly once a week. They were supposed to get a tobacco ration, but each guard told a different version of the amount and frequency of the ration. None had tobacco. Many begged for it, and were very grateful for a few cigarettes.

We asked what, if any, attention the individual soldier got in this "hospital," and were told that they got only what we saw. Doctors were scarce, and as each had to watch over several hundred "patients," there was little opportunity to give the individual much attention. We asked if the soldiers were not kept in condition by setting-up exercises, as they had been accustomed to in the army, and we were told that they were not.

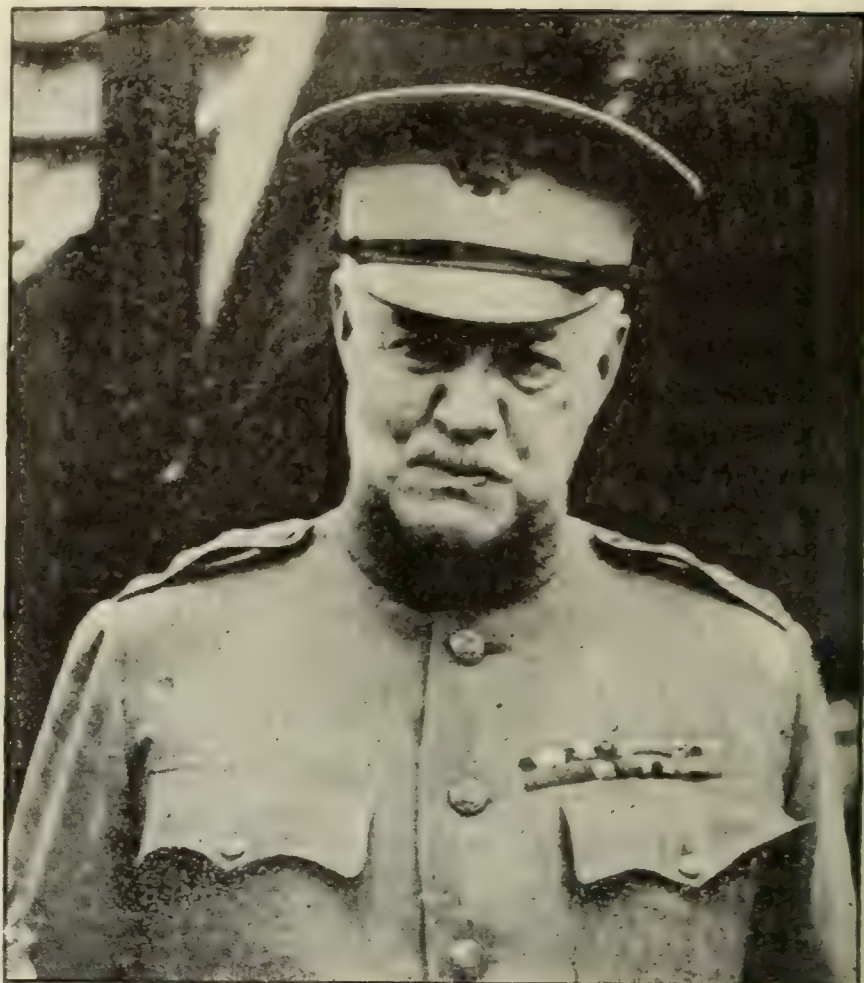
We went to wards where bed-ridden men were housed. A well-built man of twenty-five with a tattered nightgown (his only clothing) rolled about his neck, cried plaintively for his mother. His nerves were completely shattered and he cried all day. On the bed adjoining him a handsome lad of twenty stared hopelessly. Under the next bed a naked soldier was huddled, and so on, through the ward. There were no nurses and no attendants, except a youth who carried the keys, and this was true of the other wards.

We asked if these sick men were ever rolled out in the sunshine, and the answer was "no." Such a thing was never heard of. They rarely if ever had a caller. Most of them seemed not to have any people.

We asked if they were ever taken out motoring in army trucks, as the wounded from the hospitals are, and we were told that the Government provided nothing of the sort.

It is hard to believe that American soldiers are subjected to this treatment.

We would not have believed it if we had not seen it, and now that we have seen it we shall never forget it.



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LIEUT. GENERAL HUNTER LIGGETT

The whole country will applaud the President's recommendation of Pershing to a full Generalship for life, but his proposal of a like honor for General March is not well received and, in our candid opinion, is quite unwarranted. That the Chief of Staff rendered excellent service there is no question, but it was not of the kind that justifies placing him in the category of field commanders like Grant, Sherman and Sheridan, and the impression of favoritism in return for subservient backing up of Mr. Baker in his falsifications is justifiably strong. General March might properly perhaps be accorded a lieutenant generalship, but even so he should come behind General Hunter Liggett, who was the real Field Commander and far more to Pershing than either Sherman or Sheridan was to Grant.

Senator Hitchcock said that the President was greatly pleased with the situation.—*Washington Dispatch*.

In Mexico probably, as when on January 8, 1915, noting the "rising scorn at watchful waiting," he exultingly remarked, "Woodrow sat back in his chair and chuckled, knowing that he laughs best who laughs last; knowing, in short, what were the temper and principles of the American people." Thus doth the historian, in common with history itself, repeat.

A certain American General just back from France was asked, "Is Pershing going to run for the Presidency?" His reply was, "I don't bother with politics." That answer probably stands also for the Commander in Chief of the American Expeditionary Forces.—*The World*.

Why "probably"? Has the *World* any doubt about it?

When we elect a President he is the "servant of the people," and when he tells us to do anything of which we do not approve it is our privilege to differ with him.—*William J. Bryan*.

With him undoubtedly, but from him? Ay, there's the rub.

Shall the French Choose?

SIR,—It is suggested that the French may have some preference in the matter of the Monument site. Local benefits affect interest in some cases. But, so far as one can see at present, the most appropriate site is that of the great American Cemetery at Romagne, at the farthest battle advance in the Argonne-Meuse Sector, where 26,000 American heroes will be interred. The site is 36 miles long and 16 miles

wide, a rolling country, where there is probably some hill affording an ideal location for the obelisk. But as our engineers, with 3,600 negro assistants are rapidly transforming the place into an ideal cemetery, the question of site should be speedily investigated and the location reserved as well as made to harmonize with the ultimate plans.

W. I. C.

Washington, D. C.

Seven Sites for the Monument

I. CANTIGNY.

II. CHATEAU-THIERRY.

III. MEUSE-ARGONNE.

IV. GRAND PRÉ CITADEL.

V. BELLEAU WOOD.

VI. ST. MIHIEL.

VII. THE AMERICAN CEMETERY AT ROMAGNE

What Is Your Choice?

A Few of This Week's Letters

PREFERS IT HERE, NOT IN FRANCE

SIR,—Most people, I think, would approve a replica of the Washington Monument on one of the battlefields of France, but would it not be better to keep that unique and inspiring shaft for our own country and without a duplicate anywhere? Let me endorse a suggestion that has already been made in the WEEKLY, that the memorial be of original design and in no sense a copy of anything else in existence. It should also be a product of American genius, and its cost should be borne by voluntary contributions of the American people.

Now let Col. Harvey enlist the cooperation of our most eminent artists in securing a suitable design, and appoint a committee of bankers in our larger cities, who in turn can appoint sub-committeemen in every locality to receive contributions and let the good work go on.

Pratt, Kansas.

J. S. BARNES.

"COUNT ON ME"

SIR,—I have heard of no better suggestion for a memorial to the friendship between France and America than that of erecting an exact replica of the Washington Monument on the soil of France. By all means let us have such a memorial, and the sooner a campaign is begun for the raising of the necessary funds the better. Please count me among the first to send a contribution.

Worcester, Mass.

FRANCIS E. SMITH.

HEARTILY IN FAVOR

SIR,—I am heartily in favor of the monument to our dead in France—even to being willing to donate toward it if called upon.

Hudson, N. Y.

STERLING C. COONS.

THE GRAND PRÉ SITE

SIR,—I wish to express my approval of J. F. C.'s suggestion of the Grand Pré Citadel site as the most worthy and fitting location for the proposed monument to America's dead. The military achievement in itself, the imposing site behind this poetic city, where I have been with the very Infantry who captured it, and the blood of my comrades who consecrated the very spot, are the reasons for my selection.

M. V. F.

Perth Amboy, N. J.

TO EACH STATE ITS DEAD

SIR,—The suggestion is magnificent. No other memorial which our people could erect to the memory of the noble dead and heroic living could compare with it in any way. Will you allow a suggestion? On the interior walls of the monument at Washington are memorial stones donated by various States and foreign lands. Why not have each State donate a stone on which are carved the names of all the men from that State who gave their lives? Let the National Government also furnish a stone with the names of those who cannot be identified by States. Here we have a lasting memorial to all who perished.

C. E. WILLIS.

Richmond, Va.

WANTS GENERAL PERSHING'S VIEWS

SIR,—I have noticed with much interest your proposed Monument for France and America, and the letters you have printed about its location. So far I have not seen any from army men. I am not in the honored number who could go, but I would like to hear from some of them. More especially, I think it would be good policy before deciding this to hear from Gen. Pershing himself. He ought to know.

New York City.

ALFRED WENDEL TOWNER.

WHY NOT?

SIR,—Why not? Start it along! Here's my little dollar, with the hope that you may be flooded with four million more! Not only enough to complete the monument as proposed, but enough to erect a permanent Community House near it for the rest and entertainment of those who may be so fortunate as to visit it.

RODNEY W. MOFFETT.

Springfield, Ohio.

MANY RATHER THAN ONE

SIR,—If only one monument is to be erected in memory of our soldiers abroad, how can just the right place ever be satisfactorily determined? Why not place smaller memorials at the several places mentioned, rather than one big monument? Wouldn't the friends of the boys who fell at other than the place adopted for the one monument feel that they were slighted? It seems to me a pretty delicate question to decide.

MARY R. SILVERNAIL.

Altamont, N. Y.

Letters from Our Readers

A NECESSITY.

SIR,—Reading HARVEY'S WEEKLY in these days has developed from a matter of interest to a matter of necessity with me. The story is told that a certain devout Quakeress, laden with bundles, rushed for a train in the Philadelphia station, only to have the gate rudely slammed in her face. Because of her religious training she was unable fittingly to express herself, and consequently leaned against the gate in a fainting condition just as a traveling man, not a Quaker, laden with a package, reached the gate. He expressed himself in violent vernacular, and when he had finished, the Quakeress, appearing much refreshed, turned to him and remarked simply, "I thank thee." The Wilsonian performances are far beyond my power of description; hence my reliance on the WEEKLY as a life saver.

J. L. GREGORY.

Binghamton, N. Y.

SOCIALISTS ON GOVERNMENT PAY.

SIR,—Probably you know what you want to accomplish. However, I suggest that the WEEKLY could be of great aid in getting rid of the bunch of Socialists on the payroll of the Government, furnishing material for country newspapers in the interests of the Administration and the President's League of Nations covenant in the treaty.

Your paper could do good work to compel Congress to investigate the membership, antecedents, beliefs and activities of members of "the Board of Industrial Research," of the Military Intelligence Bureau, and other similar propaganda bureaus maintained at the public expense.

W. W. DEWHURST.

St. Augustine, Fla.

CONCISE.

SIR,—I met today on Chestnut street a man—100 per cent American, as to birth, heredity, and patriotism—and 100 per cent Democrat, if judged by the party label he has used each November for 40 years or more. After greetings, I asked: "What do you think of the League of Nations?" He quickly replied: "My boy, I know damned little about the League of Nations, to tell you the truth, but this I do know—I'm against joining any kind of a League which may make us do something we don't want to do." Can you beat it?

JOHN PARSONS.

Philadelphia, Pa.

SINFUL SATISFACTION

SIR,—I suppose it is a sin to be cheerful when the "Heart of the World" is about to be "broken," but I simply chortle with joy every time you "land" on this Administration's hypocrisy.

I doubt if your remuneration is commensurate with the satisfaction you are giving to countless good honest Americans.

But it must be some satisfaction to you to have an intelligent public waiting impatiently for the next number of the WEEKLY.

WILLIAM T. SMEDLEY.

AID AND COMFORT FOR JOSEPHINE R. SWIFT

SIR,—I note that Miss [or Mrs.] Josephine R. Swift, expresses a desire, in the last issue of your WEEKLY, to secure certain back numbers of your valuable paper. If she will send me her address I shall be glad to mail her one of these numbers, and tell her where she can secure another.

ROSWELL RANDALL HOES
(Captain, U. S. N.).

Cosmos Club, Washington, D. C.

SIR,—In the July 5th WEEKLY, Josephine R. Swift of New York City, asks for back numbers of the WEEKLY. I will be glad to send her Nos. 12 and 21 if you can give me her street address in New York City.

MARY AUGUSTA LA MOTTE.

Mt. Salem Lane, Wilmington, Del.

SIR,—Referring to the request of Josephine R. Swift for extra copies of your WEEKLY, I am pleased to say that I have copies of Nos. 12, 15, 16, 17 and 26, that I would be glad to send you.

HENRY S. WINANS.

1212 Josephine Street, Denver, Colorado.

Japan and Her Neighbor

By JEREMIAH JENKS

The Russian Problem and Bolshevism

By BARON ROSEN

in the

North American Review FOR AUGUST

Other Important Features Are:

THE DOCTRINE OR THE LEAGUE
EDITORIAL

AMERICANIZING THE TREATY
DAVID JAYNE HILL

FROM JEFFERSON TO WILSON
JOHN CORBIN

PROBLEMS OF CIVIL ADMINISTRATION
GOVERNOR FRANK O. LOWDEN

PROGRESS OF AERONAUTICAL
ENGINEERING
COM. J. C. HUNSAKER, U. S. N.

THE STORY OF SENATE BILL 5464
VIRGINIA Y. REMNITZ

CHAPTERS OF ROOSEVELT'S LIFE
WILLIAM ROSCOE THAYER

THE STRATEGY ON THE WESTERN
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VOL. 2

WEEK ENDING AUGUST 2, 1919

No. 31

A Crime Against the Nation

WHEN last week we remarked that to the best of our knowledge the text of the proposed Franco-American Treaty had not been published in this country, we spoke the truth, of course. And yet the text, or most of it, was printed by many papers as an Associated Press dispatch on July 3, and we must have read it because we commented upon the difference in the forms of pledges given to France by Great Britain and the United States. How we happened to overlook the promise of the President in Article 4 to submit the document at the same time as he submitted the general Peace Treaty, we frankly do not know.

Our surmise, however, is this: that the possibility of a President of the United States breaking his word to the French Republic never touched our mind. We must have taken for granted that he would keep his pledge, and consequently the faintest suspicion that he might not simply did not register. That seems natural enough and we have no doubt is the true explanation of an oversight such as might easily have attached to a vital statement buried in a seemingly perfunctory preamble.

In any case, we readily concede the inadvertence so gleefully heralded by poor Senator Hitchcock and our camouflaging neighbor, the *World*, and we solemnly promise, as a consequence of this lesson from bitter experience, never again to accept at its face value any pledge given even under the great seal of the United States of America by our present Chief Magistrate. So much for that.

The fact of publication, however, obviously mitigates in not the slightest degree the fact of faithlessness on the part of the President, who

signed an agreement to submit the Franco-American Treaty "at the same time as the Treaty of Versailles is submitted to the Senate for its advice and consent to ratification" and broke his word. Upon that main and only really important point there is no question.

"The facts in the case," as the conservative but outspoken Boston *Transcript* says, "are undenied and undeniable. On June 28 last, at Paris, shortly before he sailed for the United States, the President of the United States negotiated, on behalf of the United States with the French Republic a treaty which he signed as President of the United States and to which he affixed the Great Seal of the United States. Article Four of that engagement solemnly pledged the President and the French signatories in the following simple terms, several words of which are herewith italicized:

The present treaty *will be submitted* to the Senate of the United States at the same time as the Treaty of Versailles is submitted to the Senate for its advice and consent to ratification.

"If an obligation could be stated in terms simpler or more explicit we have yet to see such a statement. The promise contained in Article Four, the American signatory 'took the liberty' of breaking on July 10th last when he submitted the Treaty of Versailles to the Senate and withheld the treaty of alliance with France, 'reserving it,' as he said, 'for special explication on another occasion.' That the American signatory had the power to break the promise to France contained in Article Four of the treaty of alliance is proven by his exercise of that power in breaking that promise. That he may at some future time offer explanations and

excuses for his unprecedented course is a matter about which neither prophecy nor speculation has at this time the slightest interest for those who are old-fashioned enough to believe that promises are made to be kept and not to be broken."

The *Transcript* pronounces this "broken promise to France" a "sin against America" and rightfully concludes that "the American people cannot escape the burden of its bitter shame unless and until they protest against that sin and compel its mitigation by forcing the immediate submission to the Senate of the Franco-American treaty, in belated compliance with the solemn promise set forth in Article Four of that engagement and subscribed to by the President of the United States when he signed that treaty and affixed thereto the Great Seal of the United States."

Our ever-considerate neighbor the *Evening Sun* takes a more tolerant view, saying apologetically:

For very shame, we are compelled to assume that it was through inadvertence President Wilson violated the provision of his treaty with France, superseding the general peace treaty or at least the League of Nations covenant, in failing to submit the two pacts to the Senate simultaneously, as stipulated in Article 4. It was a very odd slip, of course; very hard to explain, for he actually alluded to the French treaty in his speech. He said he would present it to the Senate later and that he reserved it "for special explication on another occasion."

We are confronted, therefore, with the amazing condition that his inadvertence consisted, not in forgetting the treaty, but in forgetting its contents, its obligations, although he had set his hand and seal to it exactly twelve days before at Versailles. He remembered that he had the treaty in his pocket, but he forgot what was in the treaty. He forgot the agreement that it should "be submitted to the Senate of the United States at the same time that the treaty of Versailles shall be submitted to the Senate for advice and assent to its ratification."

Strange, indeed, that there should be such a lapse of memory; but we insist it must have been so. *Noblesse oblige*. No other theory of the omission is consistent with the respect due to the President and his office.

We should like greatly, in common with the *Evening Sun*, "for very shame," to accept inadvertence as a partial excuse for this shocking breach of faith, but it is quite impossible to escape the succinct logic of the *Herald* expressed in these plain words:

The failure to comply with the mandate which Mr. Wilson accepted at Paris—or to carry out the promise he made over his own signature, if that is a more polite way of putting it—does not call for speculation.

What it does call for is a prompt explanation from the President of the United States.

But no "explanation from the President of the United States" has appeared or is likely to appear in the near future. As the *Transcript*, which prudently withheld comment for a day,

sadly remarked on Saturday, "The hope that Americans would be spared the painful duty of passing judgment upon the most shocking violation of a solemn engagement in the history of the United States is dashed by this semi-official dispatch from Washington:

"Without making any explanation, White House officials made it clear that Mr. Wilson had no intention of submitting the Franco-American agreement for Senate ratification until consideration of the treaty with Germany is well under way.

"The President plans, it was said, to present the French treaty after his tour of the country, which will not begin until about Aug. 10, and may continue for several weeks."

But one inference from this is possible: Explanation could not explain. There was nothing to say truthfully and there was nothing that could be said falsely that would mitigate the offense. So the only thing to do was to ignore the whole matter and trust in luck that it would blow over, as so many discreditable doings have blown over,—and anyhow one might as well die for a sheep as for a lamb. So much for that.

But we would not for a moment convey the impression that the faithful have not done their pitiful best to extenuate the fault. They have, indeed. Senator Hitchcock, for example, with that rare convincingness which has characterized his gasping utterances ever since he was kicked in the belly, proved conclusively to himself at least that conviction of a President of the United States of breaking faith with a friendly Power was mere nagging of his own reluctant political patron, as exemplified thus:

Mr. BRANDEGEE. Mr. President—

Mr. HITCHCOCK. I yield.

Mr. BRANDEGEE. The question is not whether the President made a summary of this treaty. Article 4 of the proposed treaty, unless the documents I have submitted are false, provides that he contracted with France to lay that treaty before the Senate at the same time he laid the treaty of Versailles before the Senate. Did he do it?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Mr. President, the gist of the article to which the Senator refers is that the two matters shall be before the Senate at the same time.

Mr. BRANDEGEE. Is this the time? Are they here now?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. They will be here at the same time.

Mr. BRANDEGEE. Oh, in the limit—yes.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. We have the President's word that presently he will do this thing.

Mr. BRANDEGEE. When does "presently" arrive?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. It is not for me to say, nor for the Senator to say. The President has made no promise to the Senate. He entered into an arrangement with France, and if there is any ground for complaint France and not the Senator from Connecticut has the right to complain.

Mr. BRANDEGEE. I am not complaining. I am calling attention to these articles. If there is any complaint about it, the American nation and France, I guess, will make the complaint.

Mr. Hitchcock was quite right, of course, in saying that primarily France had the chief

ground for complaint, but has not the Senate also a just grievance in the withholding from it of a Treaty promised by the President himself, in a definite agreement with a great nation to be put before it at a specified time? One would think so. But what is time—*the same time*? At this point Senator John Sharp comes to the rescue of the floundering pygmy from Nebraska and says:

The Senator [Mr. Brandegee] says that because article 4 of this French-American treaty provides that these two treaties are to be submitted to the Senate for their consideration at the same time, therefore the President must in the same moment submit the two as indissolubly connected with one another and as virtually one instrument. He could not have done that if he wanted to. He would have had to submit one a few moments ahead of the other, anyhow, even if he was going to bring up both in the same speech.

The puerility of talk like that naturally need not be emphasized. And yet it is not a whit more disingenuous than the solemn observation of the obsessed Springfield *Republican* that "in a sense the President has already submitted it by his previous announcement to the Senate of its existence," or more silly than the grotesque query of the cuckoo Boston *Post*, "Does any sensible and unbiased man think for a moment that that meant that the agreement was to go to the Senate on the same day on which the Versailles treaty was brought in, or in the same week or the next week?" when it is as plain as a pike-staff that that is precisely what was intended.

Upon our word, we are wholly unable to understand how reputable journalists like Mr. Hooker and Mr. Grozier can square themselves with their consciences or with their sense of professional ethics when they utter such drivel deliberately designed to deceive their readers. But that is another story, comprising many phases, whose telling we shall take the liberty of postponing to a future date.

The sole present requisite is to make clear, as we have had to make clear, in shame and sorrow, that the French Republic has been betrayed, that the United States Senate has been flouted and insulted, and that the American people have been grievously wronged by the President of the United States.

Why does he do such things?

Can anybody tell?

LODGE'S BANKRUPT LEADERSHIP.—*World headline.*
Sure it is Lodge's?

If worst comes to worst and the League of Nations fails, there would still be hope for the future in a strong offensive and defensive alliance between Great Britain and the United States.—*Leslie's Weekly.*

Excuse U. S.!

Half a League, half a League, half a League backward!

"Not Legal, Merely Moral"

SENATOR McNARY has again put forward a plea in behalf of the Covenant, and particularly of Article X, which we should think any statesman of standing would be ashamed to utter, and which we should be sorry to think the American people could hear without feelings closely approximating revulsion and disgust. He refers to the objection that Article X places us under an absolute obligation to go to war whenever called by the League, and reckons the indictment to be untenable because the Covenant elsewhere provides that such a call shall be by unanimous vote, so that this—or any other—country could avoid going to war by voting against it. Then follows this discreditable argument:

Indisputably this provision casts upon this country an undertaking to go to war to protect an associate of the League from invasion, *but this obligation is in no proper sense a legal one, but purely a moral obligation.*

It would be pertinent and not unprofitable to consider what would be thought by other nations if we should ratify the Covenant with an "interpretive reservation" to that effect, declaring that while we ratified Article X, we did so with the understanding that it was not legally binding upon us and that when called upon to defend an associate in the League from invasion we should do so or not just as we pleased.

While we are about it, too, we might well consider what sort of standing we should presently have in the League if every time we were called upon to act under Article X we voted "No" and thus saved ourselves a lot of bother at the expense of nullifying the whole action of the League; since our veto would not merely keep ourselves out but would defeat the whole proposal for intervention in behalf of the imperilled nation. We can imagine no surer way of making the whole League business a laughing-stock.

But worst of all is the attempt to discriminate between legal and moral obligations, and to intimate that the latter are less binding than the former. That cynical and conscienceless discrimination has never been made without disastrous results. It affronts and outrages every sense of honor and decency. The nation which should proclaim it as its rule of conduct would forfeit the confidence and the respect of mankind. So detestable is it that we are unwilling to believe that any of those who are now urging it in behalf of the Covenant would really approve putting it into practice. On the contrary, we expect that every one of them, including Senator McNary and President Lowell, would promptly repudiate it and would be foremost and vociferous in their insistence that we were absolutely bound by moral obligations and that it would shame us forever if we did not fulfil them as scrupulously as any legal contracts.

We have, to our mind, no right to put into an explicit and definite treaty provisions which we purpose to avoid and to nullify whenever it would be inconvenient to us to fulfil them. We have no right to assume obligations of the gravest character and say meanwhile, with tongue in cheek, "That isn't legally binding upon us; it's nothing but a moral obligation, a mere scrap of paper."

A Doubly Wrong Request

THE President's amazing request, that the Senate Committee on Foreign Affairs approve his tentative appointment of an American member of the Reparations Commission, was so promptly snuffed out that had it been a sentient being it might well have asked

Since I so soon am done for,
I wonder what I was begun for?

Yet it is worthy of at least passing notice for something more than its rather unexpected indication of the President's willingness to recognize the functions of the Senate in foreign affairs. It is an instructive example of that strange disregard, not only of constitutional procedure but also of the logic of practical business affairs, which seems to be increasingly characteristic of the President.

It is of course fitting—properly it is imperative—for the President to seek the advice and consent of the Senate in appointing public ministers of any kind, and though he ignored that rule in his appointment of three of the delegates to the Peace Conference, it is eminently desirable that he shall observe it in the appointment of any such officers hereafter. But it is to the Senate that he is thus to turn, and not to a mere committee of it. Indeed, on the well established principle to which Senator Lodge recently called attention, that the President is not to be summoned or is not to appear before a mere committee of the Senate, but must meet the entire Senate when he has matters to present to it, we might well argue that it is unfitting for him to communicate with a committee of the Senate, but should always address himself to the whole Senate and let it refer his message to whatever committee it pleases.

What is quite certain is that no committee of the Senate is competent to perform the function which the Constitution explicitly confers upon the Senate as a whole; so that if the Committee on Foreign Affairs had acted favorably upon his request, its action would have been of absolutely no force nor value. The President therefore asked improperly for something which would have been no more than a "scrap of paper."

That was not, however, his only error. He made his request in contemplation of an act which he had no business to perform. It is, by every rule of common sense, quite true, as Senator Knox pointed out, that until the Treaty is ratified no power exists, in the President, in the Senate or elsewhere, to execute any of its provisions.

The Reparations Commission is yet, at least so far as the United States is concerned, non-existent. It will not come into existence until the Senate ratifies the Treaty which is to be its creator. It would be illogical and absurd to appoint a member of a body which has not yet come into existence and to whose coming into existence we have not yet assented, and may never assent.

Lord Robert Cecil and Colonel House might amuse themselves by circularizing all nations in behalf of the League of Nations before a single Power had approved the formation of that body. In Alice's wonderland there might be a demand for "Sentence first! Verdict afterward!" But not thus should serious statesmen deal with momentous affairs of state. There has already too often been manifest an inclination to "go ahead and do it" in advance of legal

authorization, trusting to the accomplished fact to compel subsequent acquiescence. That is a pernicious and dangerous practice, and it was well to have the Senate committee administer to it a stinging rebuke.

A Faith Twice Shattered

APPARENTLY faith, as well as hope, "springs eternal in the human breast;" at any rate in the breast of Senator Pomerene. That zealous advocate of the Covenant of Denationalization declares that he and his associates have

an abiding faith that when the nations of the world, leagued together, pledge themselves to suspend warfare, when international disputes can be submitted either to arbitration or to investigation and publicity incident thereto, it will materially reduce the chances of war.

In the year 1899 the nations of the world, or the principal ones of them, leagued themselves together and pledged themselves to suspend warfare, and provided for the submission of international disputes either to arbitration or to investigation and the publicity incident thereto. Possibly the chances of war were thereby reduced. But it is a fact of record that within five years thereafter Russia and Japan were at war.

Again, in the year 1907 the nations of the world, practically all of them, leagued themselves together and pledged themselves to suspend warfare; and they provided in a most elaborate, complete and apparently efficient manner for the submission of international disputes either to arbitration or to investigation and consequent publicity. To what extent the chances of war were thereby materially reduced, we shall not undertake to estimate; but we know that seven years thereafter the world's greatest war was begun and was waged by nations every one of which had been a party to that irenic league of 1907.

Still, Senator Pomerene has "an abiding faith" in the efficacy of the Covenant where the Hague Conventions so lamentably failed. Is that because the Hague Conven-

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BY GEORGE HARVEY

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tions were based upon mere moral forces, while the Covenant contains that formidable and efficient Article X which we are assured is the nub, the centre, the king pin, the *sine qua non*, of the whole thing? But his colleague, and fellow champion of the Covenant, Senator McNary, assures us that Article X imposes nothing in the world more than a mere moral obligation, which we may fulfil or ignore as we please.

We would not discourage faith, but we cannot help wondering upon what better basis Senator Pomerene's "abiding faith" is founded than were the twice-shattered faiths of years ago.

About Edsel, The Slacker:

Q. I understand, Mr. Ford, that this matter is not a private matter at all.

A. No.

Q. That you publicly declared, announced that you assumed all responsibility for Edsel not enlisting?

A. I think I did, yes.

Q. That you did not want him to wear a uniform; that he was more useful to you in the factory?

A. I did.

Q. And the Draft Board disagreed with you?

A. I think so.

Q. That is all, Mr. Ford.

Yes, that was all. If all doting parents had been willing and able to prevent the drafting of their sons, not much of an army could have been sent to France. Fortunately few had sufficient pull at the White House to evade service by obtaining a timely "change of regulations," and fewer yet, thank God, would have done so if they could.

The Mistakes of Mr. Wilson

JUST prior to his recent return from abroad, we ventured to speculate upon the possibilities of a modification of that belligerent temper which Mr. Wilson revealed on his former visit here. We suggested that more mature reflection, encouraged, perhaps, by the calming counsels of Mr. House, might raise a doubt in even the Wilsonian mind as to whether abusive epithets heaped on Senators, coupled with swaggering announcements about his "fighting blood" being "up," was the acme of persuasive tact in overcoming a formidable Senatorial opposition. Even though it involved an apparent renunciation of infallibility and a humiliating confession of the possibility of Woodrow Wilson being wrong about something, there did seem some small ground for hope that even so acute a megacephalous condition as that under diagnosis might yield to such a cold douche treatment as was obviously awaiting it here.

It was an idle hope. The President is running true to his own tactless form. Mr. Taft, in his letter to Mr. Hays, even goes so far as to say that "the situation which confronts us now with reference to the ratification of the treaty is one created by the very serious mistakes of policy committed by Mr. Wilson."

Mr. Taft did not mention all the mistakes of Mr. Wilson. He spoke of the grotesquely ill-advised appeal to the country to pack Congress with a majority pledged to Wilson support, but he made no mention of the Wilson effort, through the silly Lewis resolution, to have the Senate furnish a carte-blanc pre-endorsement of anything the Presi-

dent might elect to commit the country to in the peace negotiations. Mr. Taft dwelt with none too great emphasis on the further Wilsonian error of excluding from the American peace delegation not only Republicans but all Americans of real experience and leadership of public opinion, but he made no reference to the tirades of abuse which Mr. Wilson heaped upon the heads of men of the highest standing in the counsels and confidence of the nation, merely because these men ventured to hold a different opinion from his own on matters of vital import to the country's welfare.

To catalogue the flagrant errors of utterance and conduct on the part of Mr. Wilson since he came under the systematized delusion that he had a "call" to regulate Humanity and to remodel the psychology of the world, would be a futile and a disheartening task. It would involve manifestations of an egomania all but psychopathic in their implications.

All the rude shocks which Mr. Wilson has encountered since his return have caused him to learn nothing and to forget nothing. The thin veneer of amiability which covered his inborn intolerance of opinions other than his own, which was somewhat in evidence when he made his peace treaty address to the Senate, quickly disappeared. Instead of going before the Senate and frankly submitting a full, free and comprehensive accounting of his self-appointed stewardship, he has sought by furtive conferences with selected Senators to undermine opposition.

Yet, with all the President's tactlessness and truculence, we can not agree with Mr. Taft that the situation with reference to treaty ratification is due to the mistakes of Mr. Wilson. The opposition to the treaty is due to the treaty itself. Had such a treaty been presented with all the resources of adroit persuasiveness and tact known to man, it would still have been the pestiferous thing that it is; would still have been none the less odious to the American people and the American Senate. Mr. Wilson's obtuseness, his self-sufficiency of opinion may have put a keener edge on the opposition. But that is all. Great as undoubtedly is Mr. Wilson's personal unpopularity, that unpopularity is irrelevant to the situation. Senator Hitchcock and others have tried to inject this element into the discussion and thereby obscure the real sources of the opposition. But it is an effort quite vain and futile.

Our Troops in Siberia

WE must wish that the President had offered a more convincing explanation of the presence of our troops in Siberia than that which he gave in response to Senator Hiram Johnson's very proper resolution of inquiry; or that the policy of the Administration had been such as would make a more convincing explanation possible. For, truth, to tell, the President's offering was deplorably lame and impotent; amounting chiefly to this, that our troops were there because Japan wanted them there.

The first reason, to assist and save the Czecho-Slovak armies, was most laudable, though we are inclined to think that the Czecho-Slovaks assisted us a great deal more than we assisted them, and we recall bitter and well-founded complaints that we and the Allies were abandoning those gallant

warriors to their own devices. However this may be, that reason for our remaining there no longer exists. The second reason given by the President is, to "steady any efforts of the Russians at self-defence or the establishment of law and order in which they might be willing to accept assistance." We are not informed that they were willing to accept it, or that we have contributed materially to those laudable ends.

As we understand it, the conflict in Siberia has been between a large faction led by Admiral Kolchak and another directed by Lenine and Trotzky, neither of which has been recognized by our Government. While our troops have been in regions controlled by the Kolchak Government, and therefore ostensibly on terms of friendship if not of coöperation with that organization, we have at times been trying to hobnob with Lenine and Trotzky, and actually sent the one-time Reverend George Herron to enter into friendly diplomatic relations with them. It was a sheer case of "Good Lord! Good Devil!"

Finally, we are said by the President to be keeping our troops there—at the request of Japan—to guard the railroads which are under the management of an American engineer, who went thither under commission from the Russian Government. But the Russian Government which commissioned Mr. Stevens long ago went out of existence, and we are not informed that he has been re-commissioned by either Admiral Kolchak or Lenine and Trotzky; so that his standing would seem to be officially uncertain.

It is a pity that the President had not pursued a logical, courageous policy toward Russia which would have enabled him to reply to Senator Johnson's inquiry in a convincing and satisfactory manner, and in the only manner worthy of a great nation which professes to be striving for justice, righteousness and democracy among the nations of the world.

The Mexican Investigation

SOON after Ambassador Fletcher was assigned to Mexico City, we were told that he informed Americans who sought his protection that his instructions were "to see nothing, to hear nothing, to do nothing," because his sole function was to attempt to lend an air of respectability to Carranza's Government and its relations with the United States. No matter how exasperating the circumstances, nothing was to be allowed to interfere with this policy. It was extremely difficult to believe this report at the time, but since reading the official transcript of Mr. Fletcher's testimony before the Rules Committee of the House, it would be difficult to believe otherwise.

The press reports of the hearing did not do it justice. Never within our recollection has an American Ambassador presented such a spectacle. Had he been Carranza's own advocate he could not have served him more faithfully. His testimony is filled with misinformation. It gives a totally false impression of conditions below the Rio Grande. Its general tenor indicates that Carranza has actually established a government which is functioning throughout the late republic, and that he represents the country's only hope as of the present. Every circumstance that could be twisted to Carranza's favor was magnified, while every fact

indicative of the true conditions was either evaded or its importance minimized.

We regret that limited space prohibits the publication of extensive extracts of this testimony. With a great show of frankness, Mr. Fletcher presented a list of 251 Americans who have been murdered in Mexico since Diaz was driven out. Even this list is filled with errors, and incidentally fails to make any reference to the hundreds of Americans murdered on this side of the Rio Grande by Mexicans.

In Mr. Fletcher's defense it is said that he was in an extremely difficult position because he could not hope to hold the favor of this Administration or to return to Mexico if he told the blunt truth. Certainly. If he is merely a hired man anxious to please his boss in the hope of holding his job, his attitude is readily understood. But we had assumed that he was an upstanding American more interested in saving the lives of his fellow-citizens and assisting in the regeneration of a neighboring country than in adhering to a pay-roll. Mr. Fletcher had an opportunity to do more for America and Mexico in one day than has fallen to the lot of any other man. Had he told the whole truth, none would have dared contradict him. In a single hour he might have cleared the atmosphere of the falsehoods that have made possible a continuation of our policy.

Of course the House Committee was responsible to a large degree for allowing the travesty to continue. Chairman Campbell's examination of the witness showed neither knowledge of conditions nor capacity for interrogation. The very method of the examination lends color to reports circulated in Washington that a gentlemen's agreement existed between Mr. Fletcher and Mr. Campbell to the effect that, if the ambassador appeared before the committee, he would not be closely questioned. It now develops that when Under Secretary of State Polk appeared several weeks ago before the Committee on Foreign Affairs, he frightened the members, Republicans more than Democrats, by telling them in executive session that any interference by Congress at this time would inevitably cause Carranza's fall, and this would mean intervention.

It appears that many of the timid Republicans accepted Mr. Polk's clever statement and opposed an investigation for fear that a public recital of the truth would force intervention, and that the President would immediately convince the country that the Republicans were responsible. We regret to say that this made a great impression on many Republicans. Wiser counsel, of course, will prevail, and the investigation will proceed.

Cardinal Gibbons, on his 85th birthday, said:

We are now afflicted with a war of races in the national capital, where much blood has been shed and lives sacrificed. Alas, it is a proof that legislative suppression of intoxicating drinks is not, as it was said it would be, a panacea against all social and moral evils. There are many other kinds of intemperance—intemperance by eating, by gluttony; intemperance in speech, by slander and defamation of character, intemperance of liberty itself, by lawless license; intemperance in our insatiable search for wealth, which dries up in many hearts the foundations of benevolence and stifles the gentler feelings of sympathy for suffering humanity.

True as gospel. May His Eminence live forever!

The Prohibition Spree

THE outstanding facts in connection with the passage by the House of Representatives of the most drastic sumptuary encroachment upon the personal liberty of American citizens ever known in the history of the country, are that it was voted by such an overwhelming majority, and that the lines of cleavage pro and con in both parties are so nearly parallel, that by no possibility can either Republicans or Democrats be saddled with party responsibility for the measure. The majority for the prohibition enforcement law lacked just 13 votes of being three to one over the opposition. Of the opposition—an even 100 votes—52 were Republican and 48 Democratic. Of the 287 affirmative ballots, the Republicans cast only 54 more than did the Democrats.

And now the measure goes to the Senate with every prospect of its being sent therefrom to the President for either signature or veto, according to whatever particular "vision" happens to be streaming its light upon the Executive intellectuals at the time. But, veto or no veto, we may as well make up our minds that this astounding measure is going to be the law of the land. If Mr. Wilson vetoes it, the votes are there and waiting in both branches of Congress to pass it over his veto with a whoop.

It has been evident, during all the three weeks and more that the matter was under discussion in the House, that the fanatics were in the saddle and would howl down every suggestion of sanity and moderation that even Prohibitionists themselves might advance. At times during the debate the scenes on the floor of the House resembled a riot in Bedlam rather than the hall of a deliberative assembly.

But, even at that, a little sanity did fight its way into the measure before it passed. The outrageous and unconstitutional provisions for invading and ransacking private homes went by the board. A physician called to attend an emergency case taken to the nearest drug store may prescribe an alcoholic stimulant to be served by the druggist without having had his professional office in that particular drug store for a year continuously. From these two sample specimens, what the worst of the whirling dervishes desired and finally failed to get may be judged.

Nobody doubts the good citizenship of the leaders in this fanatical Prohibition spree. Nobody doubts their good intentions. On any other subject there is no reason to doubt their fundamental good sense. But on this particular topic they were as far beyond appeals to sanity as was the Knight of La Mancha in headlong rush on the whirling windmills to the frantic protests of the faithful Sancho.

In voting for the outrageous restrictions, the meddling impertinences of the enforcement act as it stands, they believed, no doubt, that they were acting in accordance with their own personal convictions and those of their constituents. Probably their votes do represent the present inflamed Prohibition sentiment of the country. The majority was too overwhelming to validate any charge of lobby-terrorizing and dominance. The Congressmen believed—and the fact appears to support the belief—that the country is for Prohibition; that it is for rampant, fanatical Prohibition. It is preposterous, but it is a fact.

Either the State Legislatures together with the Congress of the United States are flagrantly and infamously betraying the American people, or the American people, by and large, have gone daft in the matter of subjecting themselves to sumptuary shackles against which, a few short years ago, they would have risen up in roaring revolt.

A "Regional Understanding"

IN any normal circumstances Mr. Thomas F. Millard's charge concerning the partitioning of Asia would and should be received or rather rejected with incredulity. It is to the effect that a secret compact has been made for the division of the entire continent, from the Bosphorus to Bering Strait, from the China Sea to the Arctic Ocean, into three "spheres of influence" respectively for Great Britain, France and Japan; "sphere of influence" being, of course, a diplomatic euphemism for protectorate or conquered province.

It is a treatment of Asia as Africa has been treated, as the American continents were treated four centuries ago; a partition of Poland repeated in the East and expanded to the *n*-th power.

It is monstrous. But its most monstrous feature is its intrinsic and antecedent credibility. There are confirmatory circumstances which are unmistakable. Conspicuous among these is the arbitrary treatment of various national territorial claims and rights by the Peace Conference—above all, the scandalous spoliation of China in the Kiao-Chau and Shantung matter.

Another still more striking intimation to the same effect, and one which directly implicates this country in the matter, is found in the notorious paragraph of the Covenant of the League of Nations in which occurs the cryptic and misleading reference to the Monroe Doctrine. The phrase "regional understandings" has hitherto seemed strangely blind and inapt. It could not by any stretch of the imagination be properly applied to the Monroe Doctrine; and yet what else was there to which it could apply?

A flood of light is shed upon it by Mr. Millard's charges. Such a scheme as that which he describes for the partitioning of Asia would indeed be a "regional understanding," with a vengeance; and if for the sake of a pretended safeguarding of the Monroe Doctrine the United States were inveigled into approving the Covenant with that clause in it, there would be the highest sanction in the world for the execution of the tripartite League of Loot, and the United States would be hopelessly debarred from even protesting against the closing of that "open door" which American diplomacy secured in that earlier and better day when its guiding principles were "the Monroe Doctrine and the Golden Rule."

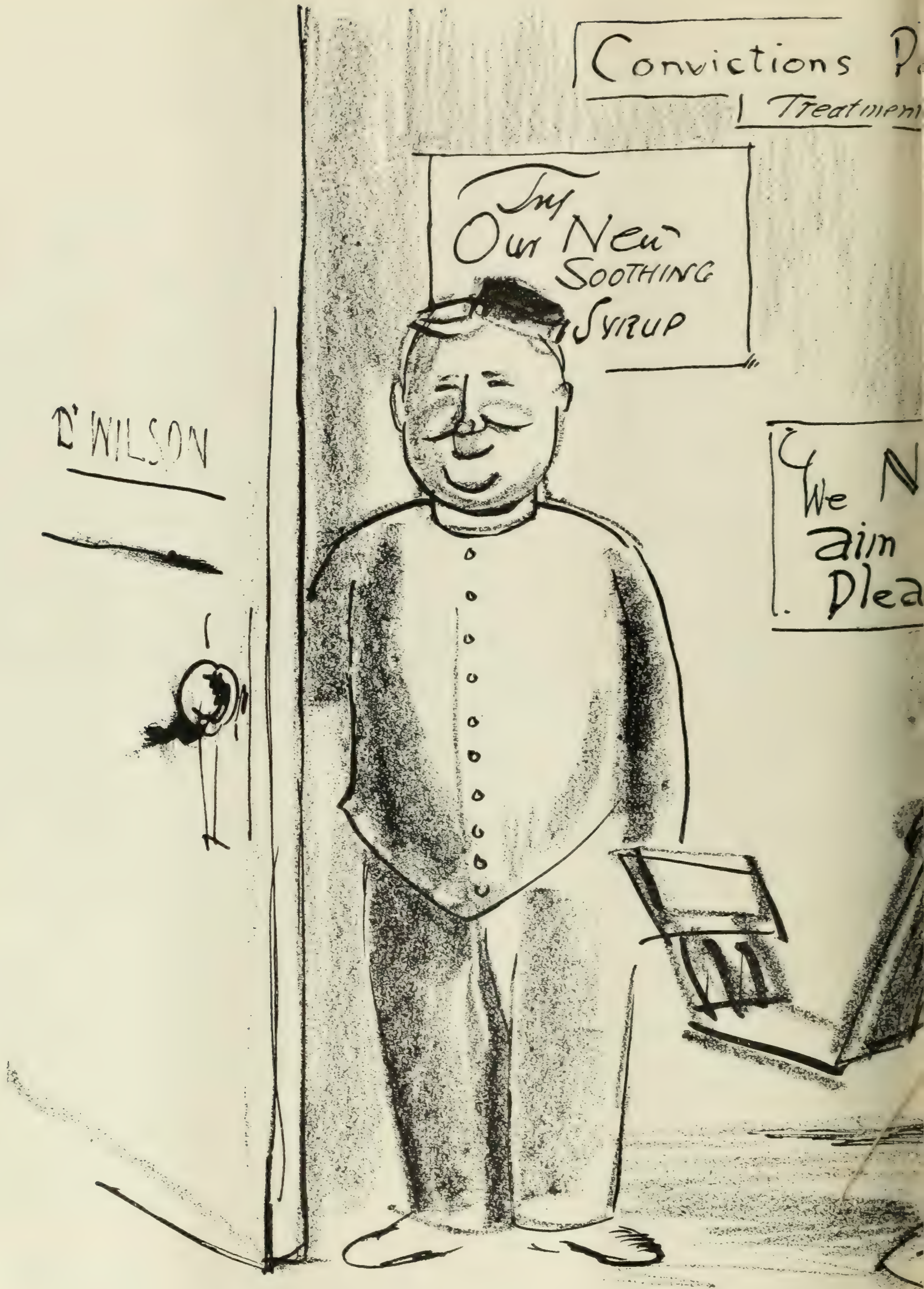
"May we not" inquire if not only the partial spoliation of China, but also the partitioning of the whole Asian continent, is a part of the price which we are asked to pay to have the President of the United States gratify his ambition to be known as the President of the World?

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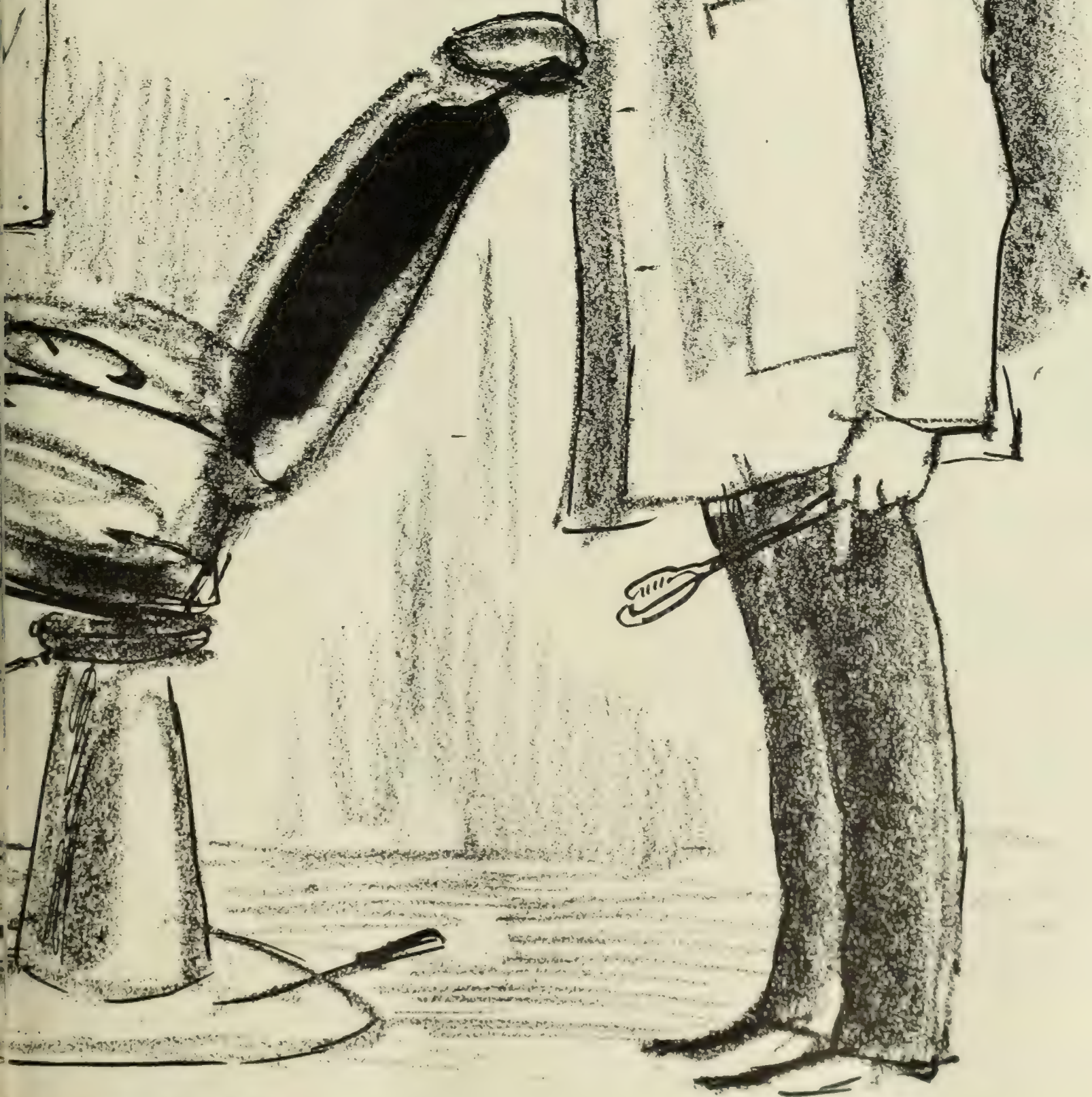
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The Week

WASHINGTON, July 31, 1919.

THE President's reply to Senator Lodge's request for information concerning the Treaty of Peace is described as courteous, friendly and conciliatory. That it would be the first of these was a matter of course; that it should be the second and third was natural and was strongly prescribed by expediency. But it was quite possible for it to answer to this three-fold description and yet be unsatisfactory, as it unquestionably was. Senator Lodge had asked, in behalf of the Foreign Relations Committee, for information on a very essential point of the Treaty. It was a point so essential that the Senate would stultify itself and be derelict in duty if it acted upon the Treaty without the desired information. The President replied that he really did not know about it. As he recollected the business—the phrase is his own—no agreement on the point in question had been reached when he left France, and he has not heard of one's being reached since.

The amazing indefiniteness, not to say slipshod-ness, of such treatment of a matter of high importance, to wit, the division and apportionment of the war indemnity exacted from Germany, is hard to overlook. It is even harder to be lenient with the remainder of the President's remarkable note, in which he confesses that he was "not able to bring from Paris a complete file of papers" relating to the Treaty, but "*only those which happened to be in my [his] hands.*" A more astounding admission of incompetence and neglect of duty was never made by a President of the United States. To appreciate its character we have merely to imagine what the President himself would say if instead of going to Paris himself he had sent a Commissioner, and the latter, returning and being asked by the President for an accounting of his mission, had replied that he could not give it because he had left a lot of his memoranda and records behind him in Paris.

There is no conceivable excuse for the neglect which the President confesses. With the practically unlimited funds at his command he could certainly have employed whatever clerical aid was needed to keep his files in order. If there was not room enough on the *George Washington* for the transportation of them, he had the whole United States navy at his command. Yet he did not bring documents of vital importance to the Senate in its deliberations upon the Treaty. In such circumstances the President must not complain if practical-minded men of affairs wonder whether the omission was not deliberate and intentional, and whether it was done simply to float the Senate or to avoid the disclosure of facts which the President would prefer to keep secret until after the Treaty is safely ratified.

Japan, we are told, is embarrassed in her preparations for restoring Shantung to China by the fact that China did not sign the Treaty of Peace by which that Province was turned

over to Japan. There is an old story of Ben Trovato's to the effect that a candidate for confirmation, being asked by the catechist what was the necessary prerequisite to repentance, naïvely replied, "To commit sin!" So the prerequisite of Japan's restoration of Shantung to China seems to be that China shall acquiesce in Japan's seizure of the province. If China will not acknowledge the legality of Japan's grab of her territory, Japan cannot let her have it back. Yet there are those who think that Gilbert was guilty of fantastic exaggeration in "The Mikado"!

The strong inclination of the Administration—despite its profession of altruistic idealism—toward "dollar diplomacy," suggests speculation upon the effect of our betrayal of China, if persisted in, upon our commerce with that country. The volume of that commerce has not been nearly as large as it should be, and it has always been peculiarly subject to fluctuations according to our diplomatic relations with the Chinese Government. No people in the world let sentiment govern their trade more than do the apparently stolid and unsentimental Chinese. It is certain that the extension of Japanese control in China would not increase but would much diminish our commerce with the region thus affected, and there is reason to anticipate that our acquiescence in such spoliation would seriously militate against our trade relations in all the rest of that enormous empire.

Senator Robinson, of Arkansas, has practically admitted that Germany extorted the Kiaochow Shantung treaty from China in 1898, and that Japan similarly extorted her treaty from China in 1915. "But," he adds, as if in vindication of such procedure, "every commercial treaty of importance now in force between China and European nations is the result of war or some other form of duress." Therefore, in this new era of peace and good will, in which there are to be no more wars, no more duress, and in which self-determination is to prevail and the rights of all nations to political independence and territorial integrity are to be scrupulously respected, we are to keep right on oppressing and despoiling China in the good old way.

It will be a good thing to have the Colombian treaty ratified, since the odious and untruthful "regret clause" has been stricken out—a clause which could scarcely have been put into it save for the spiteful purpose of insulting and traducing Theodore Roosevelt. It is moreover an appropriate time to have it ratified, at the end of our war with Germany. But by right the millions which we are to pay to Colombia as a gratuitous solatium ought to be charged against Germany. For it was Germany that was responsible for the whole trouble. If it had not been for unscrupulous German intrigues, Colombia would not have rejected but would promptly have ratified the canal treaty, the secession of Panama would not have occurred, and the canal would have been constructed across Colombian territory, as was originally intended. But Germany had a crazy scheme for purchasing for herself the unfinished French canal after its charter had been forfeited, and promised

the Colombian Government a bigger price for it than we were offering, and thus persuaded the Bogota Government to refuse us the treaty. The result was that we made a better bargain with Panama than we had hoped to make with Colombia. Perhaps it was better to the extent of the \$25,000,000 which we are to pay Colombia. At any rate, let us have an end of the episode and be on good terms with one of the most important states of the southern continent.

It would be a grave mistake to overlook the real purpose of the Hungarian attack upon Roumania, which is attaining ominous proportions. The Hungarians pretend that it is made because the Roumanians have not observed the provisions of the armistice. That is false. A more direct purpose is to effect a junction and coöperation between the Hungarian "Reds" and the Russian Bolsheviks, and so to promote the fomenting of disorder. But the underlying purpose of it proceeds not from Budapest but from Berlin. Bela Kun—or Cohen—and his associates have made Hungary the tool of Germany in the prosecution of that country's persistent design of breaking through the barrier which the Allies have erected between her and Russia. A little while ago she was striking at it in the northwest, against Poland. Baffled in that quarter, she now strikes at the southeast, against Roumania. It is the purpose which was conceived away back in Bismarck's day, of exploiting Russia and making that country tributary to Germany and at once a source of German supplies and a German highway to the Further East. That is the real meaning of this attack upon Roumania.

The President's wise, logical, and statesmanlike veto of the "rider" for abolishing the daylight saving plan appears to have been effective. After some bluster, Congress passed the bill without that rider and the President has signed it; and there is no indication that any attempt will be made to put the "daylight repeal" forward on its own merits as an independent measure. For all of which, much thanks. Let us hope that there will be no further talk of repealing one of the most practical and beneficent economic measures ever enacted by Congress.

There must be a strong general hope throughout the world that in the approaching French elections the supporters of M. Clemenceau will be successful, so that that indomitable patriot will be retained at the head of the Government. France needs him, and the world needs him.

The organization of a new political party in Cuba aiming at the repeal of the Platt Amendment is not a pleasant incident, though we have little expectation that it will develop into anything like a dominant movement. The Platt Amendment forms part of the Cuban Constitution, and of a treaty between that country and the United States; its beneficence has been recognized and testified to by both the principal parties in Cuba; and there has never been an incident in which it has interfered with the welfare or the free self-government of that island. We do not anticipate

its abrogation, not even at the instigation of the German intriguers who have long been busy there and who are now manifesting fresh activity. The incident is, we should say, chiefly suggestive of the latent possibilities in such a League of Nations as the pending Covenant contemplates; which would make our relations with Cuba subject to review and revision by alien Powers, and would compel annulment of the treaty agreement which restrains Cuba from compromising her independence or alienating her territory. Whatever its merits, the Platt Amendment is a matter strictly between the United States and Cuba, in which we can permit no outside meddling.

The successful passage of the fleet of dreadnoughts through the Panama Canal is a striking illustration of the utility of that waterway and of its incalculable value to this country. Amid the natural exultation over the achievement there should be an appreciation of the need of retaining absolute possession and control of that Canal, as one of the territorial waters of the United States, instead of surrendering it to international and alien control, as we should of course be required to do under the Covenant of the League of Nations.

The Shipping Board's revival of the late Austin Corbin's pet scheme of a great steamship terminal at the eastern end of Long Island is interesting and doubtless quite practicable. There is a natural deep-water harbor at Montauk Point where vessels could be docked hours sooner than they could reach New York, and where the enormous steamships which are now proposed could be handled more conveniently than in the crowded and narrow waters around Manhattan Island. It would be necessary, however, to create a considerable town at that point, for it would be quite intolerable for great ocean liners to have their terminal at isolated docks a hundred miles from the city.

Panama and Providence, R. I., declare 4 per cent beer to be non-intoxicating; a Brooklyn judge sitting in Connecticut declares 2.75 per cent beer to be intoxicating; and the House of Representatives declares anything with more than one-half of one per cent of alcohol to be "demon rum." Now if only we could practically apply the old saying about "when doctors disagree"!

Senator Hitchcock, seeing Mark Tapley and going him one better, is confident that every amendment proposed to the Covenant will be beaten by from six to twelve votes. He makes, however, no estimate of what will be done to the unamended covenant.

Suggested contributions to a Glossary of Words and Phrases according to the New Diplomacy. Thus:

At the Same Time: Any old time; not yet but soon.

Open Covenants: Secret bargains.

Association of Free Nations: Junta of the Big Five.

Self Determination: The bossing of small Powers by big ones.

Our Flaming Coffins

CONGRESS has been severely criticised because of its refusal to authorize huge appropriations for the army air service. The criticism is predicated upon the assumption that an efficient air service has been established in this country as a result of the expenditures of hundreds of millions of dollars during the last two years, and that the refusal now of great appropriations would mean the inevitable wreckage of what has been built up. This sounds logical, but unfortunately it is not true, for the simple reason that you cannot wreck a wreck.

Because the unprecedented sums which Congress so generously gave the War Department have been wasted, the air service at present consists of the most remarkable mass of wreckage ever scattered over two continents. When these facts were presented to the Committees of Congress, Republicans as well as Democrats agreed that it would be absurd to make any large expenditures until steps had been taken to establish an air service independent of the War Department—at least under its present administration.

Briefly stated, the facts that prompted Congress to take that position are as follows:

During the war, we failed to ship one fighting plane to France, and we have not one in this country at present. We did not mount one gun on a plane in France, despite statements to the contrary. We have not to-day one aerial service camera in America worthy of the name. Immediately after the armistice was signed, Mr. Baker ordered the demolition of such service as was being established by refusing to allow the army to spend available sums in purchasing an excellent type of plane which had by that time been developed in this country. As a result, even if Congress should now grant the sums asked for, at least a year would pass before we could turn out a fighting plane.

In addition to these facts, Mr. Baker has continued to surround himself with and accept advice from some of the men who wrecked the original programme and others who have no thorough knowledge of aviation.

The following colloquies occurred between Major General Menoher, at present in charge of the air service, Brig. General Mitchell, his chief assistant, and members of the Senate Committee:

Senator NEW. As a matter of fact, did we ever have an American fighting plane on the western front?

Gen. MENOHER. I think not, sir.

Senator NEW. How many pursuit planes have you in this country, and of what types?

Gen. MENOHER. There are none. We have really no service equipment as to planes except the De Haviland.

The CHAIRMAN. Are they satisfactory?

Gen. MENOHER. Not for all purposes.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you mind saying how many De Havilands you have?

Col. FULLER. About 2,300 in the United States now, and more will be returned from France. We have not definite information as to that yet. Apparently, at least 500 will be returned from France.

Senator CHAMBERLAIN. General, you are not going to reproduce any more of these De Haviland 4 planes, are you?

Gen. MENOHER. No, sir; we would not produce any more of those.

Senator CHAMBERLAIN. Are the reports that come to you from men who operate them here now in favor of the De Haviland?

Gen. MENOHER. They are not entirely favorable. It is stated that many of the fliers are more or less afraid of them.

The De Havilands, then, represent the only machines we

have, except training planes. They were built as bombers on the advice of the inefficient in charge of the air service at the War Department and against the advice of the men in the field. In France they were known as "Flaming Coffins" because a number of aviators who sought to fly them were burned to a crisp. This is the reason that "many fliers are more or less afraid of them."

This, then, tells the story of what the country received for the hundreds of millions spent by Mr. Baker and the gentlemen he appointed to take charge of the service. But it is not all. Many roseate statements have been issued by various press agents concerning the number of machine guns shipped to France for use in aeroplanes. Listen to General Mitchell, who was in command in France.

Senator SUTHERLAND. You never got a single Browning gun in an airplane?

Gen. MITCHELL. Not one. Now, we never got an airplane canon made in this country.

In order to make it a service machine it must have armaments on it, equipment for handling it in the way of all sorts of instruments. Observation ships have to have radio and photographic equipment. I can say that in this country, we have practically no service cameras at all.

Senator WADSWORTH. What would you do if you got an order to put a squadron in the service?

Gen. MITCHELL. If it was for the Mexican service we would go to the schools that are down in that neighborhood and take anything we could get—it would be something similar to what the squadron was that was sent there before.

The squadron referred to by General Mitchell was that which accompanied the Pershing junket after Villa. It consisted of nine planes. Every one of them was wrecked within a week, and the expedition was without a plane of any sort for ninety days until the British Government generously consented to lend us a few which were under construction in this country.

There is much testimony in the record indicating that, immediately upon the signing of the armistice, Mr. Baker stopped every effort made by officers of the air service to improvise a working organization out of the great quantity of material and the large number of officers then available. We regret that we have not the space to print this testimony in full. As a result of that action, and the consequent loss of time, General Menoher testified that, even if granted the appropriations asked for last month, "we could not have any of those planes probably within a year."

These, then, are the principal considerations which led Congress to decide that it would be absurd to give the War Department wastrel any more great appropriations. But there were other considerations. More than a year ago, Mr. Howard Coffin was removed from the control of aeronautics when it was apparent to the entire world that his visionary schemes were largely responsible for the initial breakdown. It now develops that Mr. Baker recently sent this gentleman abroad to collect information, and to return to Washington as one of his principal advisers on flying matters.

As a field officer, we have no doubt that General Menoher deserves well of his country, and we have not the slightest criticism to offer of him as a man or a soldier; but the following colloquy is indicative of the entire policy which Mr. Baker and General March have pursued in handling the all important air service:

Senator THOMAS. I would like to ask you one or two questions that are entirely impersonal. I know you will take them in

that way. Were you before your appointment to your present position connected in the Army with aircraft?

Gen. MENOHER. I was not, sir.

Senator THOMAS. Had you had any great amount of experience in that branch of the service prior to your appointment?

Gen. MENOHER. I had not.

Why General Menoher was appointed to this post, instead of a man fresh from the flying service in France, is one of the mysteries of the War Department.

In view of these unassailable admissions made by the officers best qualified to discuss the history of the aviation fiasco, coupled with Mr. Baker's refusal to effect a thorough house-cleaning to the end that competent men might be placed in charge of the service, is it any wonder that Congress decided to tolerate no further squandering of the public funds?

England Shirks the Honor

THE more our English cousins have been thinking and talking about bringing old Mr. Hohenzollern to trial in London, the less they like it. Naturally they have been venting their emotions on the subject by exercising the Englishman's time-honored privilege of "writing to the *Times*." Lord Northcliffe's historic newspaper has been fairly teeming of late with effusions on the subject. The objections are based largely upon England's not altogether fortunate experience as a jailer, as instanced in the sinking of the German Scapa Flow fleet under its custodian noses, and upon the inevitable length and mortal wearisomeness of the trial, coupled with a very decided uncertainty of any other notable result than making a martyr of the old man and thus throwing a sort of halo of glory about a very inconsequential and rather absurd person for whom no greater punishment than obscurity could be imagined.

England wants the Hun member of the Amalgamated Union of Royal Hoboes tried, but prefers to have him tried elsewhere. T. G. Bowles writes to the *Times* that Mr. Hohenzollern and his assorted crimes and villainies "might be left to the judgment of history." Mr. H. Rider Haggard remarks that "if a trial is thought necessary to prove facts that are self evident," such trial should be elsewhere than in London." Mr. Haggard adds:

Not only will mud be stirred up but the resulting mixture will be used to blacken Britannia's face before the world. Teutonic hatred against us will be accentuated for generations—who can doubt it that of late has noted the propagandist power of a welcomed lie? Can we not imagine the tales told to unborn German children of the torments inflicted upon the national hero and martyr in the British dungeons? Moreover, this trial will certainly add to our home troubles in sundry ways, and in the end, unless he escapes sentence in some dramatic fashion, as is quite possible (here let us remember the scuttling of the German Fleet), we shall be left to play the unpleasant rôle of goaler.

And now comes Earl Curzon of Kedleston, Government leader in the House of Lords, with the announcement that Mr. Hohenzollern may not be tried in London after all.

We feel very much inclined to wager a large red apple that he will never be greatly incommoded by the results of the international trial, even if the international trial ever takes place. And there is a sporting chance for a bet that it never will take place.

An Excellent Bill

SENATOR CHAMBERLAIN'S bill granting amnesty to military prisoners should be passed. In presenting the measure he announced that he was interested only in having the principle written into law, that he knew the bill was not perfect, and that he was ready to consider and support any amendments that would improve it.

In all this we heartily agree with him. The bill provides amnesty for sailors and marines as well as soldiers. So far as the public is informed, sentences passed on sailors and marines generally represented justice, and until evidence is produced to prove the contrary there is no apparent reason for including them in the law. Let their sentences stand, and rely upon the Navy Department to see that justice is done in any cases, if such there be, where injustice has been perpetrated.

The composition of the boards of review proposed by Senator Chamberlain is not ideal. The best interests of the army can hardly be preserved by giving the control to civilians. It would be far better to divide the control equally between officers and civilians, carefully safeguarding the selections so that martinets would be excluded. The average civilian is incapable of grasping the necessities of military discipline, and is as likely to be lenient as the average West Pointer is to be severe.

Soldiers who committed serious crimes, such as striking officers, deliberately disobeying orders and sleeping on sentry duty, must be classed with civilian hold-up men, burglars and embezzlers. They can not be excused. But these classes represent a relatively small number of the victims of unjust courts.

So long as the war lasted, it was absolutely essential to the maintenance of discipline that sentences which appeared to the layman as unnecessarily harsh, should be handed down. General instructions were sent throughout the army that courts should impose heavy sentences, as examples to others. These instructions were followed, and undoubtedly the severe sentences had an excellent effect. The same instructions informed courts that when peace came sentences would be reduced if not revoked. This has been done. Approximately 75 per cent of the sentences have been vacated.

While Congress is preparing justice for these victims, Col. Ansell and his friends may continue the fight for an improvement in the legal machinery of the War Department. For the present, we are more interested in seeing prison doors open for those unjustly incarcerated than in listening to Colonel Ansell's discussions.

No better evidence of the fact that the individual officer rather than the system is responsible for inhumane treatment of soldiers can be found than the testimony recently presented before the House Investigating Committee concerning the treatment of prisoners in the camps around Paris.

Up to the present time, Lieutenant "Hardboiled" Smith and a few non-commissioned officers have been made the "goats." They were not in command, and they can not be held responsible for these crimes, as every regular army officer knows. Where the blame belongs will soon be evident.

Imaginary Interviews

Newton D. Baker

"MR. TITTER, Mr. Baker will see you now," said the young man who came from the private office, as he opened the door to usher me in. As I passed in through the door, Mr. Baker rose and held out his hand in welcome.

"I'm glad to see you, Mr. Titter," he said, motioning me to a chair beside him. "This interview will give me the opportunity to make public my views on the future military policy of the United States."

"That is precisely what I'm after, Mr. Secretary," I began. "Will you begin by outlining in brief the chief points of your policy?"

"In the first place," he replied, "the policy I propose is anti-militaristic." He hesitated a moment in thought. "But you will not understand the whole policy unless you grasp the revolutionary idea that is behind it all."

"What is that?" I asked.

"It is something that has come from my experience as Secretary of War," he replied, as he warmed up to his subject. "The army of tomorrow will be a very different thing from the mercenary band of the past. It will be a great asylum for the weary, a vast reservoir of the unemployed. If you will allow me the figure, it will be a quiet woodland dell, far from the storm of civilian life. In this dell, we shall teach our soldiers, not so much to make war, as to re-enter civilian life."

"Civilian life?" I queried, a bit puzzled.

"Yes," he answered enthusiastically. "The Secretary of War should be a big brother to the whole army. The army will take young men from eighteen to twenty-one, right at the most dangerous period of their lives, and will shelter them under its wing. You will understand that this is a delicate subject," he said, turning to me in appeal, "but we must consider it. The influence of the new army will be a tremendous moral force that will keep the boys safe from the evil influences of civilian life. At the end of their enlistments, we shall return them to their homes, pure, clean boys."

"I take it that you would have the new army maintained by voluntary enlistment?" I suggested.

"Naturally," answered Mr. Baker, "it can't be done by conscription. But to keep it at its maximum strength by voluntary enlistment, it must be made attractive to the recruit. We want him to feel that he's going from one home to another; that he's passing from the influence of his mother to that of his foster-mother. But it's going to be more than that," he added. "It's going to be a great university too."

"There is an educational programme?" I inquired.

"The new army," he went on, "will have classes in basketry, in weaving, in broom-making, in chair-caning—in short, in everything calculated to make a man fit to re-enter civilian life."

"That should be very valuable," I commented. Mr. Baker moved his hands in deprecation.

"The new army will not confine itself to those activities which show a profit in dollars and cents. Man's whole nature is provided for in this programme. We shall have chorus-singing, and classes in the interpretation of Browning and Keats. Instead of the stiff military drill which was supposed to be the school of grace, the young soldier of tomorrow will be schooled in Greek dancing. There—"

"But what of military drill?" I interrupted, astonished at this revolutionary programme.

"It will be done away with as far as possible," replied the Secretary with patient sweetness, "but a certain amount of it must be kept, partly to satisfy an old prejudice which will die hard, and partly to justify the existence of the new army by its living contrast with the old. But I see that you are still a bit skeptical, and that I must explain more carefully the big idea that is behind my plan." He was silent for a moment and an abstracted look came into his eyes.

"I can best illustrate my point," he said, "by telling you of my experience as Secretary of War, for it was because of that experience that the proposed policy developed. Soon after I came into office, I became convinced that the theory of military training then in vogue rested upon a false premise. After war came, these convictions were only strengthened. Soon after the declaration of war, I ordered a set of military text-books brought into my office. The first evening,"—a reminiscent smile came over his face—"I remember picking up a little book (it was blue, and blue has always been my favorite color)—that was called Infantry Drill Regulations. It was ridiculously simple. I went through all the text-books in that same manner, and became thoroughly convinced that four years is too long to devote to the study of military science."

"Then your plan contemplates the reduction of the course at West Point?" I asked.

"Certainly," he replied; "the course at West Point is far too long. We would reduce it first to three years, and then gradually get it down to the proper length. There would be a gradual weeding out of the dusty, archaic military studies. The officer of the future needs sympathy with his men and a high moral vision far more than he does technical training. Music and elocution and possibly calisthenics would be some of the subjects retained."

"Will this be the training for all officers, irrespective of rank?" I put in.

"The training of officers of high rank will be slightly different," answered the Secretary, "but it will still conform to the same policy. In these days of rapidly changing boundaries, it would be absurd for our staff officers to study maps and military geography. Instead of studying mountains and rivers and highways, they should be receiving moral and philosophical instruction. That is the only permanent factor in war, Mr. Titter," he said solemnly, "a high moral tone. You may have heard of General Kuroki's remark that a certain battle in the Russo-Japanese War had been won two years before in Tokio. In the future, some general of ours may remark that our great victory was won ten years before when he refused to take a drink. How awful it might be," he said in a changed tone, "to lose a battle because the commanding general, ten years before the battle took place, had refused to do his daily deed of kindness!"

"Daily deed?" I repeated vaguely.

"That will be part of our moral programme," he said. "As I observed before, we shall take the young man of eighteen, at an impressionable, dangerous age. He will be required to pledge himself to give up profanity, for example. One of my most tragic war experiences," he said sadly, "was at a camp, when I inadvertently walked into a supply park where there were an immense number of mules and their drivers. I then felt when I heard the language in which the drivers addressed the mules, that the army was not keeping faith with the mothers of those boys."

"He will have to give up other things too, I suppose?" I said.

"I wanted very much," he said, "to forbid smoking, because I feel that it lowers the moral tone of the army, but I ran up against an intense prejudice. That reform must come from within the army itself. But," he continued more cheerfully, "there is a great deal that we can do to keep the young man happy and pure. His social desires, so dangerous when uncurbed, as they are in civilian life, will be satisfied in the army. For instance, what a fine influence it would be for the captain to have his whole company in for tea once a week; the officers and men would get more friendly than they are now. Or, bridge-parties between different teams—the buglers playing the cooks, for example." His face beamed with joy. "Oh, what a happy place we might make of the army," he said softly.

"Shall you continue the welfare work that was begun in the war?" I demanded.

"Not by the same agencies," he replied. "The army will take over all that sort of work. Our educational and religious programme will include all that they have done. Each boy who enlists will be given first of all a serious talk about morality. Then he will pledge himself to refrain from profane language, and to do at least one deed of kindness to some other soldier. He will then start on his career, and his promotion will depend upon his high character."

"Mr. Titter," he went on, "I have said before that we take a young man at a dangerous age. We shall keep the young man in our charge pure and clean. He will meet girls at places set aside for that purpose by the Welfare Service of the army; there official chaperons will be provided by the Government. Can more than that be asked by the fond parents of the young men of this country?" asked the Secretary.

"I am afraid that I have given you more time than I can spare," he continued, "I am very busy working out the details for this policy at present." I rose and thanked him.

As I paused at the door, he said impressively, "If you are carrying a message from the army to the great public, Mr. Titter, make it one of cheer and hope, one with a high moral tone. Tell them," he said as he prepared to return to his work, "that we are discarding the archaic army regulations for the Golden Rule; that the army of tomorrow will be a happy, happy place."

The Monument Sites Reviewed

SIR,—
The monument in France—where?
You give us the choice of four battle-
fields:

Cantigny was a local affair, splendid, but engaging only one division.

Belleau Wood is, by common consent, the sole property of the Marine Brigades of the Second Division.

St. Mihiel was proportionately the least bloody and costly of our battles.

Chateau Thierry—at least to me, after three years in the war zone—will remain preëminently glorious in our army's record. There, for the first time since the Civil War, an independent American command—the First Corps—took the field; for the first time, an American corps commanded foreign troops; in the defense of those hills to the northwest and north, and of the banks of the Marne, and in the counter-offensive of July 18th, when, for the first time, a large-scale American offensive was attempted, all the divisions counted as our best were engaged. That is to say: the First, Second, Third, Fourth, Twenty-sixth, Twenty-eighth, Thirty-second, Forty-second and Seventy-seventh.

It happened that I went entirely through our three great operations, and my conviction is firm that the first—when we engaged, halted, and threw back to the Vesle River an enemy who

was even then confident of victory—was our hardest, greatest, and most creditable achievement.

For myself, I would be pleased and immensely proud to see some day a replica of the Washington Monument high on that hill near Lauconniere Ferme which was within the old salient and overlooks at once Vaux and Chateau Thierry, and those once bitterly-contested banks of the Marne to the east.

All Americans should be indebted to you for your inspired idea of reproducing the Washington Monument in France. America is indebted to you also for your fight in the WEEKLY for the things we want to believe constitute "straightforward Americanism." You have rarely put the cause for our complaint against the President more truly than when you say: *What do we care for abroad?—We care for the good opinion of the world. We care, above all, to deserve it by straightforward and right dealing, whether we get it or not.* Thank you for that, Mr. Harvey. In our international relations, that's my Americanism—partly: "to deserve it, whether we get it or not." And, thank God, we do deserve it, though our misrepresentation in Paris has made it difficult for us to prove it.

WILLIAM J. WEIR,

(formerly Major Engrs., First Corps, A. E. F.)

Worcester, Mass.

Seven Sites for the Monument

I. CANTIGNY.

III. MEUSE-ARGONNE.

V. BELLEAU WOOD.

II. CHATEAU-THIERRY.

IV. GRAND PRÉ CITADEL.

VI. ST. MIHIEL.

VII. THE AMERICAN CEMETERY AT ROMAGNE

What Is Your Choice?

THE ARGONNE "THE ONLY PLACE"

SIR,—I served for over a year in France with one of the few divisions who saw practically all the real fighting in which the American troops participated. I cannot understand why there is the slightest doubt as to where the monument to our brave comrades should be placed. The Argonne is the *only place*.

Cantigny was a very minor operation, brilliant but local, with comparatively few Americans engaged. Belleau Wood and Chateau Thierry were also local operations in which Americans fought alongside troops of other nations. St. Mihiel was wholly an American victory, but there was no fight. It was a walkaway and did not call for any great efforts or sacrifices on our part. But the Meuse-Argonne offensive, besides being the greatest battle in which American troops have ever engaged, was one in which their sturdy bravery, unflinching devotion to duty, and uncomplaining endurance of hardships—such as no American soldiers have ever before met—shone preeminently. Over those rugged hills and through thick-grown forests, in the face of deadly fire, day after day and week after week our boys pushed ahead.

My own outfit went without food for five days, were wet to the skin by a cold, driving rain the first day over, and never dry for fourteen days thereafter; faced high explosive, shrapnel, gas, machine-guns, trench mortars, and aviators' bombs without let-up all the time; and I never heard *one complaint* from a man in my platoon throughout the action.

That was the spirit of the American boys in the Argonne, and that is the spirit which should be perpetuated in the proposed memorial located right there, crowning one of those steep spurs across which our men struggled grimly, doggedly, with true Yankee pluck.

The wild, open country of the Argonne district is, moreover, a particularly appropriate site for a memorial to Americans, for there, more than any other place in France, are the same wide spaces of rolling country and extensive forests in which this country abounds. And the single, stately, pure white shaft of the monument will best typify the simple high-minded unfaltering devotion to duty and to country of our beloved fallen comrades.

P. B. E.

(Second Lieutenant of Infantry, A. E. F.)

Dorchester, Mass.

Letters from Our Readers

CONCERNING GEORGE III

SIR,—In your issue of the 12th instant, under the caption, "Law Making by Aliens," appears the following:

"'He has,' said the Declaration of Independence of the German King, who then tyrannized over the Colonies, 'combined with others to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our Constitution, and unacknowledged by our laws; giving his assent to their acts of pretended legislation.'"

I am with you on the League of Nations issue most heartily, and hope that you will not let up for one moment in your fight to defeat the covenant so aptly characterized by Senator Knox as the evil thing with a holy name, but "may I not" ask why it is necessary to that end to repeat that old fiction about the "German King"? It has served its purpose. The war is over, Germany crushed, and our friend Great Britain saved, and raised to such a pitch of power that it will be extremely hazardous for any other nation to dispute her pretensions. Why not drop it?

My respect for your learning and intelligence leads me to believe that you know, as we all do, that George the Third was no more a German King than is George the Fifth. He, George the Third, was born in England, and was thoroughly British in sentiment. It was his proudest boast that he was an Englishman, and in the long line of British Sovereigns not one was more beloved by the English people than was "Farmer George," as they delighted to call him, and the "acts of pretended legislation" to which he gave his assent were acts of the British Parliament which for seven long years voted down by overwhelming majorities every proposition looking to fair and just treatment of the American Colonies.

Again, the war is over. "The German Kings," and other like shibboleths, have played their parts, and are entitled to a discharge.

In the interest of historical accuracy, if for on other reason, I repeat: Why not drop them?

Lowell, Mass.

CHARLES S. LILLEY.

[The reference is to spirit rather than letter. George III was of course English by birth; the first such King since the Stuarts. In his theories and methods of government he was distinctly German, and it was characteristic of him that he turned to Germany for mercenary troops in his vain endeavor to suppress the civil war and revolution which his German principles had provoked in his own realm.—EDITOR.]

SIX TO ONE

SIR,—Having been a reader of your WEEKLY almost from its inception, I am taking the liberty of asking you to enlighten me regarding the respective votes to be cast by England and the United States in the League of Nations.

I have contended that England and her colonies would cast five votes to the United States' one. My opponent claims that while England has five colonies, her one vote suffices for her and her colonies.

I am betting on you and your statement that England has five votes to the United States' one.

Before closing let me express my admiration for your fearlessness in exposing the many deplorable mistakes of the present Administration, at the same time giving praise where praise was due.

New York City.

W. F. ALLEN.

[The "original members of the League of Nations" designated by the "Annex to the Covenant" include the British Empire, Canada, Australia, South Africa, New Zealand and India. Each has a vote—six in all for the Empire. The United States has one.—EDITOR.]

A REASONABLE QUESTION

SIR,—"Mr. Knox submitted the preliminary draft to a number of experts in various parts of the country for their expression of opinion as to its merits. . . ."

"The Bill was before Congress for three years. During the three years the measure was before Congress it was fully debated; the speeches on it in the Senate occupied 66 columns of the *Congressional Record*, and the House debates 78 columns

of that publication. When submitted to Congress the bill was accompanied by elaborate and extensive reports. The reports were printed and the reasons. . . fully stated, etc."

No, this is not the League of Nations, but a debate on accepting a Currency Bill, taken from *History of Banking in the United States*, page IX.

Now, I ask, if it took three years, with the opinion of many experts, and the whole country discussing the terms of a purely internal measure over which the country maintains control, why would it not be good judgment and prudence for the people of the United States to spend three years discussing an external measure drawn up by a foreigner, or foreigners, over which the people would have no control, once the measure is accepted—known as the League of Nations? What mental myopia is affecting the people of the United States, who would surrender their independence and their Republic to the domination of Europe and Asia?

Los Angeles, Calif.

F. J. DUNLEAVY.

FROM A NATIVE VIRGINIAN

SIR,—Thank God for you and the WEEKLY! I hope you will continue pounding away at Mr. Wilson and his band of satellites, who I think are responsible for much of the Socialistic, Anarchistic and Bolshevik sentiment now existing in this country.

This League of Nations is the most ridiculous, absurd, unreasonable and un-American proposition that was ever put forth.

Mr. Wilson has been wrong on nearly every vital question pertaining to the war and its aftermath, and has reversed himself in numerous instances. We do not want an Autocracy in these United States. He is a past master at framing high-sounding phrases and platitudes that tickle the ear and appeal to the emotional in human nature, but when boiled down they are as void of reason and logic as a bubble. In his eagerness to make the world safe for Democracy he has made it unsafe for Americans, and particularly so as regards Mexico.

I am a native Virginian, born and reared a Democrat within twenty-five miles of Richmond, but I am now convinced that the only salvation for this country is a thorough going, old-fashioned administration of the Republican party.

Yours for America, first, last and all the time.

San Antonio, Texas.

HERBERT SPENCER.

GENERAL EDWARDS' VIEW

SIR,—Against the flood of oratory let loose on the American people in the past six months about the League of Nations and "making the world safe for democracy," the following twenty-six words by Gen. Edwards, U. S. A., are worth something:

"They say the boys went over to make the world safe for democracy. I don't believe it. I went over to save my country, not democracy."

Gen. Edwards was addressing the boys and girls at the Good Will Farm, an educational school located at Hinckley, Maine, and the limited circulation of the *Good Will Record*, in which the above quotation appeared, led me to send it to you so the readers of HARVEY'S WEEKLY could see what a soldier thought of the slush about "making the world safe for democracy."

New York City.

N. NEWTON PLUMMER.

ANSWERED

SIR,—In your WEEKLY of July 5 you mention a "League for the Preservation of American Independence."

If this league is desirous of increasing its membership, kindly send me the name and address of its secretary.

Wishing you God-speed in your efforts to save the country, I am,

R. A. SHRYOCK.

Pittsburgh, Pa.

[Henry A. Wise Wood, 1133 Broadway, New York City.—EDITOR.]

ONLY IN THE "REVIEW"

SIR,—Is your most admirable, readable, and timely address at the Syracuse University commencement published in full in any other form except in THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW?

A wide circulation of it would do immense good.

Denver, Colo.

P. A. WIETING.

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No. 32

Ratify the Treaty with France

THE Franco-American Treaty negotiated by the President and the Secretary of State is now before the Senate awaiting confirmation, amendment or rejection. Its submission was shamefully postponed, as we have demonstrated conclusively, in flat violation of its own terms, but it was smoked out in short order through the application of pitiless publicity and was presented, though reluctantly, far more promptly than had been avowedly intended, in grudging response to a peremptory demand from the country. The important fact is that at last it is where it belongs,—before the co-ordinate branch of the treaty-making power.

Action by that body should be prompt and decisive. The Treaty should be amended and ratified forthwith. There is no occasion for or need of delay. On the contrary, we owe it to ourselves no less than to the gallant friend who enabled us to achieve our independence to relieve her apprehensions at the earliest possible moment.

The Treaty must be amended, of course. In its proposed form it is plainly unconstitutional, since there is no provision in our fundamental law for the making of an international engagement subject to the approval and control of a political body which does not even exist. This defect, however, can be easily remedied by striking out all references to the League of Nations and its Council and reducing to plain terms a definite undertaking on the part of the United States to go immediately to the assistance of France in the event of unprovoked aggression by Germany.

There need be and, of course, must be no vio-

lation of our great tradition against involving our country in permanent entangling alliances. The engagement should be for a specified period of time, at the expiration of which it would expire automatically unless renewed affirmatively for another period by both Governments. It should be regarded merely as a prudent step taken to safeguard the vital interests of all Allied Powers, but especially of the one most endangered, through the aftermath of the war, precisely as at present we maintain an armed force on the frontier. Such a procedure, so far from being opposed to, would be in strict compliance with the maxims of Washington and Jefferson.

It might also fairly be held to accord with the precedent established by our treaty with New Granada, ratified in 1847, wherein the United States guaranteed the "sovereignty" of that nation over, as well as the "neutrality" of, the Isthmus of Panama "in the common interest" of all countries engaged in oceanic trade, despite the imperfection of the analogy arising from the sharp distinction marked by President Polk between an arrangement purely "commercial" and one partly "political."

There is, however, one precedent of striking significance. America has made but one defensive alliance with a foreign Power. That was embodied in the Treaty of 1778, in which France guaranteed to the United States "their liberty, sovereignty and independence, absolute and unlimited," promising to make no peace with Great Britain until that object should be attained, and the colonies in turn pledged protection of the French possessions in America,

agreeing further to go to the assistance of France if for any reason Great Britain should declare war against that country.

The fortunes of the colonies were then at their lowest ebb. Washington at Valley Forge was in despair as he contemplated the miseries of his ragged and starving troops. The great news of the alliance reached him and was promptly promulgated on May 1. Instantly the entire aspect of affairs was changed, confidence was restored and, in the words of the historian, "the grave face of the great Commander radiated happiness." On May 7 he issued a general order designating the following day as one of thanksgiving to "the Almighty Ruler of the universe" for being "pleased to raise us up a powerful friend to establish our liberty and independence upon a lasting foundation." A grand review followed the firing of cannon and musketry and later "Washington, with his lady and suite, attended religious services, and when he took his leave there was general huzzaing and a thousand hats were tossed in the air; Washington himself turned round and huzzaed several times."

It was the beginning of the triumphant end of the war for American independence, which in the words of the President to the Senate "it is seriously to be doubted if we could have won without the gallant and timely aid" of France, to whom we "are bound by ties of friendship which we have always regarded and always shall regard as peculiarly sacred."

Now the opportunity comes to repay in part our tremendous debt. France looks to us with pleading eyes for the immediate reassurance that we alone can give while she stands in the shadow of a great fear. Her call should be heard and heeded instantly if we would prove by our acts our professions of gratitude and dispel the doubts which are bound to multiply in France with every day's delay.

There is no occasion to link this act of simple justice with the proposal of a League of Nations. "The object of the special treaty," as the President says, "is to provide for immediate military assistance to France by the United States in any case of unprovoked aggression against her by Germany without waiting for the advice of the Council of the League of Nations that such action will be taken,"—just that and nothing more.

Waiting for the League of Nations may be for months, for years or forever. The need of France is pressing and it can be supplied quickly in the way indicated. No referring back to a score or more of petty nations is required. Only France and England are concerned and both have signified unmistakably

their preference for this method. If later a better one should appear through the creation of an international Council, it could easily be substituted, but meanwhile why not relieve our ancient friend and recent ally of her increasing anxieties? Can we do less without disproving the proud and justifiable claim of the President that "by taking such pledges as this we prove ourselves faithful to the utmost to the high obligations of gratitude and tested friendship" and are indeed "a people that sees the true heart of duty"?

It is upon that ground that the President voices his "earnest hope" that the Treaty will meet with the "cordial approval" of the Senate and "receive an early ratification." Whatever may be its attitude towards the proposed League, the country unquestionably wants this Treaty ratified unanimously, if possible, but in any case at once.

The burden of responsibility now rests squarely upon the Senate. However reluctantly and belatedly, the President has performed his part. Now let the Senate do likewise regardless of partisan considerations or of predilections in favor of or against the League of Nations.

Amend and ratify the Treaty with France—and do it now!

A Common Cause

THE President's manifestation of interest in the high cost of living and his announcement of purpose to give the subject "deep and thoughtful consideration" were so sudden that it nearly took one's breath away. And yet upon reflection there appears slight cause for surprise. He could hardly have been expected to maintain familiarity with domestic affairs while his mind was fully occupied with international bargaining during his seven months abroad, as toward the end of his sojourn he himself came to realize and lament.

The drifting of the country into a perilous condition is simply one more addition to the tremendous cost of Mr. Wilson's League of Hallucinations. Nearly everybody here recognized the gravity of the situation when he first sailed away and chiefly for that reason regretted his forsaking his post of duty in violation of the spirit of the Constitution and of established custom. He was aware of the prevalence of this sentiment, of course, but he not only loftily disregarded it but also cynically refused to make provision for taking requisite steps along remedial lines. If he had called Congress in session early in March, in response to the implorations of all thoughtful men, including many of his own partisans, months of inestimably precious time would have been saved and much could have been accomplished.

Whether he would have pursued this obviously desirable course if the new Congress had been of his own political faith and wholly subject to his will, it is hardly worth while

to inquire. In any case, the Congress elected was not Democratic and not servile, and he would have none of it until a session became a positive necessity to provide money for governmental purposes. It is, moreover, we believe, a fair assumption that he was even more angry at the people who elected a majority of Republicans in defiance of his demand than at the chosen representatives themselves, and that he welcomed the opportunity to emphasize the practical consequences of their disobedience.

What finally awoke the President to the necessity of according deep and thoughtful consideration to the problem now confronting millions of Americans of how to make ends meet can only be imagined. It could hardly have been the assigned railway difficulties, since, as Mr. Mondell remarked, work already begun by committees would have progressed more rapidly during a recess than during a session of Congress. It may have been a willingness to create a diversion of public attention from the waning prospects of the one and only League. Or it is possible that the opportunity to be first in currying favor with the discontented railway trainmen was one not to be disregarded lightly. Mr. David Lawrence, the ubiquitous herald of Administration evangelism, naïvely suggests that "there may or may not have been politics in Mr. Wilson's move" and adds:

Chairman Homer Cummings of the Democratic National Committee comes back from a two months' transcontinental trip and tells the President the people want something done soon on the cost of living, and that in some cases they are much more interested in this than in the League of Nations or Peace Treaty. The President, always keenly alert to changes in the political barometer, promptly gets busy on the cost of living and like the school master of old makes the Republicans stay in school too.

As to that, we hesitate to express an opinion, but one point at least is plain: Whatever may have been the actuating motive, the decision to request the House of Representatives to continue in session was reached with remarkable quickness. The recess had been voted days before, nearly two hundred members were already homeward bound, and, as Mr. Kitchin ruefully remarked, even if only Democrats had been consulted, all of the bother of disbanding and reassembling at a moment's notice might have been avoided.

Such considerations, however, though irritating, are of slight relative importance. The main fact is that the President's dramatic step can hardly fail to stir attention to the pressing need of readjusting wages and costs so that people generally can earn money enough to live on. We fully agree with Senator Cummins that something must actually be done before long or there will come a smash. Undoubtedly the President had in mind and his Press will echo the notion that only prompt ratification of his personal peace proposals is needed to clear up the situation, but the humbug of that is too transparent to make the plea effective. It is not foreign politics but our own domestic business that needs straightening out, and this should be done or at least attempted as quickly as possible without heed to partisanship or any irrelevant considerations.

The Republican Congress should and we have no doubt will co-operate heartily with the President in any endeavor he may make to lift the pall which is surely settling over the industries, the development and the prosperity of the American people. Discouragement is breeding discontent far more rapidly than is commonly realized. It must be stopped.

Government and "H. C. L."

GOVERNMENT intervention in the problem of the high cost of living was neither unexpected nor altogether unwelcome. The occasion for it was unwelcome. Generally speaking, such intervention is to be deprecated. The sound policy is for the Government to assure "a fair field and no favor" and then let the natural law of supply and demand prevail. But in the present case the intolerable conditions are so largely the result of the Government's own acts, that both justice and expediency suggest the desirability of its taking the initiative in abating them.

So much may indeed be said without being merely censorious. We are quite willing to concede that some of the acts of the Government which have led to high prices were inevitably attendant upon the state of war. Others were gratuitous and, we believe, mistaken. In both cases it is fitting for the Government to lead in ameliorating the results of its policy. In this we refer more particularly to the Administration, since some of the price-raising acts were its own, while even those in which a compliant Congress participated were practically dictated to that body. Nor does it escape notice that while the President was quite ready to perform those acts without consulting Congress, or to dictate them to that body as "one who must be obeyed," he is now solicitous and importunate that Congress should undertake the burden of solving the problem in which he has involved the country.

It would be difficult to exaggerate the seriousness of the situation as set forth in the menacing words of the chief officials of great railroad labor organizations the other day; in which they practically read the riot act to the Government of the United States. It is impossible to condone such statements as that of one who declared that the country was on the very brink of war—practically threatening the Government with civil war if the demands of the labor organizations were not granted. On the other hand, it is equally impossible to refute the logic of the demand for higher wages. A few years ago wages were raised, at the dictation of the President, as a matter of justice to the men. Now it is pointed out that the cost of living has so increased that the men are no better off than before. The purchasing power of their higher wages is no greater than was that of the lower wages.

Obviously, if justice to them, as the President insisted, required that former increase of wages, it requires another increase now. We should consider that unsound policy, however, because, as one of the labor leaders judiciously pointed out, the increase in wages would be followed as before by increased cost of living, and so on in an endless chain. It would manifestly be impossible to continue that process indefinitely. It must stop somewhere, and that stop must be at a point where an increase of wages has not been followed by an increase in prices. If then a reverse process is started, to bring wages and prices down to a low level, the reduction of prices must at each step precede the reduction of wages.

Two special circumstances demand attention, especially from the Chief Executive. One is the influence of currency

inflation upon prices. We are now suffering such inflation as never was dreamed of before, not even at the close of the Civil War. There is, of course, a consequent depreciation of the purchasing power of money. That is a circumstance which was brought about by the Treasury in the face of the most earnest protest and warnings, and it is one which the Administration will do well to correct to such extent as may be possible at the earliest possible date.

The other is the matter of price-fixing. It has been said by eminent and expert business authority that the high price which the Government has officially fixed upon wheat is responsible for the high price of all other important food articles. If that is so, the solution of the problem is obvious. We have no desire to see the Government paying hundreds of millions of dollars to farmers to make good the difference between the guaranteed price and the price received for their wheat in an open market; but it seems reasonable on economic grounds to do so, if thus the price of meat and other foods as well as bread could be reduced.

Certain it is that the situation is so serious as to demand the most thoughtful consideration, free from recrimination and from personal or partisan animus.

The high cost of living must in some way be compelled to come down.

A Menace of Revolution

WHETHER the directors of the four great railroad brotherhoods appreciate and intend the logical implication of their demand for government ownership is a question that may well be raised. Indeed, it would be intolerable for the question not to be raised, and it would be most regrettable for it not to be answered in the negative. Otherwise there is no exaggeration in saying that we are face to face with the most serious menace of political revolution that has appeared in the history of this republic.

We are not now concerning ourselves with the question of the desirability of government ownership of the railroads *per se*. That is a legitimate question, and by no means a novel one. The brotherhoods have, as all citizens have, a perfect right to raise it, and to agitate it by all legitimate means. If, after the object lesson in the results of government operation of railroads and wire systems which the last year or more has presented, there is anyone who wishes to advocate perpetuation of such a régime, by all means let him do so.

Neither are we denying the cause which railroad employees have for seeking relief from the burden of the high cost of living. We all need that relief. We are quite willing to admit that their large increase of wages, given to them by President Wilson, is of no real advantage to them now, since it was promptly followed by a commensurate and probably more than commensurate increase in the cost of living; and we are in entire agreement with them in expecting that another increase in wages now would be followed by another increase in cost of living. As they themselves say in an epigram worthy of all remembrance, "The vicious circle is infinite."

What we must regard, however, with amazement amounting to incredulity, is their implication of the means by which

they purpose to abate these intolerable conditions. Briefly stated, they demand compulsory government purchase and ownership of all railroads, and, saying that they "are in no mood to brook the return of the lines to their former control," they practically threaten a universal strike to coerce Congress into making such an enactment. Their purpose could scarcely have been made clearer if they had said: "Do not restore the railroads to their owners, but purchase them all for the Government, or we will strike and tie up every railroad in the land." Yet again we must express our reluctance to believe that they appreciate and really mean the purport of their words.

For that would mean revolution. We do not mean that government ownership of the railroads would be revolutionary, though it would be a radical and, we think, a mischievous, change. The revolution would be in the manner by which that change would be imposed upon the country. It would be a strike of a minority class of the people to coerce the Government of the whole nation—in brief, a strike against constitutional government itself. We do not challenge the right of men peaceably to strike for higher wages, for a larger share in the profits of their work, for fewer daily hours of labor, or for other amelioration of the conditions of their occupation. When they do so, employees and employers are both alike subject to the law of the land, and there is the impartial Government above them both alike, to arbitrate, to adjudicate, to enforce order and to administer justice.

It would be a radically different thing to strike against the Government itself, or to strike for the coercion of the Government. It would be all the more flagrant and ominous at this time, when the potential strikers are practically Government employees, for it would be an earnest of what might and probably would happen if the present demands were granted. If now, under temporary government control and operation of the roads, employees should strike to coerce the action of the Government, there would be not the slightest assurance that under permanent government ownership they would not again and again strike for any further advantages

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BY GEORGE HARVEY

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and privileges which they might desire, until the whole Government of the republic was made the mere creature of their will.

It would be a reflection upon the intelligence of the members of these great brotherhoods to suggest that they do not see that that would mean an end of democracy. It would mean an end of "government of the people, by the people, for the people," and the substitution of government of the people by a limited class, and a class which, however numerous, virtuous, and worthy, is but a small minority of the whole people. Moreover, if this class were permitted thus to dictate acts and policies of government, any other class would have equal right to do the same. Farmers might go on universal strike to compel permanent enactment of a market price of three dollars a bushel for their wheat. We must believe that class government and class wars would be as odious to these brotherhoods as to all other right-thinking citizens; and we must therefore wonder with an amazement approximating incredulity at their thus demanding and threatening precisely such a detestable régime.

And then there were seven—all suspected hopefully of being susceptible to flattery or what not, but all merely proved to be for effective reservations!

A Few Words From Japan

MOST interesting and timely is an interview with Mr. Ryndei Yano, former Minister of Japan to China, published in *Nichi-Nichi*. Naturally he is for the League and against the Monroe Doctrine, which he considers "against the interests of peace" because quite shamelessly it "embodies a desire to preserve the American continent for America." He lives in hope, however, that with the aid of Mr. Wilson it will soon be "subordinated"; in fact, he is convinced that "the day when this subordination will be realized will surely come," in which of course he is wholly right if the Senate should endorse the scheme to sell out the country.

Inevitably and logically Mr. Yano approves of the President and disapproves of those who disagree with him, saying frankly:

Were it not for the opposition of Republican members of the United States Congress I believe Mr. Wilson would have advocated the establishment of an international general staff, with an international navy and army, thus bringing the system of the League of Nations nearer perfection. Jealous of the success of the American delegates headed by Mr. Wilson, Republican partisans have seized every opportunity to hamper his work at Paris. Their conduct is repulsive and will leave a blot on the history of mankind. Their prejudices against the world at large will cause a decline in the influence of their party at home.

He is highly gratified to observe, however, that "in spite of the great difficulties attending his position, Mr. Wilson has at any rate succeeded in linking the League of Nations with the peace treaty; his attitude is indeed worthy of a great statesman, who has taken it upon himself to promote the destiny of mankind." In fact, taking him all in all, Mr. Yano perceives that "in his sense of justice and equity Mr. Wilson seems to be superior to Mr. Lloyd George or M. Clemenceau. While these two statesmen apparently care little regarding matters outside their own countries, Mr.

Wilson is always attentive to the interests of the whole world"—wherein he clearly evinces notable perspicacity.

As for his own country, Mr. Yano feels that "its purposes should be great and far-reaching and its actions not confined to the Orient." He does not mention Shantung specifically, although the press reports intimate that "color to the suggestion that the Shantung decision was Mr. Wilson's own or at least is believed in Japan to be his" is conveyed by his words.

That is hardly the impression derived by the Senators from their talks with the President, but there is no telling what might appear in the official records of the conferences which Mr. Clemenceau still refuses to reveal by direct request of Mr. Wilson himself.

Some day some things may leak out, but so far open diplomacy continues to be enveloped in an impenetrable fog. Meanwhile, in the midst of general dissatisfaction, the gratitude of Japan for the gift of China probably isn't to be sneezed at.

Indemnity Tinkering

AMONG the most astounding utterances of last week were some by Mr. Bernard Baruch, the economic adviser of the American delegation to the Peace Conference. He told the Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate that the Peace Conference had framed its reparation programme on what Germany owed rather than on what she would be able to pay; that the nations would be wise to make some considerable abatement of the indemnity prescribed; and that, while it might still be an open question, the President was opposed to the United States receiving any part of the indemnity which is to be exacted from Germany.

The first of these statements is, we say, astounding, because it is exactly contrary to all that has hitherto been represented, and because it affronts common sense. Mr. Baruch's intimation appears to be that the twenty-five billions called for in the treaty are all that Germany owes. At such an intimation, truth and reason revolt. Germany by right owes several times that amount—probably five or six times. She by right owes that entire amount to the United States, since by her deviltry she has put us to that expense. That amount was fixed, we were told at the time, not at all as what Germany might rightly be held to owe, but as the most that she could reasonably be expected to pay. And now Mr. Baruch tells us the exact opposite!

The second is equally astounding. That is, that a considerable abatement of even that amount should be made. We should like to know why. Even if the exaction of that sum would "bleed Germany white" and destroy her industrial and commercial potency for the next hundred years, we should say, "Lay on!" It will be better for Germany to suffer through making reparation for her crimes, than for her victims to be left to suffer still more for lack of such reparation. Nor do we think that the prosperity of all the rest of the world depends upon the immediate and complete rehabilitation of Germany. We can get along very well without her. We may, of course, be quite sure

that Germany will pay not a cent more than she is compelled to pay, and that if we begin scaling down the indemnity, she will continue to whine for its still further reduction. Instead of abatement, we should say that the entire sum prescribed should be exacted without reduction of a cent, and with this additional proviso, that if then an ex parte commission of the Powers finds that she is able to pay more, a further payment shall be exacted.

As for the third point, we cannot see that the President has anything to say about it. If he had put into the treaty a stipulation that the United States should have no share in the indemnity, the Senate might make it valid with its ratification; though we doubt if it would. But there is nothing of the sort in the treaty, and we are very sure that no private and unwritten understanding of the President's with the rest of the Big Five, to that or to any other effect, is of the slightest force. At the risk of being regarded as sordid, we must say that it would seem to us hopelessly quixotic to refuse a share in the indemnity, to which every other Power considers us to be indisputably entitled. There is not an argument against our doing so that is worth the breath it takes to utter it. The question is, at any rate, one which should be decided by Congress.

None of the problems of peace, from the cost of living to the control of the railroads, can be dealt with by the Government of the United States until this treaty is disposed of. —*The World*.

The President doesn't seem to think so. Can the *World* possibly suspect him of camouflaging?

Smoked Out

ACTING with a reasonable degree of promptness upon our benevolent monition, the President reported the tripartite French alliance treaty to the Senate only two weeks later than he was by its own terms bound to do. As he offered no explanation, excuse, or reason for that fortnight's delay, we are left to fascinating conjecture as to its cause; whether it was intended for the exertion of pressure upon our Senate or upon the French Chamber, whether it was a case of the new interpretation of words and phrases or simply of forgetfulness. As for the equally interesting question, how much longer delay would have prevailed had it not been for our humble but friendly service, modesty restrains us from calculating.

Some comment was elicited by the circumstance that instead of delivering the message introducing the treaty in person, as has been his wont, he sent it to the Senate by messenger, to be read by a clerk. No explanation was vouchsafed of this departure from fixed custom, but we feel amply warranted in rejecting the suspicions of "some lewd fellows of the baser sort," who suggested that either the President was piqued and peevish at being smoked out, or he did not think that a mere treaty with France for her defence against the Hun was of sufficient importance to be presented with the pomp and circumstance which attended the introduction of the Covenant.

Curiously enough, too, the President refrained from any reaffirmation of or even reference to his former positive and

impassioned assurance that such treaties as this will be impossible under the League of Nations. "There can be," he told us, "no leagues or alliances or special covenants and understandings within the general and common family of the League of Nations. Special alliances have been the prolific source of the plans and passions that produce war. It would be an insincere as well as an insecure peace that did not exclude them in definite and binding terms."

It is the more strange that he did not refer to this, because we are quite confident that it contains the explanation of his prompt response to our monition. Obviously, it would be impossible to make such a convention as this French treaty after the adoption of the Covenant of the League of Nations and the Treaty of Peace, since it would then be excluded "in definite and binding terms." Therefore, if the French treaty is to be made at all, it must be before the Covenant is ratified. That was of course the reason for directing that it should be laid before our Senate simultaneously with the Peace Treaty and Covenant. That was one reason why the neglect to do so was so regrettable and indeed fraught with so much peril; because if the Senate had promptly ratified the Peace Treaty and Covenant, the French treaty would have been hopelessly barred out. We can imagine the shock which the President felt at realizing how seriously his unintentional delay had imperilled the French treaty, and also, we modestly suspect, the gratitude which he felt at having the matter brought to his attention through our helpful columns.

Four years ago the President sententiously declared that—

The passion of America is to be permitted to live her own life according to her own principles. The only thing that she profoundly resents is having her life and freedom interfered with.

And for that reason she resents the President's attempt to force upon her the Covenant of the League of Denationalization.

Strike Out Article X

IF Article X of the League Covenant means what Mr. Wilson says it means, then it means nothing. If it means nothing, then its proper destination is the wastebasket. It should be stricken out *in toto* as so much pure surplusage.

The first sentence of the Article provides that "the members of the League undertake to respect and preserve as against external aggression the territory and existing political independence of all members of the League."

The second sentence provides that the League Council shall advise upon the means by which the obligation involved in the first sentence shall be fulfilled.

Mr. Wilson's interpretation of this second sentence, as presented in his message transmitting the Franco-American alliance treaty, is that after the League Council's advice has been duly given, the League members will do precisely as they please about following it. In the first sentence the members of the League solemnly agree to respect and protect each other as against external aggression. In the second sentence—according to Mr. Wilson's interpretation—a League

member will act upon the League Council's advice in a given aggression case "only if its own judgment justifies such action." In other words, the second sentence of the Article completely cancels the first sentence, leaving zero as the remaining total.

Mr. Hughes said of Article X that it was an "illusory engagement." Mr. Wilson goes Mr. Hughes one better. He says, in substance, that it is no engagement at all, illusory or otherwise. The League Council may advise until it is black in the face, and the League members may go serenely on their respective ways without giving the slightest heed to this advice. And both League members and League Council will equally have done their full duty under Article X.

If Article X be interpreted to mean anything, that meaning necessarily is that we engage to send our armed forces wherever and whenever a super-Government of foreigners sitting in Switzerland orders us to send them. If it be interpreted as Mr. Wilson interprets it, the foreign super-Government's powers extend only to the giving of advice which we agree to heed or ignore as our judgment dictates. One interpretation is an insult to our self-respect as a nation. The other reduces the whole of Article X to a vacuum.

The way to treat Article X is to strike it out.

The Facts in the Case

IN the interest of strict accuracy, one sentence in the President's message transmitting the Franco-American alliance treaty to the Senate might be advantageously modified and expanded. The sentence in question reads as follows:

Now that you have had an opportunity to examine the great document [The Versailles Treaty] I presented to you two weeks ago, it seems opportune to lay before you this treaty which is meant to be in effect a part of it.

Speaking more closely in alignment with the facts, the President might have said:

"It having been pointed out on the floor of the Senate and elsewhere that in failing to present the Franco-American alliance treaty simultaneously with the German peace treaty, I had deliberately violated a specific provision of the Franco-American alliance treaty itself, and there being unpleasant symptoms on the part of the Senate of an intention to suspend all consideration of the Versailles Treaty because I had broken my solemnly pledged word to present the two treaties at one and the same time, May-I-Not assume that it now seems opportune to do what I had promised to do, and did not do, in the first instance, and lay before you the treaty which is and was meant to be a part of the Treaty of Versailles."

To be sure, such a substitution in the mere interest of veracity would involve tacit admission on the part of the President that he personally does not feel himself bound to pledges to which he has affixed his signature. It would involve a renunciation of self-assumed authority to decide when and in what installments the Senate shall have doled out to it sections of treaties to which its assent is essential. It would even involve the concession that the Senate of the

United States is *compos mentis*, and free to function independently of Wilsonian leading-strings.

All this, we admit, would be an indulgent, not to say revolutionary, relaxation of recent Executive standards of authority over the upper legislative branch of the Government, with the possibility of the pygmies therein becoming possessed of dangerous delusions. They might imagine they had sense enough to interpret visions! But facts are facts, and even Olympus might as well be tolerant enough to recognize them once in a while.

The Recalcitrant Handful

"HOW much longer," plaintively asks our friend, the *World*, "can a handful of recalcitrant Senators deprive the country of the benefits of a peace that was won on the battlefields of France nine months ago?"

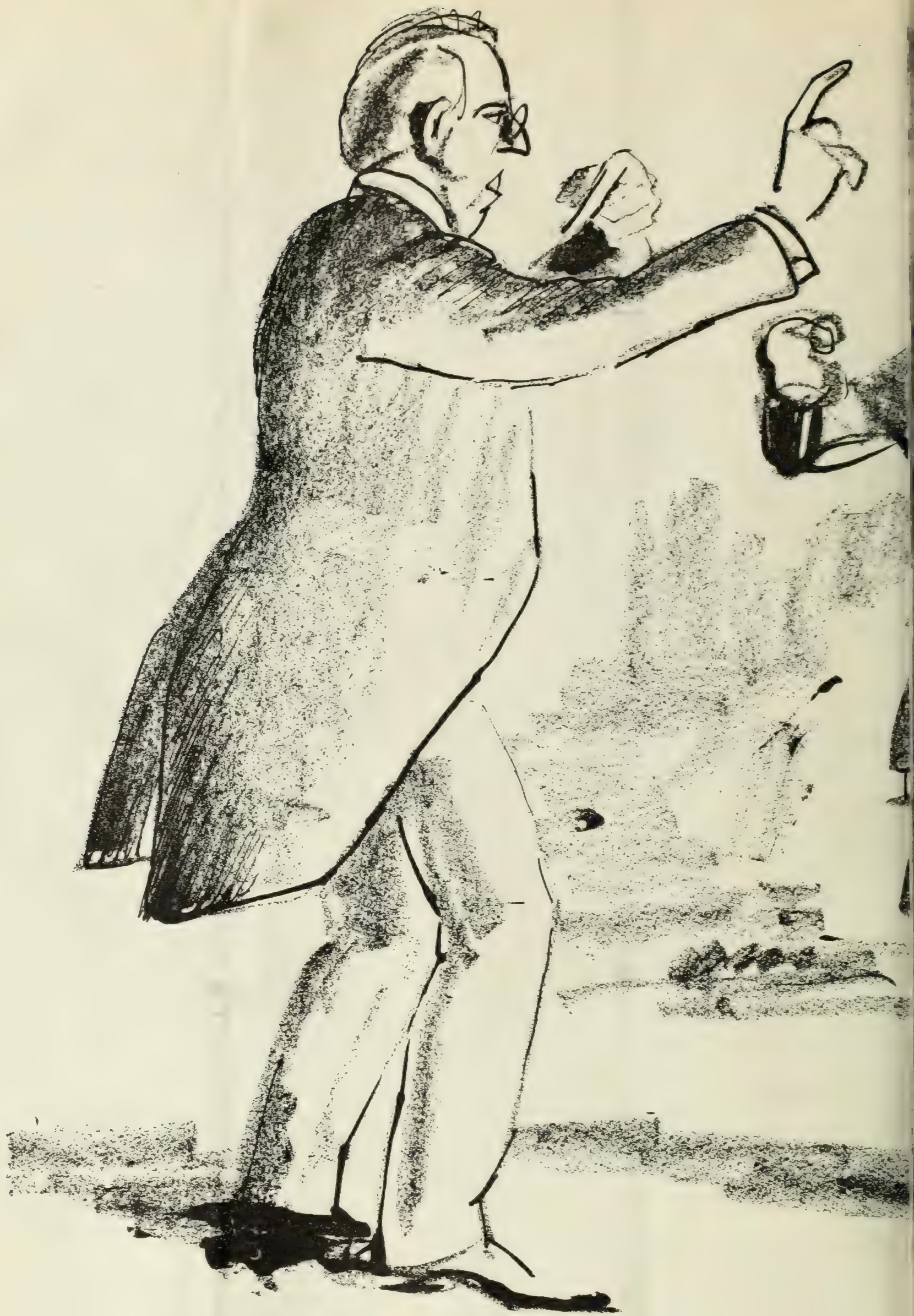
We give it up. Ask Senator Hitchcock. Strict definition of the word would seem to make a "recalcitrant" a "kicker-back." The Senator did not kick back, to be sure, when he got kicked, but he is still the leader of the recalcitrant Senate minority.

Of course the reason, primarily, why we are "deprived of the full benefits of a peace that was won on the battlefields of France nine months ago," is to be found in the Executive who insists on tying up that peace with conditions involving a surrender of our national independence. But for this insistence, we might have had peace months ago.

The recalcitrant Senate minority who are insisting that we can not have peace until this surrender is made, are more than the *World's* "handful" by a good deal, and they have the President of the United States cracking the party lash over them to keep them in line. They are capable of delaying for a long time the separation of the peace treaty from the infamous conditions with which it has been deliberately tied up. Let the *World* cheer up, however. They can not do it forever. Senator Knox has by no means abandoned his purpose to have the peace treaty separated *in toto* from that suicidal covenant with which it has been entangled.

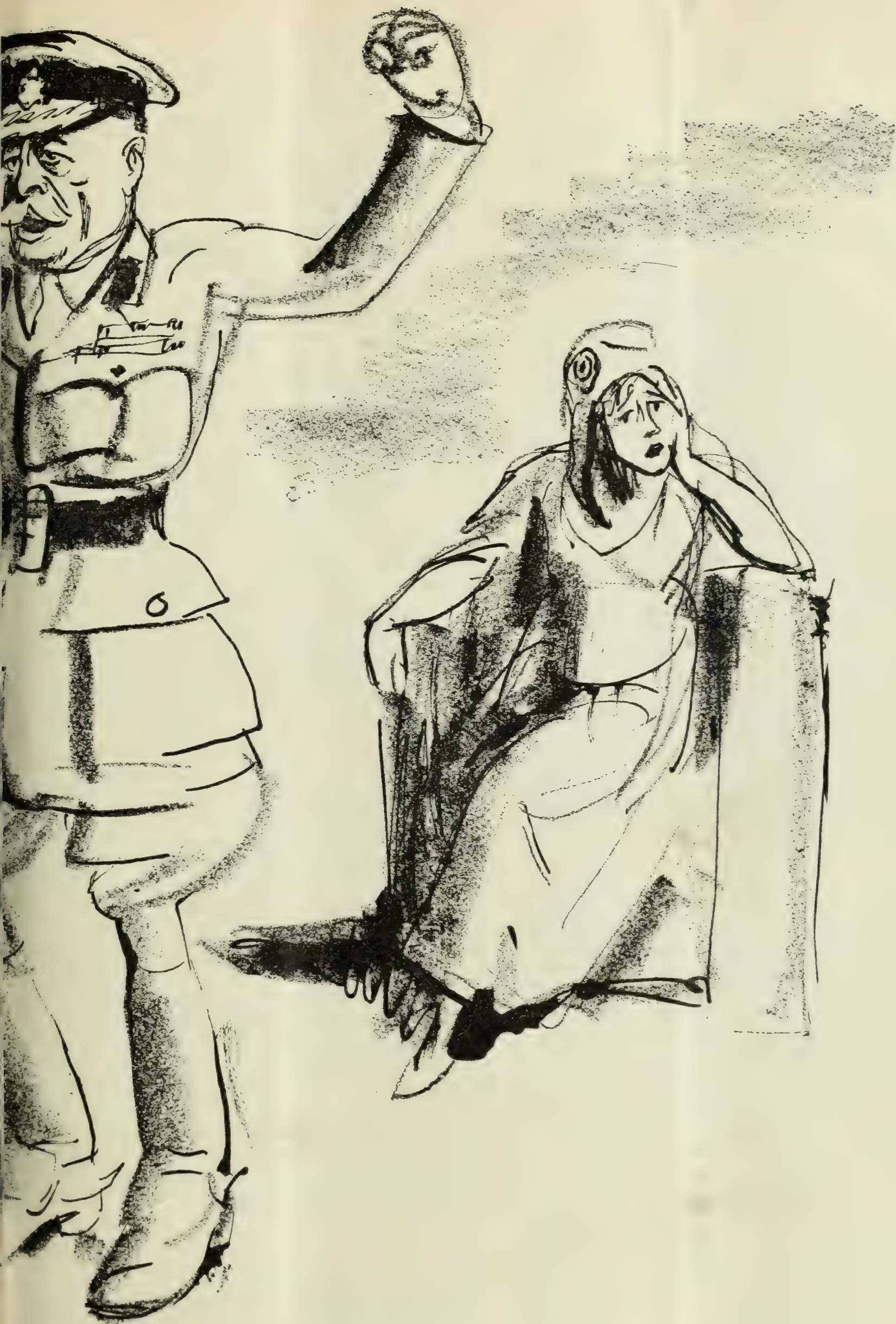
And, after all, this bit of surgery which Senator Knox proposes is the best road and the shortest cut to those peace benefits for which the *World* expresses so much impatience—an impatience that we all feel, for that matter. The "recalcitrants," the "kickers," the wilful Senate minority who are supporting the President in keeping us out of peace, may well be reduced to the *World's* "handful" if the President's personal appeals go on. There is the Senator from Colorado, for instance. But yesterday he was regarded as a faithful of the faithful; and now he comes forth a doubting Thomas!

The handful of Administration recalcitrants in the Senate may hang on for awhile in opposition to giving the Covenant-clogged treaty its American naturalization papers. But it will not be for long. The light will soon so stream along the only path of peace America can take, without losing American independence, that even Senators Hitchcock and Williams may be able to find their way to it.



Wilson: "America won the war!"

"THE LEAGUE IS



England won the war!"

France: "What about me?"

KE TO SETTLE IT"

The Week

WASHINGTON, August 7, 1919.

CONGRESS to the rescue! That is the generous response from the Capitol to the S O S signal frantically sent forth from the White House. The House of Representatives will patriotically give up its vacation in order to help the President out of the hole in which he has got himself and in which he has succeeded in involving the nation. His eagerness to have Congress help him, now that he personally needs it, presents a suggestive contrast to his unwillingness to have Congress in session when nobody but the country needed it, and raises the question whether the present economic crisis might not have been avoided if only the President had permitted Congress to assemble last spring to attend to public business which he himself had described as urgent. A major measure of responsibility must unquestionably rest upon him for the present serious state of affairs. Instead of exploiting his fads and his personal vanity in Europe, he should have remained at home attending to the business of a President of the United States. It was perfectly obvious to every intelligent observer six months ago that there were reconstruction problems of the greatest importance confronting this nation, which demanded immediate attention and which would tax the full powers of both the Executive and the Legislative departments. But ignoring them in his infatuated quest for international notoriety, the President transplanted the Chief Executive office to the other side of the ocean, and refused to call the Legislature together. It was a repetition of the old story of unpreparedness before the war and of refusal to make preparation until the war was actually upon us. Nevertheless, it is of course the patriotic duty of Congress as of all good citizens to make the best of the President's bad job even at the expense of paying a heavy penalty for his wilful neglect.

The railroad reports for June afford another example of the injury to national interests through Presidential neglect. It will be recalled that in his Farewell Address in December last the President declared that the railroad problem was too much for him, and accordingly turned it over to Congress with a plea for prompt action. But his own subservient Congress neglected to act upon it, and he refused to let the new Congress do so. Had he remained at his office and spurred the late Congress to action, or had he let the new Congress take up the matter promptly in March last, it is quite probable that by this time the railroads would have been placed upon a sound basis. As it is, they are still piling up deficits for American taxpayers to settle. June was not as bad a month as some others, yet it showed a deficit of \$30,500,000, making the total deficit for the half year \$243,000,000. The ton miles of freight for June showed an insignificant decline from the average of the three years preceding the war, and the taxes also showed a slight decrease. The revenues, because of higher rates, increased 40 per cent above the average, but the expenses, because of higher wages, increased 75 per cent, so that the net operating income decreased by more than 37 per cent from the average under private operation.

How little chance the Covenant stands of adoption without radical amendment is disclosed in the proposals of the "Seven Senators." These gentlemen are the seven Republican members who have from the first been regarded as least unfriendly to the League of Nations scheme, and upon whom the President has most assiduously plied his blandishments. They are in favor, indeed, of the ratification of the Treaty with the included Covenant. But they are resolute in insisting that that shall be done only with four so-called "reservations" which in fact will be amendments to the treaty. (Note that they explicitly say that these reservations are "to be made a part of the treaty.") The proposed amendments provide: That whenever after two years' notice the United States wishes to withdraw from the League, this country shall be the sole judge of whether it has complied with the requirements; that nothing in Article X shall be obligatory upon the United States unless Congress so elects; that domestic questions shall not come under the purview of the League, and the United States shall be the sole judge of what are its domestic questions; and that the Monroe Doctrine and everything pertaining to it shall be unaffected by any of the provisions of the Treaty. To have the Covenant ratified with such amendments is therefore the utmost that the President can hope. But he himself has told us that without Article X in full force as it stands the Covenant will be of little or no value. Now it is evident that that article cannot and will not thus be retained. Therefore, according to the President's own inexorable logic, the Covenant will be practically valueless. Why, then, cumber the Treaty with it at all?

The President tried to scare Senator Watson into swallowing the Covenant unamended by dwelling upon the danger of a smash-up in Europe if we do not promptly ratify the thing unchanged. Judging from the derisive laughter with which mention of the League of Nations was greeted in the British Parliament, and the placid deliberation of France in dealing with the thing, we are not surprised that Senator Watson was not greatly impressed by the warning. He probably also considered some of the characteristics of the source from which the warning proceeded. He could scarcely have forgotten that the President on going thither told Europe that America had practically given him a mandate to press the League of Nations scheme, upon which the heart of America was set; and that on returning hither he told America that the heart of Europe would be broken if we did not accept the Covenant and enter the League. After those remarkable statements, made for effect, it is not to be wondered at that men feel constrained to take with a large modicum of salt anything which the President may say on the subject.

Is there no end to the Denationalists' misrepresentation of that Monroe Doctrine which they wish to destroy? It was bad enough to have them describe it in the Covenant as a "regional understanding" for the "preservation of peace." But we are not sure that Mr. David Lawrence's account of

it is not still worse. He told the readers of Washington correspondence the other day that

The Monroe Doctrine pledged the United States to resist external aggression against any country on this continent.

It now remains for Mr. Bryan to declare that the Monroe Doctrine pledges the country to the unlimited free coinage of silver at the ratio of 16 to 1, and for Mr. Wayne B. Wheeler to assert that the Monroe Doctrine defines as intoxicating all liquors containing more than one-half of one per cent of alcohol. We await their doing so.

Paris, Aug. 1.—Among the documents received by the Conference Commission is a note from Premier Clemenceau transmitting a dispatch from President Wilson asking Clemenceau to postpone the publication of the notes of the Peace Conference deliberations.—*Special Cable to The New York Times.*

“Open covenants of peace, openly arrived at.”

It is not in the least surprising that, according to diplomatic advices from the Far East, there is a real and increasing danger of war between China and Japan. In case of such a conflict, the result of which might be much more doubtful than some imagine, an observer from Mars would be vastly interested to note the course of the Allies, and still more that of the League of Nations, were that fantastic folly in actual existence and operation. Are the Allies prepared to coerce China into acceptance of the Shantung spoliation? Would the President of the United States, acting as President of the World, recommend to the Congress of the United States the sending of an American army and fleet to China, to compel that country to surrender a great city and province to an alien Power at the arbitrary command of an alien tribunal? If so, we should expect him to take for the text of his message the Fourteenth Commandment: “A general association of nations . . . formed under specific covenants for the purpose of affording mutual guarantees of political independence and territorial integrity to great and small states alike.”

The German National Assembly at Weimar has finally adopted a constitution establishing a republican form of government for the former empire. Upon this, despite the distrust and detestation which Germany has in recent years provoked throughout the world, it is possible to congratulate the German people and to wish them success. They will do well to bear in mind, however, the fact that “man is more than constitutions”—or less—and that it is not enough merely to adopt the form and the name. There must be a thorough transformation of the German spirit, which has hitherto been almost the most un-republican in the world. We have hope, however, that our recent enemies will in time live up to the name which they have taken upon themselves.

We could wish success to the German Republic more cordially if it had not begun its career with an insolent theft of colors. It has made its new flag of black, red and yellow, which are the colors of Belgium, the nation that Germany has so monstrously and irreparably wronged. We do not think that any other people than the Germans would be capable of such a deed. The reasons which have been alleged for it are puerile and unconvincing. The real reason is not

difficult to discern. In defeat, and in her transformed political status, Germany has not and will not let go of her design some day to absorb Belgium. Identity of national colors will serve as a constant reminder of that design, and will some day serve as ground for pretence that Belgium is of the same origin as Germany and is properly a part of that country. Extravagant as such a scheme may appear, it is actually cherished by such minds as that of Herr Erzberger, and an attempt at realization of it may some time be made. The circumstance would almost have justified the Powers in stipulating in the Peace Treaty that Germany should not adopt those colors for her flag. Why should she not have retained her traditional black, white and red?

The Chamberlain-Kahn bill for universal military training, now before Congress, may not be perfect in every detail. Few measures are. But its general principle is admirable, and it marks a definite and hopeful step toward the creation of a rational military establishment. It is of course as far as possible removed from militarism. Indeed, it might properly be called an anti-militarist measure. No sensible man will pretend that six months' military training of every young man between the ages of eighteen and twenty is going to transform us into a nation of swashbuckling cutthroats. That it will have a beneficial effect upon the young men, morally, mentally and physically, is not to be doubted. Of course it will considerably facilitate the prompt organization of the military strength of the nation on a war basis if ever again there shall be occasion for it. It will not interfere with industry and the ordinary peaceful activities of the nation, nor burden us with great expenses. Not least of all, it will enable us to reduce our standing army to 225,000 or less. We shall hope to see it promptly enacted and put into effect, to the great good of the nation.

Germany, we are told, looks to Soviet Russia for intimate trade relations. Doubtless. That was part of Germany's purpose in promoting the establishment of the Soviet Government in Russia. Under a strong democratic government Russia would be independent and could effectively resist German exploitation. Under Bolshevik misgovernment Russia would be a mere appanage to Germany, enabling the latter to develop strength that might again make her a menace to civilization. The solution of the problem thus presented should be obvious. It is to encourage Russian democracy to do away with Bolshevism and to assert itself for the independence of Russia.

Representative Randall has introduced a bill, which the Advocates of Aridity say will surely pass, making it a penal offence for an American citizen to operate a brewery or distillery in any foreign country. We move as a “rider” upon it a provision that any American citizen who takes a drink in any foreign land shall immediately be hanged, drawn and quartered. Of course, foreign courts will lend themselves to the enforcement of such laws.

According to three Federal judges, anybody who sells a glass of buttermilk breaks the law.

A Year of Burleson

NOW this is the story, plainly set down in black and white, of a year of governmental control of the telegraph and telephone systems of the country; in brief, a year of Burleson on the wires.

On August 1, 1918, as a war measure, when the tide had turned and the war was waning, under Congressional authorization the Politicalmaster-General took over the wire systems of the country. These systems had been admiringly noted for their high efficiency, and this had not been much impaired by the exigencies of war. Soon after the Politicalmaster-General's assumption of control, however, efficiency began to wane and the process continued until the systems became probably the worst in the world. As the war made no special drafts upon their personnel after August 1, 1918, that decline was naturally attributed to the Politicalmaster-General's aggressive, copious, and incessant bedevilment of the various systems.

On November 11, 1918, the armistice was signed and the President publicly and officially declared the war ended. Five days thereafter the Politicalmaster-General seized the marine cable lines as "a war measure."

On December 2, 1918, the Politicalmaster-General began removing from their places various officers of companies who would not acquiesce readily in his process of merging and "scrambling" competing companies into one so that they could never be separated.

On April 1, 1919, the Politicalmaster-General ordered all telegraph tolls to be increased twenty per cent. Meanwhile, efficiency was steadily waning toward the vanishing point.

On June 5, 1919, the Politicalmaster-General, scared into a blue funk by a threatened nation-wide strike of telegraph operators, which had been provoked by his own management of the companies, issued a trick manifesto, in which he pretended to relinquish control of the wires to the companies; his obvious purpose being to make the companies bear the brunt of dealing with the strike, while he hid behind the scenes.

On July 21, 1919, the President signed a Congressional resolution providing for a speedy return of the wires to their owners, and on July 31 the Politicalmaster-General announced that at midnight the wires would thus be returned; adding:

Sound public opinion will ultimately determine how this trust has been met, and the Postmaster General is content to abide the result. . . . The labors of the Postmaster General are brought to an end with a consciousness on his part of having at all times administered these wire systems with justice and fairness to the employees and the owners of these properties, and in such way as to render the best service possible to the general public under abnormal conditions.

On August 1 the wire systems were returned—what was left of them—to the control and operation of the companies which owned them; and the public thanked God that they were at last rid of an incubus obsessed with a purpose at all times to administer the wire systems with an unfairness to the employees which drove them to strike and with an injustice to the owners which provoked them to protest against the ruin of their property, and who actually administered

them in such a way as to transform a good service into the worst possible service.

It remains to be added that the President still retains the Politicalmaster-General in office.

Lexington, Ky., Aug. 3.—Running on a platform that attacked President Wilson and his attitude on foreign and domestic matters and flayed the Democratic Administration in Washington, King Swope has been elected to Congress in the Eighth Kentucky District. He is the first Republican ever to be sent to Washington from this district.

Responding to the campaign made by Mr. Swope, many Democrats deserted their party and made him a victor over Judge Charles A. Hardin, the regular Democratic candidate, by a majority estimated at from 1,200 to 1,400. Judge Hardin concedes his defeat by at least 1,000 votes.

Judge Hardin accepted the issue raised by Mr. Swope and the fight was clearly made on the question of upholding the acts of President Wilson and his Administration.—*The Sun*.

"The result," says a Washington dispatch, "was hailed with surprise in Administration circles." We cannot see why. The same thing would happen in any other district outside the South.

Postponing the Inevitable

COINCIDENTALLY with the murder of American men, the ravishing of American women, and the holding for ransom of American children in Mexico, the confiscation of American property there goes joyously on.

The latest instance is in the Sonora district. By the instrumentality of a new so-called agrarian "law," more than a thousand Americans are to be deprived of millions of dollars' worth of agricultural land which has been bought and paid for with good American money, and to which the titles are beyond cavil as to legality. Sonora is largely arid. To develop it agriculturally, irrigation is necessary. American land-owners have spent vast sums in establishing irrigation plants and in bringing the soil up to a high state of productivity.

The land, in other words, has become valuable. And when a Mexican wants anything valuable that an American owns, he takes it. Which is precisely what it is proposed to do with the landed property of Americans in Sonora. The routine of the theft is of no particular consequence. It amounts simply to a forced sale for worthless Mexican bonds, Mexico not having paid a cent of interest on her bonds for six years.

This happens to be only the most recent instance of the wholesale plundering of Americans in Mexico. The individual robberies are innumerable and, of course, largely in excess of the individual assaults and assassinations. Mr. Fletcher's reluctant testimony admitted 251 assassinations of Americans in Mexico since the watchful-waiting season set in. And just one murderer punished! But that solitary exception to the rule was in the territory dominated by the bandit Zapata, and not in that under our pet bandit Carranza. Carranza's record is not marred by a single instance of bringing a murderer of an American to justice.

Of course Mr. Fletcher's list of 251 murders of Americans is under the actual total. It takes no account of a hundred or more murders within our own borders by Mexican raiders. Likewise, it takes no account of the scores of

cases of "mysterious disappearances" of Americans in Mexico—which mean more cases of murder.

But what, after all, is the difference, whether five or 500 Americans have been butchered by Mexicans? It all simply comes to this: that an American in Mexico is without the protection of his own flag. He may be publicly insulted, robbed, assaulted, murdered—solely because he is an American, and because Mexicans know well that his Government will never lift a finger to protect or avenge him.

There will be peace and order in Mexico only when we have carried the forces of order there. Congressional sparing to avoid responsibility is only postponing the inevitable.

Our Own Race War

COMMENTS might be plenty upon the atrocities at Chicago and elsewhere. But the one outstanding fact is, that we have had a race war. Explain it as you will, with this or that incident as a starting-point, you must come at last to that fact. It was a race war. It arose from racial antagonism. It was fanned into fury by the hatred of one race, or of members of one race, for another, and by the resentment and revenge of the race thus made the object of hatred. And that in a land dedicated to the proposition of the equality of men!

It is an impressive circumstance that it should have occurred just at this time. Two generations ago Whittier wrote a poem of scathing invective and irony against human slavery, in which he challenged his countrymen to ask the Czar to release Poland and the Sultan to set the Greeks free; reminding that there would come the scornful answer,

Go, free your fettered slaves at home,
Then come and ask the like of us!

Has not this tragic episode subjected us to danger of a like rebuke to-day? We have been demanding of Poland that she pledge herself not to persecute the Jews, and there has been talk of our becoming an international mandatary to prevent the Turks from butchering the remnant of the Armenians. What should we say, what *could* we say, if some European or Asiatic Power suggested that it would be well for us to solve our own race problems before we meddled with those of other lands?

We are not intimating that our own troubles at home should restrain us from taking any part in international affairs. But we do think that this latest—we dare not venture to say the last—outbreak of race warfare in our own land should measurably chasten us and admonish us against censoriousness toward others and against vaingloriousness concerning ourselves. We may be, as the President assures us, the hope of the world. But just now, sick at heart with the hideous spectacle which Washington and Chicago have presented, we feel more like confessing, in humility and shame of spirit, that we are after all "as common mortals," and like urging that we should not undertake to regulate the affairs of all other nations at the expense of neglecting to set our own house in order.

"Facts and Allegations"

THE New York *Times* publishes a comprehensive summary of the reply of Ian MacPherson, Chief Secretary for Ireland, to the Dunne-Walsh report on conditions in Ireland, headlining the British reply, "Facts and Allegations."

This is palpably unfair. It amounts to a begging of the entire question in favor of the British authorities. Either the allegations are true, and what the *Times* calls the "facts" are lies, or the allegations are lies and the facts are facts. There can be no middle ground. Messrs. Dunne and Walsh make forty-seven categorical charges against British Government officials, many of them fortified with distinct specifications. To this, the British officials retort with forty-seven categorical denials, likewise supported with specifications as convincing as those set forth by Dunne and Walsh.

Take, for instance, charge 47 itself and the reply thereto:

Charge—With a ferocity unparalleled even in the history of modern warfare, within the past few days men and women have been shot down in the streets of Dublin.

Reply—Unfortunately, four policemen and a girl have been so shot in the streets of Dublin within the past few days by a number of Sinn Feiners who rescued a Sinn Fein prisoner from the police. The police fired no shots.

Throughout all of the forty-seven charges the replies are quite as specifically contradictory as in this instance. Either Dunne and Walsh deliberately lied, or the Chief Secretary for Ireland has endorsed lies equally deliberate and wilful on the part of British Government officials. To characterize the replies as "facts" and the charges as "allegations" is tantamount to calling Mr. Dunne and Mr. Walsh liars. If they are the liars that this headline, by implication, accuses them of being, then they are as contemptible a pair of scoundrels as have lately been brought into the limelight. Incidentally, too, if that implication be sustained, the cause of Ireland could have few worse enemies than they. Any cause, however just, is only weakened and discredited by a campaign based on flagrant falsehoods easily demonstrable as such. Indeed, no more insidious way to bring a cause into disrepute and contempt could be devised than by the promulgation of glaring falsehoods nominally in support of that cause, but in reality designed to leave the door wide open for exposure and the damaging consequences sure to ensue.

We cannot for a moment believe that Mr. Dunne and Mr. Walsh will consent to remain silent under the implications of lying and treachery with which they are saddled by the report of the Chief Secretary for Ireland. Both Mr. Dunne and Mr. Walsh have long been conspicuous in public affairs here. Mr. Walsh, indeed, is a member of Mr. Wilson's Administration. As Chairman of the Industrial Relations Committee, he has been active in labor controversies. His sympathies with the oppressed are notorious.

Judge Edward I. Dunne has long been prominent in public life. He is a leader in Chicago political affairs, and only a few years ago was Governor of Illinois. These are not irresponsible persons. When, under leave of the British authorities, they went to Ireland to investigate conditions there, the presumption was, and is, that their investigations were honorably and conscientiously directed to seeking out and revealing the truth without fear or favor.

And now this member of President Wilson's Administration and this ex-Governor of the third greatest State of the Union are, by direct implication, charged by British Government officials with being wilful liars, and of spreading before the world an official report infamously false in every one of its forty-seven counts.

It is not Messrs. Dunne and Walsh alone who are affected by this grave accusation. The whole American people are concerned in it. If an attempt has been made to sway their sympathies by lies to the point of imperilling our good relations with a friendly country, we want to know it. If officials of a friendly country, in an official document, are falsely branding American ex-Governors and Administration members as infamous liars and scoundrels, we want to know that fact also.

Messrs. Dunne and Walsh have the floor. The country is waiting and anxious to hear from them.

What German Taxes Mean

THERE is no occasion to shed tears of sympathy over the burden of taxation which is being imposed upon Germany, heavy though it undoubtedly is. Herr Erzberger recently declared in his Budget speech that the revenue of the empire must be increased nine-fold. To effect that end, he purposes to levy a number of new and heavy taxes, prominent among which are a tax upon wealth, a tax upon capital, a tax upon inheritances, and a tax upon the gross profits of business.

At this a howl of pain arises. No doubt it is a desperate resort. Many financiers will regard some of its provisions as decidedly unsound. But it is, in fact, not nearly so distressing as it appears on the surface. For the nation as a whole, it is merely the paying of the stakes in a game that is lost, and, for the taxpayers who will have most directly to bear the burden, it is merely paying the penalty for the exemption which they have hitherto enjoyed.

For it must be remembered that Germany during the last five years has not suffered the imposition of any such war taxes as those which France, Great Britain and even the United States have borne. The policy of the Government was not to pay for the war by increased taxes, but by issuing bonds. This course was pursued for two major reasons. One was, that the wealthy classes demanded it. The other was, a willingness to gamble on the outcome of the war. If Germany won, she would exact from the conquered nations—as she openly declared—indemnities sufficient to pay all her war bonds and other indebtedness, so that the war would have cost her nothing; while if she lost, she would be no worse off, and perhaps better off, than if she had “bled herself white” with taxes.

The war is ended, and she has lost. Now she must meet her own war bonds, and, in addition, pay heavy indemnities to those whom she has wronged. Now she must endure the increase of taxes which she avoided during the war. If taxpayers feel the burden, they should remember that they are in fact merely paying arrears of taxes which, if Germany had done as other nations, they would have paid during the last five years. What the result will be upon Ger-

man prosperity remains to be seen. We shall not worry about it; though we shall not be as indifferent and callous as Germany would have been to the ruin of her victims had she won the desperate game.

National Chairman Hays, who has rendered fine service under the circumstances, is going to back out to run for Governor of Indiana.—*The World of July 28.*

Another case of hope being father to the news!

“Unionizing” the Police

THERE is more than a mere coincidence in the simultaneous attempts in London, in Boston, in Jersey City and elsewhere to affiliate the police force with a general labor union. These movements are not sporadic, of local origin. There is reason, both intrinsic and extrinsic, to regard them as proceeding from a common source and as being parts of a widespread movement antagonistic to ordered government.

By that we do not mean to suggest for a moment that the police in these various cities are tinctured with anarchism or Bolshevism or anything of that sort. Their motives may be good. Men are not infrequently drawn into wholly evil paths while they cherish the best of motives.

We have no doubt that the average member of one of these police forces abhors, as an individual, any such thing as class government or class discrimination. His work specially sets him against any such thing. He feels it his duty to be no respecter of persons, but to arrest the rich law-breaker as well as the poor. Yet here he is permitting himself to be seduced, through the madness of mass movement, into a most hateful form of class rule. For it is obvious that if he belongs to the labor union he must favor that union in his official conduct. Otherwise it would be useless and senseless for him to belong to it. He would have a divided duty. He would have to serve two masters; and we all know, upon the highest of all authorities, what that means.

We are not now discussing the propriety of police forces having their own organizations for mutual benefit. That is a very different matter. The present point is the propriety, or rather the indefensible impropriety, of their becoming affiliated with any organization outside their own ranks intended to advance the interests of any special class or portion of the community.

It is as unfitting for policemen to join labor unions as it would be for them to join associations of capitalists. Their duty is to remain impartial toward all classes and sections of society, as impartial as the judges on the bench.

That so many of them have been mislead into clamoring and even striking for “unionization” is an ominous indication of the extent to which class war virus has circulated. There must surely be men among their leaders who can perceive the monstrous impropriety of the thing, the impossibility of permitting it to prevail.

The best service they can do their followers and comrades, as well as the community and the state, is to discourage the insane project.

The Colombian Treaty

THE first reason for satisfaction at the final conclusion of the Colombian treaty is obvious. It is because there is now abated and disposed of something which had been a source of soreness and ill-will for a score of years.

We shall hope not to be charged with taking a sordid view if we suggest another, a secondary but yet a highly important reason for satisfaction at the achievement. That is because of the material value of Colombia to us at this very conjuncture of affairs, and because of the opportunities which this treaty will afford us of industrial and commercial development.

More and more the petroleum supply is becoming a matter of vital importance. It is absolutely essential to prosecution of aerial navigation, and scarcely less so to various other even greater departments of activity. The prospect of opening up new oil fields is therefore at this time as engaging and attractive as was that of gold mines in 'Forty Nine and in the later days of the Klondike rush.

Now there is good reason for believing Colombia to be almost as richly endowed with oil as any country in the world. On both the Caribbean and the Pacific coasts there are hundreds of square miles of potential oil lands, some of which have indeed been proved to be of value. Outside capital is needed for their development, and the ratification of this treaty should naturally greatly improve the chances of Americans for participating prominently in that work.

It must be borne in mind, however, that Colombia will not alienate her oil lands. Ownership of them is vested, and must remain vested, in the State. That has from the beginning been part of the organic law of the land, and it is not likely to be changed. The Government will grant concessions whenever it sees fit so to do, but it will not sell the lands outright. Moreover, the concessions will not be transferable. Those securing them must themselves conduct the operations under them, or must return them to the Government.

That is a system which some Americans may not like. At least it is a definite system, under which concession-seekers will know exactly what to depend upon. They will not be able to acquire title to oil lands. But neither will they, as in Mexico, be in danger of having titles once granted to them arbitrarily taken away by subsequent legislation.

Only An American

IN the list of 251 Americans murdered in Mexico which Ambassador Fletcher handed to the House Rules Committee, the following paragraph appeared:

Louis D'Antin, killed January—1917, at San Luis Potosi; murderer unknown. Death occurred under suspicious circumstances.

Mr. D'Antin was an American citizen who had been employed in the American Embassy at Mexico City for many years in the capacity of chief clerk and translator. He was one of the last Americans to leave the city during the Huerta

regime. He came to Washington expecting to be re-assigned by the State Department, but eventually accepted employment from Ambassador Eliseo Arredondo, who then represented Carranza in the United States. Because of his peculiar knowledge of American-Mexican relations, Mr. D'Antin was invaluable to Carranza's representative. He knew more of the inside workings of the embassy than anyone except the Ambassador.

Despite his employment by the embassy, Mr. D'Antin despised the entire Carranza organization, and violently protested against the vacillating policy which the American Government pursued in dealing with those in control at Mexico City. About Christmas time, 1916, Arredondo, who was extremely unpopular at the White House and State Department, was suddenly recalled. He ordered D'Antin to accompany him to the Mexican Capitol. Friends of Mr. D'Antin implored him not to cross the border. He went, however. Within ten days, a press report reached Washington announcing that he had died from natural causes. No one familiar with the circumstances believed the press report. His wife came to Washington and sought an audience with Secretary Lansing for the purpose of imploring him to investigate the facts, as she felt sure that her husband had been murdered in order to prevent his publishing information in his possession as to the methods employed by some of the Mexican representatives.

The State Department refused to act, and sought to give the impression that Mr. D'Antin had died from natural causes. Nothing more was heard of the case until the other day, when Mr. Fletcher appeared before the committee. He was not questioned concerning the matter.

Now that the State Department admits—probably inadvertently—that Mr. D'Antin was murdered while a member of the official party of the Mexican Ambassador designated to this country, we think it about time that all the facts in the case should be given to the public. Surely the State Department would not vouch for the statement if it were not in possession of absolute evidence to support the charge. If it is not true, it should be withdrawn, and if it is true, it is so typically Mexican that its educational effect upon the people of this country should not be wasted.

Give us the facts, Mr. Lansing or Mr. Fletcher.

Great Britain has completely ratified the Treaty of Peace, first of all the great Powers. We know of none other better entitled to do so because of the benefits which it confers upon her.

The proposed League of Nations is, in my opinion, a scheme to have the United States pull England's chestnuts and the chestnuts of France out of the fire.

It would have us underwrite the combustions of Europe. The bed-rock of the religion of humanity from which it springs is laid in the chimera of racial brotherhood and the chimera of racial brotherhood is laid in the visionary theories of self-exploiting philosophers more learned in books than in life.

America should stand at once a refuge of hope and an example of wisdom to the beleaguered of all lands. We are strong enough to make our isolation effective, to punish the selfish, and protect the stricken, and we shall only weaken our moral power and international influence by high sounding verbal covenants and one-sided foreign alliances that, whilst raising many responsibilities, put us at universal disadvantage.

—Henry Watterson.

Letters From Our Readers

WHAT MR. MILLARD MEANT

SIR,—The last issue of HARVEY'S WEEKLY has some editorial discussion of a suspected new "regional understanding" by which Asia is divided into spheres allotted among Great Britain, France and Japan, and in that connection you say: "In any normal circumstances Mr. Thomas F. Millard's charge concerning the partitioning of Asia," etc.

As this idea that I have made a specific charge that a new secret agreement amounting to such a partition of Asia exists seems to have taken root in many quarters, I beg permission to make an explanation. That conclusion was, I presume, deduced from a news despatch from Washington that was published last week in the *New York Times*, and in other newspapers, giving parts of certain memoranda that I have, since my return from Paris, prepared for the information of Senators and the Administration. I am not responsible for that publication; nor, as I remember, did the body of the *Times* article state that I charge that such a secret agreement has been consummated. It was the headline that conveyed that impression.

In correspondence and memoranda on this matter, I very clearly state my own information on the subject, and my reasons for calling it to the attention of the Senate and Administration. In a letter to Senator Johnson, I give a number of questions regarding conditions of the Treaty and the draft of the Covenant, and the proposed treaty of alliance between the United States, France and Great Britain, that I suggest be *privately asked* of the President or of Secretary Lansing. One of those questions is:

"(1) Has the President any knowledge of a new secret agreement, or entente, concluded at Paris between the British, French and Japanese Governments regarding Asia?"

At another part of my letter to Senator Johnson, in explanation of the foregoing question, I wrote:

"If inquiries directed to the President reveal that he has no knowledge of the existence of a new tri-Power entente regarding Asia (as per my memo.), then direct inquiries ought to be made of the British and French Governments *before* our Government commits itself to the League of Nations, or the Covenant and Treaty as now composed, and especially *before* it is committed to any alliance to sustain a balance of power in Europe. The President cannot legitimately refuse this information to the Senate, nor can the Senate afford to act without it. If the President has not that information now, he should obtain it through the proper diplomatic channels at once. Such procedure will force either the acknowledgment, or the denial, by the British and French Governments as to such a private agreement with Japan, and our Government can then deal with the situation accordingly. Let us not wait (as occurred with regard to the secret Shantung agreements) to learn of such a tri-Power 'regional understanding' regarding Asia until *after* those nations have got all they want out of us."

In a letter to Dr. David Jayne Hill, I gave the circumstantial knowledge of this matter that I had obtained at Paris, and said:

"When I left Paris I had no positive further information of the matter, which seemed to be hanging fire in that position. That is why I suggested in my letter to Senator Johnson that the President be privately interrogated about the matter, and that due precautions be taken."

And in a letter to Hon. Franklin Lane, I wrote:

"A situation outlined in that memo. of mine would almost immediately inject a strong element of suspicion and distrust into the relations of the United States and Great Britain, and the political cynics would begin to think that Great Britain is pursuing the old policy of arranging combinations that will subject her chief rival for world power and influence to be weakened by wars and adverse psychological reactions."

To several other persons of influence I have further written that it would be better for the British and French Governments to declare unequivocally their positions on this question, without waiting to be smoked out.

In my letter to Secretary Lane, I wrote:

"A good deal is being said these days about the desirability and the necessity, in order to keep the peace of the world, of a complete sympathetic and even a military entente between Great Britain, France and the United States. I am in sympathy with the thought and purpose that lie back of this suggestion; but I am firmly convinced that such an entente, if it should outwardly be patched up now, cannot endure for more than a few years, if it leaves the way open for a divergence of those Powers in Europe, and the United States, over the Asiatic question."

My position and information in this matter is indicated by the previous quotations.

Washington, August 2.

THOMAS F. MILLARD

[If we get the point of Mr. Millard's interesting communication, he did not make "a specific charge" that a secret agreement was entered into between the British, French, and Japanese Governments concerning the partitioning of Asia; he merely intimated that it might be well to find out if such an agreement exists. Frankly, that seems to us to be quibbling. Mr. Millard's outgivings on the subject certainly imply that he believes such an agreement to exist.—EDITOR.]

"IN THE ROLLS OF AMERICA"

Sir,—I want to convey to you the full measure of my admiration of your work during the last two years.

There are many things, too great insistence on things that you had already enforced, that I thought wrong. But who can convict any man of freedom from excess? Emerson said each man was given a little beyond that which was necessary of a particular bent or talent to hold him true to his principle. I think he was right. And if there were no points of disagreement between persons, there would be nothing to disagree about, of course. Only by clearly viewing one's failures can one reach to full appreciation of one's victories.

And I believe that if I have frequently thought you laid it on rather thick, that assumption has but served to increase my respect for the more clearly discerned merits of your ceaseless thunder against the sins of the mighty.

I was amusing myself to-day with speculation as to your ability to do good if you were in office, but the thought came to me very forcefully that you were already fully represented, that out of the mouths of those in the seats of power came the syllables you had moulded for them and the truths you had discovered for them. You have pricked many bubbles, unpropped many a toppling falsehood, and torn the veils from many a door of the tabernacle of evil, and your words, the thoughts you utter with a warrior's bravado and a prophet's certainty, seep down through many channels to the people who are moved to action,—moved, mayhap, by the one whom they profess to ignore or do not remember.

You are in the rolls of America.

Guinea Mills, Va.

WILLIAM GAMALIEL SHEPARD.

"HUMILIATION."

SIR,—Your masterful interpretation of the League of Nations and its destructive predomination, in your Indianapolis speech, and again at Syracuse, is priceless to the American people. I would that every American with "America First" policy should read your patriotic appeal to retain our Americanism and freedom.

Mr. Wilson's latest plea for ratification of the League of Nations says: "Reservations or amendments to the League would cause humiliation." This is indeed true, but the humiliation would be on the President, who did not safeguard the rights and freedom of action of our own Government.

C. M. WADLEY.

Colorado Springs, Colo.

LOWELL SAID IT

Sir,—Apropos of present conditions, I beg to quote the following from James Russell Lowell's monograph on Abraham Lincoln:

"I am of opinion that there is no more unsafe politician than a conscientiously rigid doctrinaire, nothing more sure to end in disaster than a theoretic scheme of policy that admits of no pliability for contingencies."

CHAS. D. BROWN.

Washington, D. C.

CHEER FROM COLUSA COUNTY

Sir,—I voted for Lincoln, something to be proud of. The next best thing is to read HARVEY'S WEEKLY. I do, never skip a word. It keeps me feeling good until the next number arrives.

L. V. NANSICAWEN.

Grimes, Colusa Co., California.

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Time's Up!

HAS not the time come for the President and the Senate to get together and see if they cannot co-operate in the interest of the country?

God knows that is what is needed and what is desired. The people are sick of politics and impatient with etiquette. They are plainly disgusted with the sparring at arm's length now going on in Washington. They have lost interest in matching of minds. They want action.

Admit that the President himself is responsible for the delay of which he complains in getting on with the Treaty. He is, beyond a doubt. Instead of extending the aid which he proffered at the outset he has put every obstacle his artful mind could devise in the way of the Committee on Foreign Relations. He has deliberately withheld upon specious pleas information absolutely essential to intelligent consideration. Only now, three full weeks after requests were officially made, he has supplied a part of the documents which should have been available immediately.

Grant that Senator Lodge and his associates have been as expeditious as could justly be expected of men conscious of their obligations working in the dark. The Administration *Times* utters an obvious and glaring untruth when it says that "the members of the Committee are no wiser than they were before they laboriously read the document line by line," and the *World* is equally culpable in adding with a sneer that "nobody could know much less." Even though the minds of the admittedly ablest

Senators who comprise the Committee were in fact as obtuse as intimated, their lack of comprehension would be attributable to that circumstance far less than to the defiant obduracy of the President.

And yet there is a measure of justification for the charge of ineffectiveness, if not of dilatoriness, in the fact that the only part of the Treaty, barring that which constitutes the betrayal of China, which makes for a deadlock, has been practically before the Senate for five months. Undoubtedly the Committee did the right and proper thing in awaiting the elucidation of the League Covenant which they were warranted in expecting from Secretary Lansing; but their courtesy availed nothing because the Secretary knew nothing.

Now, we are told, the Committee proposes to summon the elusive Colonel House. What is the use? What reason is there to believe that he could, if he would, either shed light upon the dark spots or reveal the judgments and motives of his patron?

Why not go to Headquarters and be done with it?

The way is clear. Senator Lodge's assertion that the Congress has no authority to call the President before it is unquestionably correct; so, too, is his insistence that the President does not evince a disposition to appear before the Committee. True, he did in his address manifest a willingness to do so, but before morning his feet chilled and he served notice through Senator Hitchcock that he would prefer to

have the Committee wait upon him at his hospitable residence, where consultations may be held to be private.

But this turnabout applied only to the Committee. The original proffer made in these simple words to the Senate itself, "My services and all the information I possess will be at your disposal," still stands. Why should it not be availed of? Why should not the Senate by respectful and appreciative resolution accept the President's gracious offer and invite him to appear before it at his convenience and engage in common counsel for the purpose of resolving moot questions which still await explication? Such a procedure would violate no precedent. On the contrary, Washington himself set the example during his first term, and much enlightenment respecting the treaty under consideration was derived from his answers to the questions propounded by Senators.

Is it not reasonable to anticipate that a like result would ensue from a repetition by Mr. Wilson of the performance of his hardly less revered predecessor? Naturally he refrains from forcing his presence upon an unreceptive or churlish body; to do so would ill become a President of the United States. Clearly he has gone as far as one could go without impairing the dignity of his high estate and we cannot doubt that, while suffering in grave but becoming silence the rebuff implied by the inexplicable unresponsiveness of the Senate, he chafes under the restraint thus imposed and laments the ensuing necessity of forsaking his post in order to clear away the mists which now befog the minds of the people.

We are unable to perceive how any fair mind can refuse to uphold the President in this attitude. Nor can we understand why the Senate should put upon the President a slight such as this, which could not fail to bruise the most impervious of feelings, unless from purely personal, partisan or otherwise unworthy motives. We are perplexed in particular by the disregard of the niceties of convention manifested by Mr. Lodge, whose painstaking upbringing should have intensified inherited gentlemanly instincts to such a degree as to overcome prejudice and overwhelm passion.

The only conceivable deduction is that the Senate fears to meet the President face to face and permit his answers to their queries to go before the people. We are in full accord with the stinging rebuke implied by the *World's* peremptory demand, "What does Senator Lodge want the President to do,—crawl on his hands and knees from the White House to the Capitol?" Contrasted with the frank, manly and almost beseeching attitude of the President, that

of the Senate in tacitly refusing him an audience is more than inconsiderate, worse than discourteous; it is positively craven.

Persistence in such a course, moreover, is unwise from every point of view. Over and over again the President has hinted that the increasing popular opposition to the League is attributable to misunderstanding of its various covenants and he has evinced a lively eagerness to enlighten the country upon every questionable point. The people are equally anxious to obtain and reflect upon his interpretations and explanations. So far, in consequence of the ineptitude and avoidance of his apologists who also have been kept in darkness, they have heard but one side of the case. They want the other and they are entitled to it. How much longer, we inquire with sorely tried patience, does the Senate propose to stand between President and people? It alone can afford the proper avenue of communication. It alone by rejecting the common counsel and discussion invited by the President keeps wide the breach. No wonder the President himself, despairing of his inability to convey his real views through reports of confidential conversations which require constant denial or denunciation, has abandoned the private talks altogether. No wonder he turns his attention with obvious relief to other subjects.

We warn the Senate plainly: The people are weary of this beating about the bush. They want all of the facts and the arguments bearing upon this vital matter stated clearly and concisely, as only the President can state them, in reply to pertinent queries from doubting Senators, in open session of the co-ordinate branch of the treaty-making power.

It is up to the Senate to accept the President's proffer of his personal services in conveying essential information and then either accept, amend or reject both the League and the Treaty.

Time's up! School opens in September! We must get to business!

Col. House appears to be about the last hope members of the Foreign Relations Committee have of obtaining desired information regarding the treaty. Secretary Lansing proved a complete failure so far as furnishing data or details is concerned. He participated but little in framing the pending treaty, and knew nothing of the reasons assigned for various compromises and provisions.—*The Sunday World*.

Wherever was Mr. Cobb when this slipped in?

The League of Nations, as the President has so well said, "has come about by no conceiving of our own but by the hand of God who led us into this way."—*Secretary Short of the Schiff-Taft League*.

Spare us, good Lord!

A Plea for Co-operation

WE cannot commend too highly the essential part of the President's address to Congress. Particularly satisfying was its directness and simplicity, affording as it did a pleasant reminder of former days when his utterances were in fact characterized by noteworthy lucidity. His suggestions were tentative, necessarily. The problem involved in reducing living costs which have increased more than 70 per cent in five years is far too complex to be solved by the mere waving of a magician's wand. Nobody, as his words clearly indicate, appreciates this fundamental fact better than the President. And yet he realizes that something must be done, and he does not hesitate to advance definite proposals whose consideration cannot fail to chain public attention and ultimately produce results.

The great and pressing need of the moment, as wise old John D. remarked on Sunday, is common co-operation. Neither the President nor the Congress nor both combined can work miracles. They must have the same complete and unselfish backing of the people which was accorded during the war, or their most earnest endeavors will be made in vain.

Governor Harding of the Federal Reserve Board speaks the exact truth when he says:

Whether viewed from an economic or financial standpoint, the remedy for the present situation is the same, namely, to work and to save; work regularly and efficiently, in order to produce and distribute the largest possible volume of commodities, and to exercise economies in order that money, goods, and services may be devoted primarily to the liquidation of debt and to the satisfaction of the demand for necessities, rather than to indulgence in extravagance.

When the whole people come to a fuller realization of the actual necessities of the situation, however distasteful they may be, and act accordingly, and when what the President accurately pronounces that "most fatal thing," the stoppage of production and interference with distribution, shall be remedied, a long step will have been taken toward resumption of normal and prosperous conditions.

It is highly gratifying in this connection to note the quick effect of the President's sharp and merited rebuke of the unscrupulous labor demagogues who openly avow an intention to loot the people's savings invested in railway securities with the use of the people's own money in the Federal Treasury through political duress and menace. The President never did a better thing than when he scotched this snake, and the credit is doubly his because of the confident anticipation of the highwaymen that he would not dare offend them. Happily they mistook their man. With a directness and courage worthy of Grover Cleveland and yet with high dignity such as characterized his own official utterances before he fell into the foolishness of talking about his "fighting blood," etc., Mr. Wilson made it quite clear that bolshevistic threats of revolution do not go in this country.

The result was instantaneous. It did not take the Plumb crowd twenty-four hours to deduce from the universal acclaim of the President's stern warning that they had overreached egregiously and they hastened to climb off their perch,—not all the way, of course, but far enough to show that the admonition of the President had gone straight to the bull's-eye.

As we anticipated, the Republican Congressmen met the President in the same patriotic spirit which none can deny they manifested throughout the war. They applauded his vigorous utterances handsomely and gave every evidence of a willingness to take up his suggestions in a sincerely favorable mood. Naturally and rightfully they resented his lugging in of the Treaty as a prime element of the solution sought, but this was to be expected, as we pointed out last week, and fooled nobody.

Indeed, the only serious irritant arising from the otherwise encouraging sign of a happy change in the President's disposition toward Congress was caused by his own professed supporters. The *Evening Post*, for example, attributes the whole performance to politics and fairly chortles at Mr. Wilson's "skill in sensing the fine strategy of a difficult situation" and his "adroit stroke" in "snatching political advantage" and in diverting public attention from assaults upon his unpopular Treaty. Not a word or suggestion of laudable patriotic motives, such as in this instance and in every other when possible the President's sharpest critics are only too glad to ascribe to him, drips from Mr. Ogden's pen. We have to confess bewilderment and surprise at the appearance in the columns of the *Evening Post* of so distasteful an aspersion.

Even worse, if possible, than this implication of playing politics with the gravest problem that has confronted the country in sixty years, is the plain suggestion advanced by Mr. Charles H. Grasty in the *Times* that Mr. Wilson is only acting a part. While one would hesitate to pronounce such an intimation significant, the fact that Mr. Grasty has been studying the President at close range in Paris during the past seven months certainly stamps it as extraordinary. Like the *Evening Post*, Mr. Grasty perceives first of all in the President's "lightning action" in domestic reconstruction "a new means of forwarding ratification rather than a diversion of energy from what he still thinks is paramount in restoring livable conditions."

This is bad enough in all conscience as a reflection upon the President's sincerity, but for downright wickedness it does not compare with the sidelight which Mr. Grasty essays to shed upon his pleasing change in method by remarking calmly, "He is a good hater and has been much criticised for narrowness, vindictiveness and coldness." Appalled himself, apparently, by the baldness of his own characterization, Mr. Grasty hastens to add a feeble modification to the effect that "these are matters more of appearance than of reality," but he promptly smothers even this slight palliation by quoting a progressive Senator as saying that "a member of Congress who has ever opposed him cannot pass on the street in front of the White House without feeling the icy breath of his dislike."

Whether Mr. Grasty so intended or not, the distinct impression conveyed by his article is that the President's recent exhibitions of consideration and graciousness are deliberately feigned for a specific purpose, and that at heart he is as autocratic and intolerant as when he loathed the pygmy minds of the very Senators whose friendliness he is now cultivating so assiduously. It is a most unpleasant

portrayal, and we cannot but wonder with regret at both Mr. Grasty and the *Times*.

For ourselves and we believe for the country, we prefer to accept the President's manifestation of interest in the affairs of his own country as quite sincere and deserving of grateful praise. His eagerness for frank and helpful co-operation in any case is worthy of the highest commendation, and we earnestly hope that the Congress, the Press, and the whole people will respond to his call in the same broad and generous spirit which itself so unmistakably breathes.

We Help Out a Friend

THE persistence of our neighbor the *Times* in solemnly declaring day in and day out that the Treaty is sure to be ratified as it stands "in the end" (so why not now?) because "the people are for it" hardly calls for derisive comment. Perhaps the *Times* really believes what it says. The reflex effect of constant repetition of a falsehood, to say nothing of a mere opinion, upon an impressionable mind has often been remarked; and yet we dislike thus to discredit an intelligence which produces the world's most comprehensive newspaper. Surely the *Times* knows better, and continues to utter its ludicrous claim for policy's sake with full knowledge that it is making the usual futile attempt to hold itself up by its bootstraps.

This view is sustained by what appears to be studied omission from its news columns of the latest S. O. S. cry for help from Uncle Jacob Schiff and his associates of the stuffy Peace League. Ordinarily one would expect the *Times* to co-operate in giving the widest publicity to such an appeal, but we search its many pages in vain for the barest reference to it, although its contemporaries freely contribute much valuable space. It may be, of course, that the information falls under the ban of "unfit to print." If so, our own judgment would accord with that of the *Times*, but we have difficulty in reconciling ourselves to an omission which clearly puts a slight upon this or any other project which has enlisted the sympathies of Uncle Jacob, to whom on behalf of our neighbor we hasten to tender suitable apologies.

Furthermore, by way of partial reparation for the injury inflicted by our distinguished friend, we present herewith a copy of the telegram sent to hundreds of well-to-do citizens by Uncle Jacob and his associates, to wit:

American people must be reached immediately with true significance league of nations and its necessity in present very grave world crisis. Great educational campaign necessary. Will you be one of twenty to give each \$5,000 to League Enforce Peace? William Howard Taft, president, Bush Terminal Building, New York.

Whether Mr. Taft really signed this frenzied appeal is a matter of conjecture, but frankly we doubt it. The last we heard of our former President he was traveling as usual somewhere out West and telling the reporters with rare perspicacity that he reminded himself of the discomfited parrot who talked too damned much. Of course he did not use those exact words, but that was the idea; so the natural inference is that his office staff used his name without his knowledge or consent and, let us hope, in vain.

In any case it is quite evident that Uncle Jacob and his

fellow members of the "Emergency Committee" of the Peace League do not share the implicit confidence of the *Times*. Although they have already expended hundreds of thousands of dollars in their propagandizing, they need another hundred thousand immediately to inaugurate a "great educational campaign" for the purpose of impressing upon the people the "true significance" of the League of Hallucinations.

We do not hesitate to advise those who like to throw good money after bad to respond promptly and by telegraph, since Burleson still controls the mails. We might even go so far as to suggest desirable fields for missionary endeavors. The East we fear has been hopeless for some time, but there remains the great peace-loving Middle West, which is supposed to hearken more sympathetically to voices from the air and to live in constant dread of a universal heartbreak. This is the section of whose attitude the President assured Senator Capper there would be no doubt if the people "could be informed as to what the Treaty and the League stand for." Having himself discreetly refrained from supplying the requisite information, however, he has made it necessary for them to look elsewhere,—and we judge that they have resolved the need into a virtuous determination.

Immediately following publication of the President's confident remark to Mr. Capper, the *Omaha Bee* printed a coupon to be marked and returned "indicating whether you favor ratification *with* or *without* reservations, or are opposed to the League of Nations as a whole." Following are the first week's returns:

Favoring ratification of peace treaty without reservations..	106
Favoring ratification of peace treaty with certain reservations	268
Against the league of nations as a whole.....	715
Total against peace treaty in present form.....	983
Total for ratification of peace treaty in its present form....	106

For peace treaty.....	106
Against treaty.....	983

Plurality against treaty.....877

The replies, we are informed by Mr. Taylor Kennerly,

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Managing Editor of the *Bee*, came from all parts of Nebraska, Iowa and South Dakota, a large majority from farmers and at least 20 per cent from women. "There may be sections of the country," drily adds Mr. Kennerly, "where people feel the need of clearer understanding of the merits of the League, but obviously this is not one of them, since not a single letter received contained a request for further information."

Now there is nothing surprising in the result of this poll. The percentage against the thing is increased somewhat, undoubtedly, by the eagerness of Nebraskans to show their disgust at Senator Hitchcock's pitiful cringing, but nine to one is about right. If Mr. Wilson should finally yield to temptation and subject his un-American policy to a popular test, with himself as the candidate, the falling of favorable ballots into the boxes will resemble more closely than anything else the dripping of molasses from a frost-bitten jug with the thermometer at 30 below. Even now he couldn't carry a single Northern or Western State and would have hard sledding in at least three States south of the line.

But this is no time to talk politics. Everybody ought to be and, so far as we have noticed, is now as nonpartisan as Mr. Wilson himself. Our sole present purpose is to suggest to our misguided friend the *Times* the advisability of safeguarding its pre-eminence as a purveyor of news by ceasing to print a daily editorial joke whose constant reiteration cannot fail in time to create the impression that the highly esteemed Charles R. Miller is a lineal descendant of Joe.

An Answer and a Query

The sole present requisite is to make clear, as we have had to make clear, in shame and sorrow, that the French Republic has been betrayed, that the United States Senate has been flouted and insulted, and that the American people have been grievously wronged by the President of the United States.

Why does he do such things?

Can anybody tell?—HARVEY'S WEEKLY.

SIR,—Easy—dead easy—as easy as falling off a log! The President has constituted himself a law unto himself. He is an autocrat—self-created out of a schoolmaster—an ordinary man, over-educated, whose mind has been carried by untoward fortune and a diseased imagination beyond the bounds alike of political integrity and common sense. Seeing what has happened the last ten years, he loses the sense of reasonable perspective, and reaches after what may happen the next two years, recking not the warning glance of Washington and the reproofing hand of Lincoln.

Historically, the figure he cuts is familiar; but what is to be said of the people and the press, which give no sign of being shocked by such ground-and-lofty tumbling?

Are they likewise degenerate?

Louisville, Ky.

H. W.

There's one good thing about the United States Senate. Henry Ford didn't get into it.—*Life*.

Well, the President can't be blamed for that. We know from Mr. Ford of the President's interest in his candidacy.

America may get Zeppelin as prize.—*The World*.

America will get absolutely nothing if the President prevails. We have Mr. Baruch's word for it.

The Railroad Crisis

PRESIDENT WILSON'S insistence that the striking railroad shopmen return to work as a condition precedent to any consideration of their demand for a heavy wage increase, met with hearty public approval. It was the first resolute and courageous stand that has been made to meet a situation growing steadily more and more serious.

The strikers in this instance had not an inch of ground to stand on. They had quit work in open repudiation of the authority of their own chosen leaders. It was out of the question, of course, to deal with men thus lawless and irresponsible to their own laws and covenants. The contention of the strikers was that their demands, made months ago, were met with promises of attention eventuating only in postponements. Perhaps there was some ground for this complaint. The problem put up to the President and the Railroad Administration was an appalling one. The railroads were losing over \$30,000,000 monthly under Government operation. The increase demanded by the shopmen, together with the inevitable demands from other groups of employees, meant an addition of from \$800,000,000 to a billion dollars annually heaped upon the already impossible deficit load.

The President and the Director General made an ineffectual effort to pass the buck to Congress. They requested that Congress create a special Wage Adjustment Board to meet and handle this and other formidable wage demands that were looming up in a dismaying perspective. Congress respectfully but firmly declined to receive the tendered buck. Senator Cummins pointed out to the President and to the Director-General that, under existing law, they now have all the power that Congress could give them in the premises. They are at liberty to increase wages *ad libitum*, and to increase freight and passenger rates in proportion.

The President and the Director-General accepted this interpretation. They had to, and this was the sole outcome of much time wasted in attempted dodging. Meantime the shopmen, enraged at repeated delays, broke loose from the control of their own leaders and dealt crippling blows to the transportation of the entire country.

The end is not in sight. The granting of one railroad wage increase inevitably leads to still greater demands. Out of their own revenues it is impossible for the roads to meet even their present operating expenses. Either Congress must appropriate to meet the deficit, or rates must be jacked up when they are already at a point where the back of the public is almost broken by them.

If rates are increased to meet even a proportion of this proposed additional burden of from \$800,000,000 to \$1,000,000,000, the high cost of necessities will take another upward bound. The date would not be distant when railroad rate expansion would reach the point where industries would shut down, with all that that implies of unemployment in the face of staggering living expenses. Then, naturally, must come another demand for still another wage boost, and so on until the inevitable smash arrives.

It has been asserted that a part of the plan to force Government ownership of the railroads was a deliberate purpose so to load down the railroads' ruinous wage burdens that their

return to their owners at the end of the year would mean a receivership for almost every line in the country. Whether deliberately planned or not, that seems to be the outcome toward which events are driving at headlong pace.

Back of all this looms the Plumb-Sims scheme for a radiant Bolshevik millennium, with the railroads confiscated and turned over to Brotherhood-Soviet administration as an entering wedge for the speedy confiscation of all other pivotal industries along the same lines. It is a fine programme. No need of embodying its principles in the platform of either of the great political parties. No need of creating a new political party to carry its banner. There is a double-headed Socialistic party already in flourishing existence—the Moderate and the Red Bolshevik. The Plumb-Sims group, if not already enrolled, can qualify at once for absorption in full Bolshevik comradeship. Their logical home is with the Red Bolshevik Party. That is where they belong, and that is where we want them to stay long enough for the good, hard American commonsense of the United States to get one chance at them at the polls.

Mr. Stone's Views

MR. WARREN S. STONE, Grand Chief of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, in his testimony before the House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee, enunciated some startling propositions as to the scope and plan of the movement back of the demand for Government ownership of the railroads.

"There is a growing belief," said Mr. Stone, "that capital is not entitled to a return on its investments." As a corollary, explanatory of this proposition, Mr. Stone added: "Capital has saved up profits that should have gone to the workers."

The country will be indebted to Mr. Stone for this enunciation of principles. It clarifies the situation. Mr. Stone is the head of what, in the days of the late Chief Arthur, was one of the most conservative and highly respected of all our great labor organizations. Its rank and file is made up of men of exceptional intelligence and stability of character. The very nature of their avocation demands that they be such, and such they ever have been and still are. They represent the highest type of American manhood and of American skilled labor.

If Mr. Stone fairly represents the views of the best we have in our American organized labor, the fact is of overshadowing importance. It means that that fine body of men, the locomotive engineers of America, stands committed to principles which have little to commend them over the fallacies of Lenine and Trotzky. Lenine and Trotzky go only one step beyond Mr. Stone. Mr. Stone says that capital—which means the stored results of energy, intelligence and thrift—has no right to profits earned in launching and conducting industries giving employment to millions of men and women: industries which have built up the country to the dominating stature it has today attained; that these profits should all go to employees, and that the creators of these industries should have nothing. Lenine and Trotzky say that capital has no right to existence, that its possessors are

criminals who should first be despoiled and then either shot or starved to death. The gap between Mr. Stone and Lenine-Trotzky is narrowed almost to invisibility.

Now, we do not for one instant believe that Mr. Stone, when he talked this rubbish before the Congressional Committee, spoke the views of even an appreciable fraction of the locomotive engineers of America. We do not believe that he even thought he was speaking the sentiments of his Brotherhood. The impression he gives is that of an irresponsible fanatic far gone along the downward path that leads to Bolshevism. To assert that the locomotive engineers of America are prepared to follow a leader along such a road to stark ruin is to utter a gross and infamous libel on the honor and intelligence of as splendid a body of men as the industrial ranks of the United States can show.

Mr. McAdoo's Opportunity

THE chiefs of the railroad labor organizations having extorted legislation by holding a pistol at the head of Congress on one occasion, it was perhaps natural to suppose that they would try it again. In fact, when President Wilson, with an election not far distant, yielded to strike threats, and, through Representative Adamson, established the precedent that laws might be forced through Congress under labor organization duress, it was pretty freely predicted that that was only the beginning, and very far from being the end, of such attempts at Government coercion.

And now we have these predictions dramatically verified. Mr. Wilson undeniably gained many labor votes by his course on that occasion. In fact, this railroad vote was one of the factors that saved him from defeat at the polls. Upon Son-in-law McAdoo, this little political object lesson was not lost. Mr. McAdoo, however much he may have endeavored to screen the raw fact by ambiguous phrases when he was advocating a five-year extension of Government railroad control, is generally regarded as a hard-and-fast Government ownership champion.

Not so rabid an advocate of this form of Socialism as the preposterous Burleson, he none the less was among the many in President Wilson's entourage who were inoculated with this particular economic delusion. He stumped the country in a campaign for a Government-owned mercantile marine, and there is no reason to believe that his recent adventures in applied Government ownership in the case of the railroads, disastrous as those adventures were, have seriously shaken his faith in this detail of the general Socialistic creed. He developed, too, during his brief season of Director-Generaling, a keen appreciation of the political possibilities of the railroad vote. "And all voters, too," he exclaimed at Omaha on one occasion while he was on a Director-General progress through the country, and someone directed his attention to the enthusiasm of the railroad men for him.

All of which leads up to the remark that the accepted time is now rapidly drawing near for a test of Mr. McAdoo's vote-getting powers along these lines, as well as for a show-down on the real sentiment of the country respecting Government

ownership. With the Sims-Plumb proposition to present the railroads of the country to the railroad employees, at a trifling expense to the public of twenty billions dollars, made the dominant plank in his party's platform, let Mr. McAdoo boldly announce his furtive candidacy for President and see what will happen.

Mr. Lansing in Paris

IF Secretary Lansing did not exhibit a certain satisfaction in revealing to the Senate Foreign Affairs Committee the humiliating absurdity of his status at the Paris Conference, he certainly was at no pains to obscure the fact.

With quite serene nonchalance, he disclosed before the amazed Senators of the Committee that to all intents and purposes the Secretary of State of the United States was merely "the little boy that came along," so far as concerned any really advisory assistance that he was called upon to offer to his Exalted Superior. His personal equipment of unusual ability and diplomatic skill counted for nothing. He was merely bunched as one of that droll group of nonentities with whom the President surrounded himself on his self-appointed mission to reorganize Humanity and glorify Woodrow Wilson. Mr. Lansing had no part whatever in the important League Commission conferences. Mr. Wilson did not even confide to him any of his plans, let alone consult with him on any of the momentous problems of foreign relations which, as Secretary of State, came particularly within the scope of his official status. Some minor "war responsibility" matters were given to him to play with, and he was put down in a corner somewhere where he would be out of the way and not disturb the Potentate's august visions and reveries.

With the important features of the treaty-making, Mr. Lansing complacently admitted he had little or nothing to do. Naturally, with that Holy of Holies, the League Covenant, he was not permitted to meddle. So far from participating in counsels peculiarly within the province of the Department of which he was the head, Mr. Lansing placidly revealed to the Senate Committee that he was not even permitted to know other than minor details of those open covenants which the President was openly arriving at. To be sure, he did assent to a letter that General Bliss wrote at the President's request. It was something about Shantung, which was about all the Secretary seemed to care to say about it. He did recall, however, that the suggestions in the letter did not coincide with what was afterwards done as to Shantung. Of the Secretary's hazy notions about what was going on in the treaty-making, the following questions and answers relating to the unrevealed letter are fairly representative:

Senator Borah—Why is not that letter available?

Mr. Lansing—You must ask the President about that. He has the letter.

Senator Borah—Oh, he has it, has he?

Mr. Lansing—It was sent to him. I assume he has it.

Senator Borah—Did you see a memo which was filed by the experts who were advising the commission with reference to Eastern Affairs concerning the attempt of the Japanese delegate

to control the Chinese settlement and to intimidate the Chinese representatives with reference to Shantung?

Mr. Lansing—Well, I would not say that I saw such a memo exactly as you describe it, because we had numerous memos on the subject.

Secretary Lansing is far from being devoid of a sense of humor, and however decorously, as in duty bound, he concealed the fact during the rapid-fire interrogatories to which he was subjected, it is difficult to believe that he did not appreciate the peculiar absurdity of his position in Paris as revealed, with seeming artlessness, by his ingenuous answers.

Off Goes the Lid

WHEN Senator Lodge makes up his mind to do a thing, he does it as thoroughly and completely as it can be done. Consider the Mexican mess and the circumstances attendant upon the proposed investigation. In the very nature of things, this extremely difficult task should have been carried through by the House. The Senate was busy with other international affairs—notably the Peace Treaty.

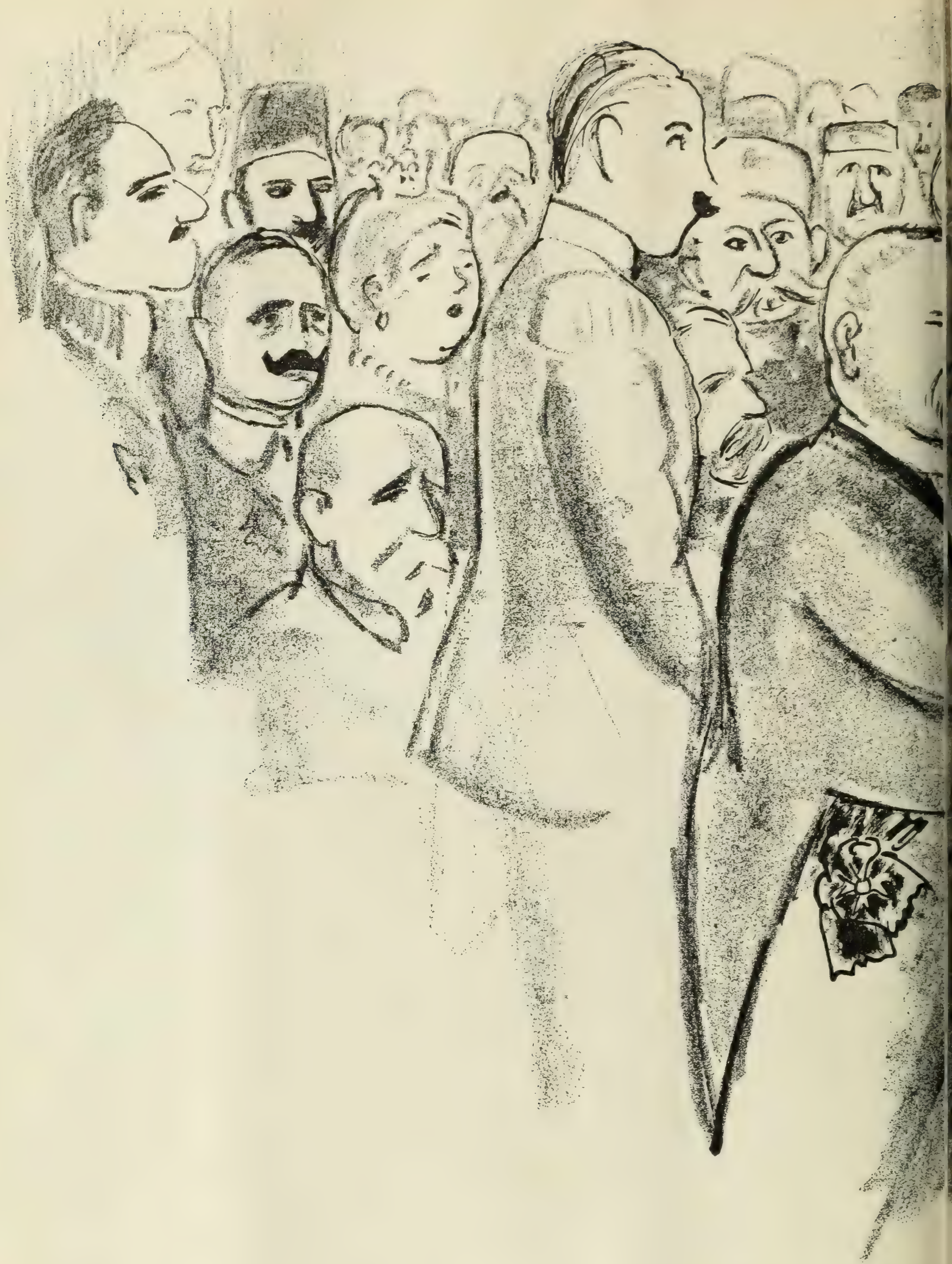
Since last May, when the extra session was called, the House Republicans have been "preparing" for an investigation and trying to decide just how it should be prosecuted. We have neither the space nor the desire to discuss the details of this squabble, as irritating as it was petty. Meanwhile the slaughter, rape and robbery of Americans continued. The other day Senator Lodge and several of his associates sought in a diplomatic manner to show the House leaders the necessity for action. But it was quite useless. So Senator Lodge returned to his office and proceeded to accelerate action on the resolution proposed by Senator King, providing for a thorough investigation. The Senate, much to the sorrow and surprise of the White House, adopted the King resolution unanimously. It was an off-day on the Democratic side. The President and Mr. Lansing forgot to line up the opposition. At this point, Senator Lodge's thoroughgoing characteristics appear. He selected Senator Fall, Senator Brandegee, and Senator Mark Smith as the investigation committee.

Had he searched America he could not have found three better qualified investigators. Their appointment means that Watchful Waiting will be uncovered in its every detail.

For this purpose, no abler committee could have been appointed. Senator Fall knows every angle of the situation, and cannot be cowed. Senator Brandegee, the severest cross-examiner in the Senate, can be relied upon to get at the truth. Senator Mark Smith, the Democratic member from New Mexico, being fully cognizant of the errors of the President's policy, has long desired that the truth be uncovered. He can be relied upon to do nothing to interfere with the progress of the investigation.

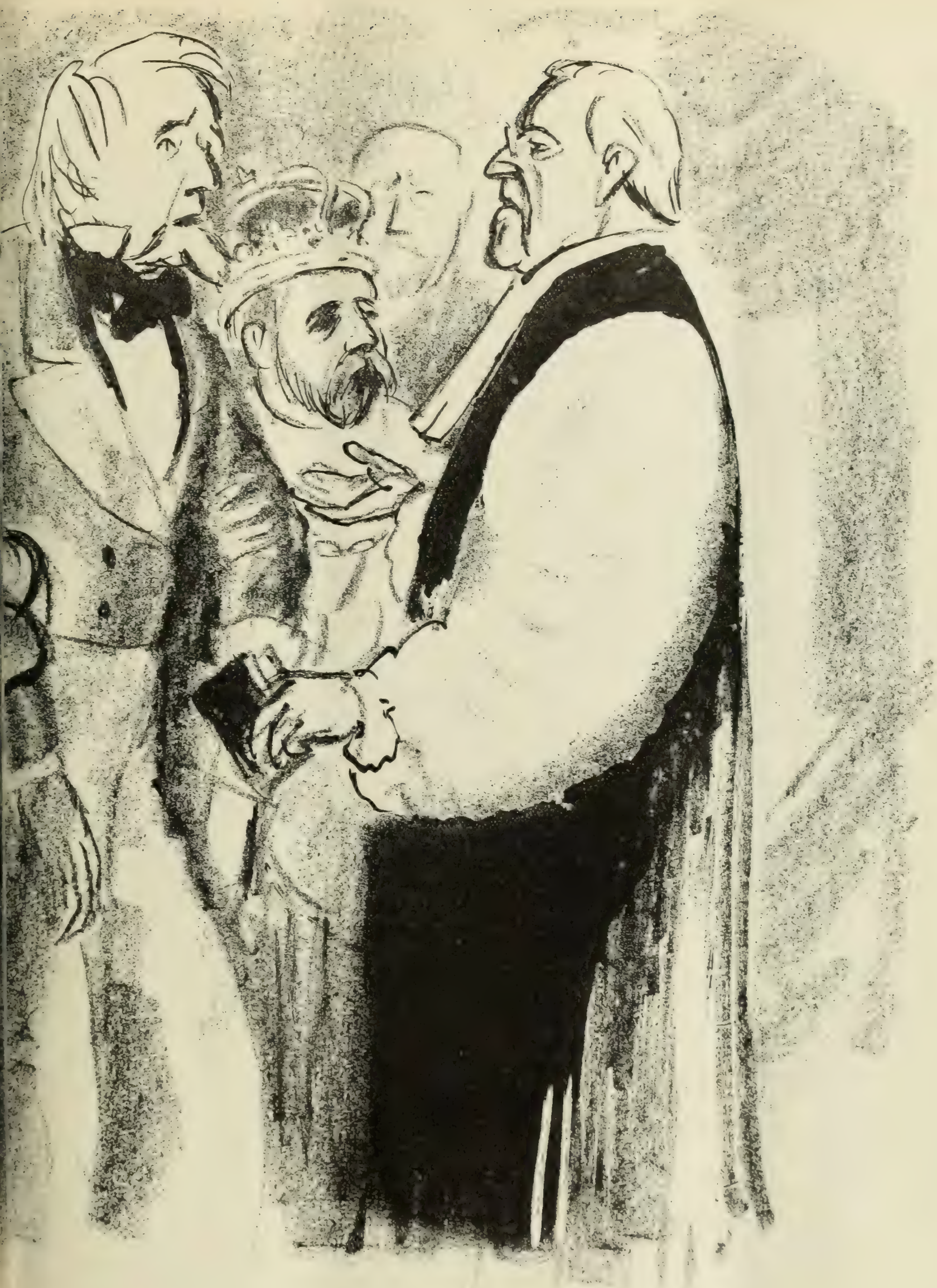
Meanwhile, the White House and the State Department have announced that they will lend all the support possible to the investigation.

Perhaps.



POLITICAL

The Self-Appointed Rector to Uncle Sam: "Wilt thou have this B
them, love, honour, and keep them, in sickness and in health; and, forso



POLYGAMY

My Ordinance? Wilt thou obey those who comprise it, and serve
their own people, keep thee only unto them, so long as ye all shall live?"

The Week

WASHINGTON, August 14, 1919.

WAS the League of Nations ever the one and foremost topic in the universe, anguishing the souls of all good Democrats and threatening to break the heart of the world? You never would guess that it had been, from its ignoble course in the past week. The President himself led in the process of demotion. Pursuant to the reports of his political observers, he suddenly shifted the limelight from the Hope of the World to the extremely sordid business of the cost of living. His most faithful followers in the Senate were left blinking and gasping. Of all the political handsprings that Mr. Wilson has turned, none was more unexpected or amazing. It was executed, of course, with that serene imperturbability with which Mr. Wilson always slips out of a tight corner, as though to say: "I know I look as if I were turning a double back somersault, but I am really only kneeling at the feet of Truth."

Those twin yammerers for the League of Nations, the New York *World* and the New York *Times*, were caught so suddenly that they went right on yammering, *sotto voce*. The rest of the country and the Senate showed more sense. The League dropped clear out of the editorial columns and out of Washington talk. If it had been a naughty child spanked and sent to bed it could not have vanished more utterly. Of course, President Wilson made a perfunctory plea for the peace treaty in his cost of living address. But the mischief had been done. Also the absurdity of the argument was too blatant to be ignored. When Representative Campbell of Kansas wanted to know how the League of Nations was going to bring down the price of beefsteak, whatever bubble of persuasion this portion of the President's speech held was effectually pricked.

One of the first reactions to the President's speech and to the whole shift of interest was to revive talk of the Fall resolution, which seeks to declare the existence of a state of peace with Germany at once, and the Knox resolution which would separate the League and the treaty. It seems unlikely now that the Senate will return to these measures, discarded in favor of the more ingenious and hardly less effective device of "reservations." But the opposition to the League has been visibly strengthened by the whole episode. Incidentally, Senator Lodge issued an admirable reply to the suggestion that the Senate had been delaying the ratification of the treaty unduly. It had taken the President seven months to make the treaty, he observed. The Senate, of coordinate authority and responsibility, had had the treaty barely one month. Great Britain alone of the great nations had ratified it. The French Senate had not even taken it up. Chile was the only other country that had ratified it.

Now comes the statement that the President will go on his postponed and more or less forgotten tour, but with the cost of living as his big topic and the League of Nations trailing along in the dust. Whatever his final decision, there

is abundant evidence of what has happened—the whole chain of events ought to make even the New York *Times* awake from its contented snoring in the Wilson congregation. The victory of King Swope, Republican, in the Eighth Kentucky District, is appreciated here at its true worth. This young soldier and red-hot opponent of the League of Nations will receive the biggest kind of Republican ovation when he takes his seat in the House. His presence will be the best evidence of what is now patent and conceded by every impartial Washington observer: that the League of Nations, so far from sweeping the country, has gone back steadily the more the country has reflected and debated. The Senate has won its fight and Mr. Wilson knows that it has won. Perhaps he may feel that his dignity is saved by the swift switch from the heart of the world to the stomach of America; but his hard-headed and thoroughly awakened compatriots are not going to be deceived. Nor are the despondent Democrats of the Senate.

The kaleidoscope of politics in Budapest has dazzled everyone with its swift changes. Bela Kun had scarcely made his safe exit (with most of the Archduke Joseph's wardrobe and a lot of money) than a bloodless coup d'état placed the Archduke in power. Meanwhile the Rumanian armies continued to advance in the face of frantic wireless orders from the Supreme Council at Paris, and King Ferdinand presently entered Budapest. The Rumanians, of course, are not overrunning Hungary for the direct purpose of worrying the advocates of the League of Nations. But they are accomplishing that object none the less. The rights and wrongs of Rumania's behavior are receiving less attention than the bare fact that she is sticking out her tongue at the Supreme Council and playing her cards in the Balkans exactly as she pleases. An instructive and amusing summary of Paris opinion comes to the New York *Times* from Charles A. Selden, who has been one of its most intensely pro-Wilson and pro-League correspondents at the Peace Conference. He says of Rumania's actions:

Is her defiance now and the helplessness of the Peace Conference to control her any criterion of what the League of Nations itself might do through its council, if it was actually functioning, against a member State behaving as Rumania is? It is a disturbing question in conference headquarters in Paris. Optimists, such few as there are at this moment, say that if the League were actually in operation now we could settle this Rumanian hash. But the retort is: What could the Council of the League do that the Supreme Council of the Conference cannot do?

The position of Rumania is unquestionably a strong one. Having been helped over the lean times by the Allies, her new crops now give her ample supplies for months to come. The threat of economic pressure, held out by the pacifists as so deadly a weapon, seems to be about as persuasive as a pop-gun. Do the Allies wish to turn to and drive out their own ally by force? Hardly. There is also the underlying diplomatic fact that France is strongly in favor of giving Rumania, if not everything she wants in the way of territory, at least enough to build her into a great and powerful barrier state cutting off Russia from any possible alliance with the German peoples in the south. Poland, of course, is to supply the northerly half of the barrier. There is hard political

sense back of this view whatever the Fourteen Points and the League of Nations may say. At any rate it is a pretty pickle and a typical piece of Balkan politics. Do the American people wish to mix in any such quarrel, about which they know nothing? Do they want to send American troops to Hungary to fight Rumanian troops?

A prettier object lesson of just the sort of barnyard trouble we should be putting ourselves into if we subscribe to Article X it would have been impossible to set up.

Paris is worried over the Balkans, and explanations are in order touching the failure of the Supreme Council to run the world satisfactorily. Says the *Gaulois* of France's difficult position:

Whence come these lamentable psychological errors, these irreparable political faults, these contradictory institutions, these disastrous hesitations? France is not alone in imposing her will; her opinion sometimes is fought and defeated; she must conform herself to the Wilsonian doctrine—this doctrine is so basically human, so ardently idealistic that soon or late it must result fatally in a universal conflict of peoples.

With twenty or more wars already going merrily on as a result of ardent idealism there is surely a good chance for the universal conflict.

Viscount Uchida has made a statement of policy, which the President calls "frank" and says should remove many misunderstandings. Yet, strangely enough, he says that it might also be misleading unless he supplemented it with something of his own. Wherefor he discloses some of the hitherto carefully concealed dickerings of the Powers at Paris.

The net purport of these Uchida-Wilson pronouncements is substantially this: Japan promises to restore to China part of the sovereignty of Shantung. But she does not say when she will do so, and she purposes not to restore but perpetually to retain that economic monopoly and control which Germany extorted from China and which is really the most important feature of the case. Japan agrees to this not in "open covenants, openly arrived at," but in a private compact between herself and China and in some hole-and-corner bargain between Japan and the rest of the Big Five in which China was not represented.

Now the damning feature of the case is, that not a hint of this pious purpose of Japan's appears in the treaty of peace. Although the promises of partial restoration of Shantung are said to have been given before the treaty was made, there is no mention of them in it, direct or indirect. On the contrary, that instrument seems to assume that they were not made or that they were abrogated, since it disposes of the whole Shantung business in a very different way, granting possession permanently to Japan and quite ignoring all Chinese rights and interests. Obviously, if that treaty were ratified, it might properly be held to supersede and annul all these preceding promises and agreements which Japan is said to have made.

And now Secretary Lansing contributes the astounding information that the cession of Shantung to Japan was put

into the treaty quite gratuitously and needlessly. Japan would not have insisted upon it, but would have been content to have it omitted! On any less authority than that of the Secretary of State, that statement would seem incredible and proposterous. But since it is made by Mr. Lansing, certain inquiries concerning it pertinently arise.

If Japan did not insist upon it, who did?

Who was responsible for its insertion in the treaty?

If Japan would have been willing to have it omitted from the treaty, what objection can there now be to its excision and elimination from the treaty?

The railway brotherhoods have crawled down somewhat from their high point of intimidation and reckless talk when Mr. Jewell (of the A. F. of L.) remarked genially that if any other plan than the Plumb plan was adopted the railroadmen would tie up the railroads so tight that they would never run again. But the situation is still ominous. These railroad leaders tasted power when they blackjacked the Adamson bill out of President Wilson and they are naturally hungry for more. A threat worked once. Why not again? Perhaps they have learned sense. Perhaps President Wilson has turned over a new leaf. But the country will wait to see. Meantime let us express our appreciation of the denial by the railroad leaders that they intend to force the Plumb plan down the country's throat by violence. Next time, however, a denial should not be necessary.

Investigation into I.W.W. Bolshevism in New York has disclosed some interesting facts. A woman school teacher, in a private school where she was free from restrictions—that is, enjoyed entire "freedom of teaching"—wrote to headquarters for Bolshevik literature against "capitalism" for distribution among her pupils while their minds were still plastic and impressible; and she shrewdly said, "Please do not select things that are so venomous as to antagonize at the outset." Not too venomous, you know; but just venomous enough. After the boys' minds have become habituated to a moderate degree of venom, a higher degree may be applied, until they are taught the beauty of repudiation of debts, the confiscation of property, and the murder of all who disagree with you. It would be interesting to know how numerous these pedagogical purveyors of graded "venom" are in our public and private schools.

We believe that advocates of the League of Nations are nothing less than traitors to their country.

No, it wasn't a "pygmy-minded insect" of the United Senate who said that, nor a Republican filled with partisan and personal hatred of the President. It was a member of the Onondaga County, N. Y., Democratic organization and one of the "original Wilson men" of that important region; John W. Shea, of Syracuse, by name. "And we shouldn't greatly wonder if there's thousands of his mind."

Canada is considering a bill disfranchising slackers for a period of fifteen years, also prohibiting them from holding any public office. We should do likewise. The man who will not fight for his country does not deserve to have one.

The European Mess

THE Senate learns something new about European politics and diplomacy almost every day. It is not news to Europe. It is the sort of thing that Europe was born and bred in. Only expert diplomats of the European foreign offices may know the exact political doings at any given moment at any particular spot. But the essential stuff, the racial hostilities, the national myths and traditions by which peoples wax great and make friends and lose them and live and marry and die, all this is the instinctive inheritance of every European.

The best illustration, the best parallel, for an American is the Monroe Doctrine. It has always been an absurd mystery to the average European, who has viewed it as a mixture of cheap Yankee bluff to be scorned and a colossal boldness to be admired. To an American it is as simple as the fact that parallel lines cannot meet. No two Americans will define it as meaning the same thing. But that is simply because the conception is too large to be contained within legal rules. Frankly, we do not wish to limit it by rules.

So far as it has been stated in diplomatic terms, it embodies nothing less than our inborn, bottommost faith in America as a new and separate continent deserving a separate destiny from the older worlds and resolved to have it. Americans can disagree about particular problems involving the principle; they agree intensely in the fundamental faith. So it is with the racial and political faith of Europe.

The latest news in the Senate relates to a job lot of small racial and national problems in the Balkans and the Near East. They are exactly the sort of problem into which Mr. Wilson would have America perpetually mixing via the League of Nations. And, strangely enough, each involves warfare and, to be properly handled, troops. Whose troops? Why, a joined force, with the United States furnishing its proportionate share, naturally a large one, since we are a large nation.

"Great Britain wants the United States to send 80,000 troops to the Caucasus to keep order." So Senator McCormick read to the Senate from a European cable. To keep whom in order? Goodness knows. The Caucasus means

about as much to most Americans as the South Pole. Yet we are supposed to police it—we would, indeed, be morally or legally bound to police it if we signed the Peace Treaty on the dotted line as Mr. Wilson insists we must.

But that was only the beginning. Senator Brandegee read a newspaper article explaining why Venizelos had gone wild and jumped the sacred League of Nations which he had supported at Paris, to Mr. Wilson's great satisfaction. The Supreme Council at Paris has given Thrace to Bulgaria, it seems—an outrage to Grecian sensibilities and a threat to Greece's safety in the future. An American does not have to disagree with the decision as to Thrace to feel outraged and disgusted that his country should be messing in such a distant concern of which he knows nothing by tradition or training.

What is worse, if we sign Article X of the League unamended we shall be guaranteeing Thrace to Bulgaria for all time. We shall be fastening upon our children and their children a military obligation to protect Bulgaria against the loss of Thrace if Greece should attack, binding future generations to defend what may or may not be a blunder and a



—From the Topeka (Kansas) Journal.

IN CASE HE SHOULD GET WILD

crime, but as to which, at any rate, we have no real knowledge or judgment whatsoever.

There were other messes duly noted in the Senate. Italy and Greece are reported to be carving up the Near East without anybody's leave. The secret treaty by which Fiume was promised to the Jugo-Slavs was discussed in relation to the still foaming and seething aspirations of Italy. "I think," said Senator Thomas of Colorado, "that the details of the Peace Congress when given to the world will disclose a selfishness and sordidness among the nations that will prove that human nature is practically unchanged since 1815 or any other time in history." Not because we are any holier, but because we are distant and different, with our own peculiar problems to solve and no time or knowledge to mix in other people's distant problems, we should keep out of the European mess. Every day makes that truth plainer.

Mr. Baker's Conversion

IT would be extremely interesting to know what considerations prompted Secretary Baker to send to Congress the greatest military programme ever proposed as a peace establishment by an American Administration—and that, too, just as we are entering the millennium promised under the League of Nations. If adopted by Congress as it now stands, the programme will cost approximately what it cost to run our entire Government ten years ago, more than it cost Germany to support her forces in any one year preceding 1914, and more than it cost Great Britain and France combined in any of those years.

Maybe we should not ask any embarrassing questions, but merely thank God and take heart because an Administration that we must abide for another eighteen months has at last come to its senses to the extent of realizing the necessity for preparedness of some sort.

This we should cheerfully do if we were not mindful of the recent exhibition made by Sir Josephus, when he demanded the greatest navy in the world and then promptly withdrew the demand. Possibly Mr. Baker has some such subtle scheme in mind. Possibly he wants to horrify the country by exhibiting the cost of a real army, in the hope that the tax-payers will be glad to revert to the condition of unpreparedness which he preached so glibly three years ago.

Not being in his confidence just at the moment, it is impossible for us to answer queries of this sort, and so we shall take him at his word and assume that he really sent this bill to the Capitol in good faith.

In a nutshell, Mr. Baker proposes to spend \$798,000,000 annually on an army slightly in excess of 500,000 regulars—who will represent the skeleton of a force twice that size—and \$94,000,000 in giving 650,000 nineteen-year-old youths three months' intensive training annually.

The fundamental difficulties with the plan are that it proposes a greater regular establishment than we are likely to need and a more expensive one than we are likely to stand for; while it presents a scheme of universal military training which is a fake—because, as every military man knows, three

months' training is not worth while. So far as the proposed regular establishment is concerned, it probably represents something akin to an ideal scheme from an abstract military standpoint alone—the sort of thing that any professor of military science could evolve. From an economic and political standpoint, it represents something of a monstrosity. In other words, if the gentlemen who prepared the bill expect it to be adopted by Congress, they have less sense than we suspected. But we know they anticipate nothing of the kind.

Even the estimated cost will not support the scheme. Take, for example, the proposal to use many of the cantonments built for the present war to house the youths who are expected to be trained under the compulsory system. This is sheer nonsense. Those miserable shacks are tumbling down already, and the upkeep would be enormously expensive. It is also proposed to use much of the material which we purchased during the last two years. In the matter of trucks and motors alone, millions must be added to these estimates, because the War Department has deliberately allowed some 20,000 of these vehicles to go to pieces since the armistice was signed. Thousands of them have been standing without shelter for several months. This is the case with all classes of material.

No provision whatever is made for training reserve officers to lead the youths who are to receive intensive training. General March told the committee the other day that we had a tremendous reservoir of reserve officers who saw service in France, and who for the next five years would, for the most part, be subject to call. If this were true and satisfying, of course the same argument would hold for the same proportion of the 4,000,000 who saw service in the ranks, and, *ipso facto*, there would be no need for compulsory training at all. But of course it is not true in either case.

For the present, there is no occasion to worry about the permanent programme. Chairman Wadsworth of the Senate Committee has wisely decided to await the return of General Pershing and the other officers who really know about military matters before reporting a bill of any sort.

There is no doubt that the bill, as eventually reported to the Senate, will advocate an honest system of military training and a regular establishment much smaller than that now proposed.

Bright as a new minted coin of the Republic is HARVEY'S WEEKLY, that is rendering such potent service in the maintenance of the present governmental formation of the United States of America!

Colonel George Harvey is admittedly the foremost editorialist in the Western Hemisphere. Hitherto he has impressively appealed to a cultured class, as editor of *The North American Review*—an audience of the higher intellectually developed Americans, among whom his labors have created an indelibly patriotic impress. All honor to him.

In HARVEY'S WEEKLY are to be found timely facts of national interest, narrated in simple words of truth, in a Dr. Murray form of expression, that could be appreciated by mass or class. Every American elector, in our opinion, should read HARVEY'S WEEKLY, which is to be found upon newsstands or to be had by addressing 171 Madison Avenue, New York.

We confess we are incompetent to praise the patriotic subject matter that distinguishes the columns of HARVEY'S WEEKLY, in which patriotism flashes from each word and there is a knock-out punch in every line. We repeat: Read HARVEY'S WEEKLY and invite your neighbor to do likewise.—*Philadelphia Young Republican*.

Wanted: A Leader

MR. MONDELL is the best intentioned and least qualified Floor Leader that a majority party has had in the House within our recollection. During the last Congress we reached the conclusion that Mr. Claude Kitchin was about the poorest leader we had ever known, but at least he had certain shrewd qualities which always resulted in holding some of his followers in line, although he alienated the more respectable elements of his party. But shrewdness is precisely the quality Mr. Mondell lacks.

During his long service in Congress, his interests have always been local, and therefore he never developed the vision of a statesman. As a strategist he is an amateur. He can start more trouble in his own organization in less time than anyone else that we have been able to think of. He has the unhappy faculty of failing to take counsel with members, and, as a result, he frequently and unwittingly acts in a manner diametrically opposed to the best judgment of his lieutenants. Of course he is the accident of a seniority system as absurd as it is archaic. Brought up in the Cannon school, he has sought to practice the old methods without the ability of his preceptor or the support of an organization such as existed before 1910. He has surrounded himself with the remnants of the old organization, to the extreme irritation of the younger men, with the result that disaffection is much more general than even he realizes.

It is all very unfortunate. We had hoped for better things; but daily instances of disorganization and disintegration force us to the conclusion that unless Mr. Mondell changes his methods completely he will invite disaster.

Recently Mr. Mondell, without warning, attacked Chairman Kahn of the Military Affairs Committee, in an absurd speech, and deliberately assisted the Democrats in defeating his own organization. He pursued similar tactics in attempting to override the President's veto on the Daylight Saving clause of the Agricultural Bill—and so it goes from day to day on the floor.

In the matter of committee interference, his methods are quite as unfathomable. Against the advice of every well-informed man in the House, he allowed a totally unqualified committee to grapple with the conduct of the War. When the committee was suggested originally, we pronounced its members the poorest that could be chosen. Any one who has taken the time and trouble to follow the activities of this committee—and we assume that few have done so—must be convinced of the utter futility of its activities. Although there are many important avenues of investigation, these gentlemen have contented themselves with trifles.

Probably the most startling example of Mr. Mondell's lack of judgment has been in opposing a searching investigation of the Mexican mess. Instead of insisting that this investigation be carried on by a select committee of the higher type, he has tolerated a bi-partisan agreement on the part of the State Department and certain cowardly Republicans, whose sole object is to delay an honest attempt to uncover the truth. Of course the Administration is actuated by a very strong desire to keep the facts from the public, and Mr. Mondell, like other Republicans, has been frightened

by suggestion that the truth will cause intervention, and that the President will convince the country that his political opponents brought about military action.

It is high time that the Republicans put an end to this nonsense. There is no dearth of ability on the majority side. Men like Nicholas Longworth, Frank Green of Vermont, and George Graham of Pennsylvania, could whip the organization together overnight. They should be accorded the opportunity.

Scuttling the Navy

WE have received numerous communications from Navy Officers and others bitterly criticising Secretary Daniels, because by slashing the enlisted personnel without judgment or reason, the service is being injured seriously. Officers and men are being discharged by the thousands. The senseless curtailment is destroying morale. Material is rusting, and the service is deteriorating generally.

The conditions alleged are true. Personnel is being reduced at a reckless rate. Ships which should be kept in commission are being tied up, with inevitable depreciation. Others are undermanned.

Who is really responsible for this scuttling?

Turn to the hearings before the House Committee on Naval Affairs. Captain Leigh, acting Chief of the Bureau of Navigation, accompanied Secretary Daniels to the Capitol and acted as his spokesman before the committee. For hours Captain Leigh explained the condition and needs of the Navy, and pleaded with the committee to authorize a temporary personnel large enough to maintain the service in a high state of efficiency until next December, when a permanent policy might be prepared on the basis of the lessons of the war.

The following colloquy epitomizes the detailed and prolonged arguments made by Captain Leigh:

Capt. LEIGH. The estimate we are submitting is based upon the temporary Navy of 250,000 men. Those figures have been prepared by our bureau so far as personnel is concerned.

The CHAIRMAN. Capt. Leigh, can you tell me how many officers for the line you are estimating for for the next year? We have 2,955.

Capt. LEIGH. We don't want to take any into the permanent Navy at all, sir. We want to hold everything just as it is until we can see where the Navy stands, until conditions settle to normal. We would like to have permission from Congress to go on temporarily with the Navy, do nothing at all, with the permanent Navy of 137,485 men.

We want no legislation to make permanent officers, but we do want authority to have enough men in the Navy and enough officers to clear up the situation. We need right to-day, according to estimates of activities given to us by the Chief of Operations, 273,000 men. We can carry on with 250,000 men, and that number will be reduced as the activities are reduced.

Turn from Captain Leigh's testimony to the law as finally written:

Congress, instead of authorizing a personnel of 250,000, reduced the estimate to 191,000 from October until January, and to 170,000 thereafter. These figures tell the whole story. Secretary Daniels is merely carrying out the unpleasant task and duty assigned to him by Congress. He is not to blame. He has no option in the matter. The responsibility belongs to Congress, which preferred senseless economy to a Navy as efficient for its size as any that ever floated.

Letters From Our Readers

WAS GEORGE III. A HUN?

SIR,—In your last issue, you publish a letter headed "Concerning George III."

Surely you know, and Mr. Lilley—writing "in the interest of historical accuracy"—ought to know, that George III was actually a German King. He was King of Hanover. It is true that the actual title of King was conferred on him subsequent to the American war of independence, by the Congress of Vienna in 1814, but even up to that time, he was a German sovereign, hereditary Prince of the House of Brunswick Lüneburg and Elector of Hanover. It would be hairsplitting to say he was *not* a German King, in every sense of the word, at the time of the revolution.

In the interest of historical accuracy, I would also call in question Mr. Lilley's encomiums of Farmer George, at any rate in so far as they relate to the royal attitude toward the American colonies.

"We are told, and everything proves it true, that he [Geo. III] is the bitterest enemy we have." So wrote a great American of the times.

As a matter of historical fact, Farmer George was the most uncompromising foe of Colonial independence. It was in Parliament that the American colonies had their staunch friends and supporters, and it was there that Burke and Fox battled for their cause. It was there that George Onslow, in a speech defending North and the Royal policies, gave vent to these words: "Why have we failed so miserably in this war against America, *if not from the support and countenance given to Rebellion in this very House?*" It was from this house that Coke of Holkham headed a deputation to Farmer George in favor of recognizing the independence of the colonies, whereby he incurred the royal disfavor, and his elevation to the peerage as Earl of Leicester was for a long time delayed.

Poor old Farmer George, son of "Prince Titi," father of George the Fourth and a lunatic into the bargain! *Life* once had a picture entitled, "Some don't get any"; so let his fame rest with the adulation of his Lowell friend.

Hot Springs, Va.

M. ROSENKRANTZ.

MR. TITTMANN TO THE RESCUE

SIR,—The remarks in Mr. Lilley's letter in your latest issue are apt and timely, but your reply is not convincing.

If the theories of George III were distinctly German, then those of the British Parliament were German. And if it was characteristic of him to turn to "Germany"—you mean Hesse—for troops, what of his demanding of Catherine of Russia a strong contingent of Russian troops, which scheme was blocked by Frederick of Prussia? It was the latter who protested against the British King's act hiring the Hessians, and who issued instructions to his Customs Officers to levy a toll on all such hired soldiers passing through his Kingdom "as upon cattle exported for foreign shambles".

W. Fraser Rae, in an article on George III in *Chambers Encyclopaedia* (London and Edinburgh), writes: "If George III had been a little less of the typical Englishman, he might have been a more admirable sovereign."

But there were others in England, who, according to your view, must have had German methods and theories, for the University of Oxford, in an address to George III, described the Americans as a people who had forfeited their lives and their fortunes to the justice of the state.

Like that of his grand-daughter, Victoria, and that of the present King of England, the German blood of George III was mingled with that of James I, a common ancestor. Nevertheless, George himself never visited any part of Germany.

His methods were more Wilsonian than German. Wilson dominated and cajoled his Congress before the late Congressional elections much as George III his Parliament.

It is time to relegate to the past all war fiction stories lately current.

St. Louis, Mo.

HAROLD H. TITTMANN.

SUPER-EFFICIENCY

SIR,—Your readers will, I am sure, be interested to know of the following instance of super-efficiency on the part of Mr. Burleson's Post Office—an instance which reflects the greatest credit upon you, for its origin can be traced only to the persistent patriotism with which you have publicly presented the present postal perplexities of the plain people.

During the summer I live on the top of a remote hill in the Empire State. Last week I felt lonely, and so took pen in hand and wrote to a Dame—*moult bele dame et avenant*, as the ancient French hath it—at that moment commorant in New Jersey,

knowing full well that she would write me in return those honeyed words which soothe the soul.

The sequel proved that I was not mistaken in my judgment. For that you must take my word; but what you need not take my word for is that the Dame's letter in reply to mine reached me before she mailed it: that is to say, *I received in up-State New York on August 6 a letter bearing a New Jersey post-mark of August 7.*

I enclose the envelope, and I can produce a witness to prove that it was delivered to me through the mail on August 6.

I thank you earnestly for the remarkable effect produced by your arraignment of postal dilatoriness. ALLEYNE IRELAND.

Catskill, N. Y.

"IF ROOSEVELT WERE ALIVE"

SIR,—I wish to express my admiration for HARVEY'S WEEKLY. Your editorials are unsurpassed. I am impatient to see what the next HARVEY's will say.

I was always a great admirer and supporter of Theodore Roosevelt, and I wish to say that I think that his death was the greatest calamity that ever befell this country.

Sir, I was born in the South, but I wish to say right here, that the party that represents the South and the South only, has always stood for the lowest principles imaginable. During Jefferson's time, when the British were impressing our seamen, he said, "If Americans can not go on the high seas without being impressed let them stay at home". Our present President has repeatedly refused to protect Americans on the border, and at one time when they complained of the situation, Secretary Baker told them to move further away from the border. Our Governor at that time (Gov. Colquitt) took matters in his own hands and ordered the National Guard to the border. However, he got no appreciation, but was called a "Dirty Republican". Now, as you say, they are standing for Denationalization. If Roosevelt were alive they would not have a chance for success. I do not know who will take his place unless it is you. Keep it up!

Houston, Texas.

FOXHALL A. PARKER.

STYLISH

SIR,—Permit an occasional reader of your WEEKLY, who would be sorry to see it spoiled, to make a suggestion: Watch your style. The use of such terms as Politicalmaster-General, etc., is not funny, and it is not dignified. It savors too much of the *Menace* style. The *Menace* tells things the people ought to know, as you do in your WEEKLY, but there are many who will not read it, on account of its style. Facts may and should be stated, but clean, clear-cut, forcible English may and should be used for the purpose.

Atlantic City, N. J.

M. N. HENDRICKSON.

[Unlike our correspondent, we don't read *The Menace*; consequently we do not know *what* they call Burleson; nothing very savoury, we imagine. Meanwhile, let our friend recall the striking refrain:

They say that the Dutch, they ain't got no shytle,
They got the shytle, all the vhole, all the vhole!

—EDITOR.]

A SECOND COMING OF BAR GIORA?

SIR,—Your excellent editorial, "Divine Right on Trial," in HARVEY'S WEEKLY for July 12, recalls a situation similar to that of the present by which we were given a new era for reckoning time, and suggests several pertinent questions.

Josephus, the Jewish historian, informs us that Simon Bar Giora, one of the leaders in a rebellion against the Roman league of nations, was king of the Jews during the "Independence of Israel," as designated on the coinage of Simon. This king was especially insistent on his divine right to be potentate of a kingdom of the whole world, and that liberty reposed solely in faith in him to establish such a kingdom.

Like Kaiser Wilhelm, Bar Giora was successful in his campaign for three and a half years, but was then defeated, haled to Rome, tried as a sovereign and ignominiously punished,—in the end, being thrown down from the top of the Capitoline hill and his body cast into the Tiber. Humanity was not then ready for a world empire.

Mark the climax. Four centuries afterward the descendants of his tormentors worshipped him as a god! Knowing the stability of the human temperament, what will be the result of making a martyr of Wilhelm, whose conduct as a monarchal socialist has been a remarkable parallel with that of Bar Giora's in most respects? Will Wilhelm's effort to "conquer the world"

be regarded as the "second coming" of Bar Giora, an Aramaic name which in English is "Son-of-Power" or "Son-of-Man"?

Bar Giora, an idealist, contended that his world-kingdom would make an end of wars—thus deriving the designation of "prince of peace." Shall our modern League of the World and Prince of Peace be more successful with intriguing humanity than that earlier effort by which the Jewish nation was sent to oblivion?

Scranton, Pa.

JOHN I. RIEGEL.

BRAND THE FURNITURE POLISH!

SIR,—I regret to find in your publication of July 26th the following editorial:

The "Drys" in the House of Representatives refuse to permit the alcoholic contents of patent medicines to be printed upon the wrappers of such wares. Hitherto, we believe the law has required such statements to be printed upon the wrappers and labels, just as the presence of opium, chloral or other such drugs must be disclosed. There seems to be something highly suspicious in this change of front on the part of the Prohibitionists. We should think that they would want the alcoholic contents to be thus advertised, in order that the brethren might be warned against imbibing "bitters" that were stronger than wicked cocktails. As it is, the patent-medicine folk will be enabled to put up cocktails, highballs, rickys and all manner of iniquitous beverages under the innocent guise of bitters, compounds and syrups, to the delectation of the unregenerate, and, we sadly fear, to the undoing of many an unsuspecting teetotaler who is innocently seeking relief from stomach-ache or quinsy. Can it be that the canny patent medicine manufacturers are in cahoots with the Anti-Saloon League?

You were evidently misinformed about the facts connected with the Federal Prohibition Code, and its relation to alcoholic patent medicines. Laws already on the Statute Book require the manufacturers of alcoholic patent medicines to place on the label, the statement of the proportion by volume of their alcoholic content. (See Drug Act June 30, 1906.) The Prohibition Code made no reference to this because it was not necessary to do so, as it was already a requirement of law.

The statement that the patent medicine folk will be enabled to put up cocktails under the guise of bitters is clearly erroneous. Treasury Decisions Nos. 2788 and 2544 require the manufacturers of these proprietary medicines to be made in conformity with the United States Pharmacopeia or National Formulary, with additional restrictions, which make them unfit for beverage use.

In addition the Federal Prohibition Code prohibits all alcoholic beverages which contain more than one-half of one per cent of alcohol by volume, whether they are patent medicines or ordinary beer. In addition, the manufacturers of these non-beverage preparations must obtain a permit from the Commissioner of Internal Revenue, and if he has good reason to believe that it is being used for beverage purposes, he can revoke the permit. A special proceeding is outlined in the bill for this purpose.

The provision to which you doubtless refer was the one which requires toilet and antiseptic preparations to be labeled so as to show their alcoholic content. This provision was stricken out in the House for the reason that the manufacture of these preparations are [sic] controlled by the Commissioner of Internal Revenue, and if they are fit for beverage use they will be prohibited.

It was brought to the attention of the Committee that the labelling of the packages in retail stores was an advertisement to alcoholic degenerates, and they would buy the toilet preparations with the largest amount of alcohol in it [sic]. Inasmuch as the manufacture of alcoholic preparations is now under the control of the Government, it was thought by the Committee and the House that no good purpose could be served in advertising the alcoholic content, when the Government had the power to prohibit the manufacture and sale of the preparation entirely if it could be used for beverage purposes.

I trust you will be willing to give the same publicity to the facts concerning this matter as you have given to the article published in your columns.

W. B. WHEELER,

Attorney and General Counsel, Anti-Saloon League of America.

Washington, D. C.

[We stand illuminated. But you cannot always tell what will be "used for beverage purposes." Certain desperate citizens are reputed to be in the habit of developing intensified vivacity on cologne water, and we once knew of an accomplished gentleman whose favorite tippie was a compound of Jamaica ginger and benzine. Better make the insidious toilet water and seductive furniture polish 'fess up as to their alcoholic contents. Then nobody can plead that he drank in innocent ignorance.—EDITOR.]

WHAT MIGHT HAVE BEEN

SIR,—On most subjects I am quite in accord with Col. Harvey, and whether he will be successful in accomplishing all he has undertaken or not, I feel that the American people are greatly indebted to him, for, had it not been for him, and a surprisingly few others, the situation would surely be much worse for America and Americanism than it is.

President Wilson pleads for the Franco-American Treaty on the ground that we owe much to France. Much of our debt to France is long-standing, but a great part of it accumulated during the first three years of the European War at the time when our President was, according to his own statement, not interested in the cause of the war and apparently was not overly concerned in the outcome of it. One is compelled to ask, why was this great debt to France not considered in time to save her from being devastated, and in time to save many peoples from being all but exterminated and in time to save us much expenditure of blood and treasure? Immediately upon the outbreak of war, had we prepared for war and had we entered it before Russia collapsed, it could in all probability have been won by a comparatively few volunteers from the United States, the expenditure by us of perhaps ten billion dollars and liberal loans to the Allies, and had this been done the world would not now be wrestling with Bolshevism; and the high cost of living would not have reached such an acute stage.

T. W. PHILLIPS, JR.

Butler, Pa.

IMPERIAL DOMINATION

SIR,—On page 231, Vol. II, of Bourrienne's Private Memoirs of Napoleon Bonaparte, edition 1831, of Carey & Lea, occurs the following:

The Emperor, who was skillful above all men in speculating on the favorable disposition of opinion, availed himself at this conjuncture of the enthusiasm produced by his interview on the Niemen [Napoleon's interview at Tilsit with the Czar Alexander is referred to when N. believed he had formed an unending friendship.] He, therefore, discarded from the fundamental institutions of the government that which still retained the shadow of a popular character. But it was necessary that he should possess a senate merely to vote men; a mute legislative body, to vote money; that there should be no opposition in the one, and no criticism in the other, no control over him or any description; the power of arbitrarily doing whatever he pleased; an enslaved press: this was what Napoleon wished, and this he obtained.

Perhaps others will fail to see the resemblance that appears to me when I view what we have endured for some time past from a civilian ruler, one who has in his veins none of the martial spirit of a military despot. A civilian, following the cold-blooded methods of an educated egoist, had accomplished with the last Congress all that Napoleon attained in power. We now have some hope that the present Congress will free us from this imperial domination.

W. H. SEAMON.

Globe, Arizona.

WHERE INDEED?

SIR,—The article in a recent issue of your WEEKLY concerning conditions at St. Elizabeth's, where returned soldiers suffering from gas, shell shock, etc., are confined and apparently forgotten must have stirred thousands of hearts and fired thousands of brains as it has mine. Can nothing be done to set right this hideous wrong? Where are the decent people of Washington? Where are the able-bodied returned soldiers themselves? We all know where Mr. Wilson is—but where is Mrs. Wilson? Are the smartly uniformed ladies who strutted the streets of Washington in war times, where are they? And the Y. M. C. A.—and the Y. W. C. A.—and where in God's name is Mr. Baker, whose duty it is to attend to all army matters? Where, I say, is Mr. Baker?

Wilton, N. H.

J. SCHAYER.

HARD TO BELIEVE

SIR,—In a recent issue of the WEEKLY you write of the shocking treatment of the soldiers and sailors who have been sent to St. Elizabeth's Hospital. It is hard to believe that such things can be, but as you vouch for these facts, they must be so; and, therefore, being the case, I am writing to ask what steps a plain citizen can take to help to have this outrage set right.

Marblehead, Mass.

BROOKS BROWNE.

PRECIOUS COMMODITIES

SIR,—Referring to the "suggestion" of H. M. Kingrey that you reduce the price of the WEEKLY, I will offer another—don't do it. While it certainly "deserves a wider circulation," it also deserves a fair price for it. Such effort and skill in dissecting chicane and buncombe are precious commodities—neither eleemosynary nor cheap.

S. A. F.

Boston, Mass.

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The President and the Senate

SENATOR LODGE is the spryest leader we ever knew. We thought he likely would act upon our suggestion to fetch the Senate and the Executive together but we had no idea that he would do so before he got it. Telepathy over which Burleson has no control is probably responsible.

We still feel that it would have been better for the President to have attended an open session of the Senate. While the Committee on Foreign Relations comprises perhaps the best minds of that body, seventeen after all is only a fraction of ninety-six and the remaining seventy-nine are no less deeply concerned. There was no little nonsense, too, in the "understandings" with respect to the proprieties of the occasion. It goes without saying that a President ought not to be badgered like a criminal in the dock, but it is silly to insist that he "must not be subjected to cross-examination." He is not a king hedged by divinity. He is no more nor less than a duly elected servant of a democracy directly responsible to those whom Benjamin Franklin aptly designated as his masters. As such, he is as properly subject to pertinent queries concerning public affairs as the Premiers of Great Britain, France and Italy or the manager of a corporation.

Naturally Mr. Tumulty was shocked by the "unprecedented condition of the conference" with respect to publicity "set by Senator

Lodge," but he recovered quickly. He had to. God helping him, as the President said about going to war, he could do no other. And the President himself accepted the inevitable with admirable grace, arranging tables for stenographers, etc., etc.,—all of which of course was vastly to the good and seemed to presage a useful clearing of the atmosphere.

But the net outcome of the conference of the President and the Committee on Foreign Relations of the Senate was nothing.

While Mr. Wilson did not declare in so many words that he would not ratify the Treaty if the Senate should incorporate amendments or effective reservations clearly safeguarding the interests of the United States, he emphatically reiterated the insistence which he has maintained all along that any change whatsoever would be unacceptable. He perceived "no reasonable objection" to "interpretations of the sense in which the United States accepts the engagements of the Covenant" being "embodied in" or "accompanying" the instrument of ratification, "*provided*," however, "they do not form a part of the formal ratification itself." That is to say, he would not object to the addition of a few mere opinions or academic observations which neither the League nor any of the other Powers would be under the slightest obligation to recognize as in any sense a condition of the United States joining the combination

or as in any way binding upon themselves. In the event of dispute or doubt, "the League" would still "be there to settle it."

America would have expressed her views but simultaneously would have waived her sovereign rights and surrendered her independence.

That is the long and short of it and there is no escape from the conclusion. And Mr. Wilson is not only willing but demands that his country make this enormous sacrifice of its very birthright,—why? Because copper mines in Alaska and Arizona are, for the first time, presumably, being "operated on borrowed money;" because zinc mines in Missouri (represented in the Senate by James A. Reed) are being run "at one-half their capacity;" because the lead of Illinois (represented in the Senate by Messrs. Sherman and McCormick) reaches "only a part of its former market;" because "there is need for cotton belting and *lubricating oil*"; and because "the Central Empires" "formerly purchased four million bales of raw cotton,"—which incidentally there is nothing in the world to prevent their getting now if they have the price. Those are the "business" reasons, which must not be confounded with the more freely advertised idealistic reasons, for unqualified submerging of the Republic.

Then we are up a tree about our army; we cannot know how big a one we need and must decide this minute. Horrors!

And what is Mr. Baker going to do with his vast stores of food and clothing? How *can* he decide as things are now? and how unhappy he is becoming! Dear, dear!

Europe, moreover, wants us to hurry up,—especially England. And Germany! Take heed, Senators! Germany may get mad. Listen to this:

"The assent of the German Assembly at Weimar would have to be obtained, among the rest, and I must frankly say that I could only with the greatest reluctance approach that assembly for permission to read the treaty as we understand it and as those who framed it quite certainly understood it."

Not that we have the faintest notion of what it means. We haven't. It plainly hints at a natural "reluctance" to confess deliberate deceit. Anyhow it sounds most ominous. So sign, gentlemen, sign on the dotted line.

That is the beginning and the ending of the President's carefully reasoned plea for the sacrifice of the liberties of the American people. His subsequent "explications" and fine distinctions between legal and moral obligations given in response to queries served at any rate to clear the atmosphere and point the way for prompt action by the Senate.

Frankly, that is all we looked for. Whatever prospect ever existed of reaching an agreement has faded noticeably since the meeting was arranged. The mere possibility of coming to grips aroused both sides to the seeming necessity of tightening their lines. At no previous stage have their respective determinations been less reconcilable. Here, for example, is the *Times*, frightened at last out of its smug complacency and speaking as one inspired, declaring that "any talk of alteration or amendment of the text is madness" and sternly insisting that any changes calling for "specific assent by other parties" simply "must not be made."

"It would be an intolerable humiliation," it continues angrily, "that we should be forced to go as suppliants to Weimar, to humble ourselves before the enemy we have conquered, to persuade, argue, entreat when we have already exercised the battle-won right to dictate. The Germans would be fools if they did not take advantage of our blunder and false position to insist upon substantial alteration of the terms imposed upon them. But this is secondary. The all-sufficient, compelling reason is that the American people do not want to see the President or his envoy sitting in the anteroom of the German Minister of Foreign Affairs awaiting an opportunity to present his humble prayer for Germany's acceptance of the Senate's revised copy of the Treaty of Peace."

This is arrant humbug, of course. Whatever "battle-won right to dictate" we possessed at the unhappy moment, let us say, when the *Times* made the mistake of its life by advocating a negotiated peace, we still possess. Germany is in no position to decline whatever we may see fit to offer. Nor is there the slightest reason to believe that she would not acquiesce gladly in this country's resolution to maintain its sovereign independence or that she would not welcome the return of Shantung to China rather than to Japan.

But suppose she couldn't! What of it? The United States is not going to permit the Huns to determine her national policies. Not only is the idea itself preposterous, but the mere suggestion ill becomes a patriotic American journal. True it is beyond question that "the American people do not want to see the President or his envoy"—meaning, we suppose, Colonel House—"sitting in the anteroom of the German Minister of Foreign Affairs;" and yet the spectacle would not be so unusual in view of the seven months recently spent in the other capitals of Europe. The intimation that such a visit is held in contemplation is interesting, of course, but hardly startling and anything but alarming. The "humiliation," moreover, may

we not remark in passing, would be far less "intolerable" to the American people than the sacrifice of their independence. But according to the latest reports, the President has no intention of going abroad himself to meet this vividly imagined contingency.

"If that becomes necessary," the President said, according to Senator Hitchcock, "I will send Senator Lodge and Senator Knox to Berlin to conduct the negotiations."

So the *Herald* reported on Saturday, but on the following day came a semi-official announcement that this was only Mr. Wilson's little joke. It was not, of course. It was a contemptuous sneer, quite on a par with previous references to duly loathed pygmy minds, either deliberately or impatiently designed by the President to belittle the two Senators mentioned by comparison with himself. That the subsequent attempt to pass it off lightly was due to apprehension that it might not have the effect intended, is a natural surmise. If so, the effort was well to make because, strange to say, many persons can see nothing incongruous in Mr. Lodge and Mr. Knox acting as Peace Commissioners on behalf of their country as natural and worthy successors from their respective commonwealths of John Adams and Benjamin Franklin. Indeed, there are those who honestly believe that either is quite as well qualified for such work as the President himself.

In point of experience at any rate both possess undoubted advantages. When Mr. Wilson entered public life as ex-Senator Smith's candidate for Governor of New Jersey in 1910 Mr. Lodge had served four terms in the House of Representatives and seventeen years in the Senate, and Mr. Knox had not only represented his State in the Senate but had been Attorney General under two Presidents and was then holding the position of Secretary of State by appointment of a third. As an author and a student of American history and policies, Mr. Lodge would probably be regarded as at least the peer of Mr. Wilson and, as a lawyer, Mr. Knox as hardly his inferior. The two combined, each having given years to consideration of foreign affairs, could not be easily excelled as American representatives in international negotiations unless by Mr. Wilson and Colonel House.

So much at least we imagine would be generally admitted. It is somewhat disheartening, therefore, to find the President assuming an attitude so cynically supercilious as to lend color to Mr. Grasty's intimation in the *Times* that his conciliatory pose is mere pretense. That way, assuredly, frank and effective coöperation of the two branches of the treaty-making powers does not lie.

Even more disquieting to citizens who would like to see a becoming relationship re-established between the Legislature and the Executive is the obtuseness or wilfulness or whatever it is that closes the minds of the President and his fellow Covenanters to patent facts. True, the *Times* has awakened sufficiently at last to say that an *i must* not instead of *will* not be dotted, but the change signifies little beyond dread apprehension in certain circles. Determination to jam the covenant of betrayal down the throats of the American people is seemingly unrelaxed. The *Times* pronouncement is undoubtedly authoritative.

We regard it as equally certain that the Boston *Transcript* speaks for an effective and implacable opposition when it says that the Treaty "cannot be unconditionally ratified unless it is radically amended, and cannot be ratified at all unless the conditions to the Senate's advice and consent are complied with by the other signatories as a condition precedent to the exchange of ratifications."

This is the position openly taken by Senator Lodge and, despite varying views of individuals respecting forms and phrasing, there is no doubt that it is the unchangeable position of a majority of the Senators and of the Republican national organization as well. "Conciliation" has failed. Compromise is impossible.

One of three things is bound to happen: (1) The President will accept effective reservations precisely as drawn by the Committee with the proviso that they must be also specifically accepted by the other leading Powers; or (2) The League Covenant will be divorced from the agreement and the Treaty, amended as to Shantung, will be ratified; or (3) The entire Treaty will be rejected.

The best solution is Number 2 and we earnestly hope that Senator Knox will force a vote upon his proposal. But ultimately, it is as certain as fate, the President will have to decide whether he will take his medicine or seek a third term upon the un-American issue which he himself has raised. The sooner the better. So let the Senate press forward vigorously. The country wants to know where it is at.

"It is also further resolved that the validity of this ratification depends on the affirmative act of the principal Allied Powers named in the treaty of peace with Germany, approving these reservations and certifying them to the United States within sixty days after the deposit of the resolution of ratification by the United States."

This plain resolution drawn by Senator Knox for submission at the proper moment is the crux of the whole situation. If it be beaten, the Treaty will not be ratified. That is all there is of it.

Stick to the Point

HERE must be no red herrings—no, nor royal salmon—dragged across the trail of duty. Both Congressional and popular attention has indeed been largely diverted from the Covenant and the Treaty to the pressing issues of domestic economy, and it is well that it should be so. The national interests which the President so shamefully neglected, and which because of his neglect have been brought to so grave a crisis, are more urgent than the international phantasies in the pursuit of which he sacrificed them. Without in the least condoning his neglect of duty, or over-looking the fact that while now asking for more power he has failed to use the power with which he has all along been invested, a patriotic public spirit manifestly requires Congress to do what it can to get the country out of the miserable mess in which the President has involved it.

But there must be no relaxation of duty toward the great issues which were before the Senate before it was compelled to take up the high cost of living, the question of railroad control and other domestic matters. It has been intimated that the President expects consideration of these latter topics to abate opposition to the Covenant and to facilitate its ratification unchanged. If so, his expectation will be vain. Patriotic Americans, not possessed of—or by—single-track minds, will perform the one duty and will not leave the other undone. There can be no doubt of the importance of domestic reforms. There can be no doubt of the still greater importance of protecting the integrity of our national sovereignty.

If the Covenant were to be adopted as it stands, with its insidious and lethal attack upon American nationality, it would not greatly matter what living cost or how railroads were managed. With the cessation of our national independence there would be nothing left worth cherishing. The greater comprehends the less, and in the loss of the greater we should also lose the less. With the integrity of the nation safeguarded, we can face with confidence and serenity any domestic difficulties which may arise. And this is the more to be borne in mind because of the utterly unworthy attempt of the President to use our domestic economic problems as grist for his international Covenant mill. That is an old trick of his. Years ago he told Congress that if it did not repeal the Canal tolls law he would not know how to deal with other important—but unspecified—problems. Later, he told Senators that if they did not vote for woman suffrage, he would be greatly embarrassed in his prosecution of the war. And now he tells Congress in effect that if it does not ratify the Covenant of the League of Nations, he does not see how the cost of living can be reduced or disastrous strikes of Government employees be prevented. An old trick; but it will not work.

The duty of the day is plain. In domestic affairs it is to get the nation, as we have said, out of the scrape in which the President has involved it. That is to be done, we believe, by a return to sane principles and normal conditions; and not by indulgence in any further fantastic nostrums which Mr. Wilson may concoct. It would be folly to invest him with additional autocratic powers, seeing how he has

partly ill-used and partly non-used those which a subservient Congress two years or more ago bestowed upon him. He has been weighed in the balance and found wanting. It is now time for Congress to withdraw all that remain of his extraordinary war powers, and to substitute its own enactments, with which he will have nothing to do but to execute them as Congress prescribes.

In foreign affairs, *pari passu* with domestic, the duty is to amend into rational and constitutional shape the special treaty with France, and then to ratify it without a single dissenting vote. That should be done at once, so that the exchange of ratifications may be made before Lafayette Day, and the promulgation of the treaty may form the salient feature of our national celebration of that day.

Then, after that, must be taken up the other great duty, the greatest of all, and no less great because thus postponed. That is to ratify the Treaty of Peace so as to readjust on a normal basis our international relations, but to do so in a way which will leave us and keep us a nation, with all our rights and powers of national sovereignty unimpaired. That is easily to be done, through ratification with amendments—or reservations; it matters little what they are called. But they must be comprehensive, unequivocal, and resolute; and they must not be adopted subsequently as a sort of vermiciform appendix to the treaty, but must be made an integral and inseparable part of it.

The President defiantly boasted that he would so interweave the Covenant with the Treaty that they could not be separated. The Senate will show itself able to interweave its reservations with the act of ratification so that the President will not be able to separate them. And to do that is the supreme duty, with which nothing else must be permitted to interfere.

Lodge and Knox to Berlin to negotiate a new treaty in case his own treaty is amended?

How much better for America and the world if the thought of employing these real Americans in the business of treaty-making had occurred to Mr. Wilson about eight months ago!—*The Sun*.

Precisely.

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A Statesman's Stirring Speech

MEASURED by the outburst of applause which broke loose from Senate floor and galleries at the conclusion of Senator Lodge's masterly address in opposition to the League of Nations Covenant, "stirring" seems rather a tame word to apply to oratory so potent in moving men's emotions.

That speech easily passes into history as one of the memorable forensic events of the upper house of Congress. In one respect it is outstanding—quite alone, in a class by itself. It established an historical landmark. It made a record, a record of which perhaps the Senate may not be perennially proud, but a record none the less. For never before in the history of the Senate has a speech precipitated such an unrestrained demonstration of approval as greeted Senator Lodge when he took his seat at the close of his address; never before (and, let us hope, never again) was or will there be a Senate audience so moved beyond all restraints of decorum as to hiss and howl down Senators who rose to speak in reply. The Vice President, to be sure, quickly suppressed the disgraceful outburst which greeted Senator Williams when he attempted to make himself heard. But, none the less, both the Senator from Mississippi and the Senator from Nebraska, Mr. Hitchcock, were actually hooted when they rose to take their legitimate part in the deliberations of the Senate of the United States.

A disgraceful episode, but one for which nobody in particular, least of all Senator Lodge, may be held responsible. To be sure, Senator Lodge's address had roused his auditors as a Senate audience has rarely been roused before by Senatorial oratory. But this, we take it—with no disparagement of Senator Lodge's eloquence—was not solely due to the words actually spoken, virile and ringing as those words were. The audience which heard the Senator was an audience typical of the swiftly accelerating tide of sentiment adverse to entangling alliances, subversive of our national independence, which undeniably is sweeping over the country in more and more formidable volume as the actual meaning of our adherence to Mr. Wilson's Versailles visions is spread before the American people.

Senator Lodge voiced this sentiment as it rarely has been voiced before since the discussion began. The response was instantaneous, and precisely what might have been expected. The Senate audience was fairly swept off its feet. It lost, for the moment, all sense of the occasion and the proprieties. It whooped and roared its approval. It hooted and howled down all opposition. In a measure, it was the answer of the American people to the President's cock-sure assertion that they were solidly behind him. It was the first warning mutter of that impending storm with the strength of which Mr. Wilson is likely to become much better acquainted in the course of any missionary travels he may make.

The distinctive features of Senator Lodge's address were, first, the temperate, dispassionate exhibition of arguments projected against a supporting historical background, bristling with deadly parallels; and, second, an inspiring virility of true Americanism which permeated the entire address and rang out in an appeal of especially

potent and persuasive eloquence in the closing sentences.

In unfolding the historical perspective which Mr. Lodge deemed essential to the development of the backbone of his argument, he was admirably adroit. Without wearying his audience with dry historical data, Mr. Lodge traced, in a swiftly flowing narrative, the progress of an international peace covenant from its eminently respectable parentage to development into one of the most selfish mechanisms of organized international despotism which has ever cursed the world—that wretched and altogether unholy Holy Alliance.

But it was in the stirring earnestness of his Americanism that the Senator struck home to the heart of his audience's emotions. Indeed, it would be hard to find in all the range of American oratory words more calculated to arouse all that is best in American patriotism than are to be found in Senator Lodge's closing sentences. Demanding our full and free liberty of action in all international matters, Senator Lodge, for example, said:

I believe we do not require to be told by foreign nations when we shall do work which freedom and civilization require.

I think we can move to victory much better under our own command than under the command of others.

Let us try to develop international law. Let us unite with the world to promote peaceable settlement of all international disputes. Let us associate ourselves with other nations for these purposes. But let us retain in our own hands and in our own control the lives of the youth of the land. Let no American be sent into battle except by the constituted authorities of his own country and by the will of the American people.

I will go as far as anyone in world-service, but the first step to world-service is maintenance of the United States.—I must think first of the United States, and when I think of the United States first in an arrangement like this, I am thinking of what is best for the world, for if the United States fails, the best hopes of mankind fail with it.

Leave her to march freely through the centuries to come as in the years that have gone. Strong, generous and confident, she has nobly served mankind. Beware how you trifle with her marvelous inheritance, this great land of ordered liberty, for if we stumble and fall, freedom and civilization everywhere will go down to ruin.

Making allowance for the fact that these words are the emanation of a pygmy mind, uttered by a pygmy to pygmies, they seem not wholly insignificant. And what a general round-up of pygmies there must have been in the Senate chamber on that occasion, judging from the overwhelming burst of applause with which the worthy successor of Daniel Webster from Massachusetts was greeted!

Stand Together for America

THE fight for America is practically won. It is so nearly won that nothing could thwart the result save folly so crass as to be quite unbelievable. Such folly would be a division of forces over non-essential details. That efforts are being made, insidiously and persistently, to that end, is perfectly well known. But they will not succeed. The friends of American independence and nationality are not to be seduced, nor to be caught napping.

There are differences of opinion among them as to ways and means, for which we are glad. The fact vindicates their integrity of purpose, their independence of thought, their freedom from any dictatorial influence. There are no differences among them as to the end. On that they are all absolutely agreed, thank God! That end is the preservation of America as an independent, sovereign nation, free

from alien dictation or entanglements, and with its great historic principles maintained unimpaired.

It does not matter whether that end is attained by means of "amendments" or "reservations." What does matter is that the action of the Senate, whichever form it may take, shall be unequivocal, effective, comprehensive; and that it shall be recognized and respected by the other signatories of the Treaty of Peace.

We have no fear of dissent by those other Powers, when the amended treaty is sent back to Versailles for their acceptance. They are a good deal more eager than we to have the treaty ratified and made effective. Nor can we concede for a moment that there would be anything ungracious or selfish in our thus sending it back to them. They must understand that the treaty was made without the knowledge or consent of the American people. It was negotiated ostensibly for America by a delegate to whom the American people had just very emphatically refused a vote of confidence, and who conducted his negotiations without taking the American people or their representatives into his confidence. In such circumstances they will not be offended nor even surprised if the American people insist upon being consulted, and upon having due regard paid to their wishes and their welfare.

But even if the unthinkable should happen, and the Powers should refuse to accept the treaty as modified by America, we should not mourn as those without hope. It would be better for the treaty thus to fail than for America to enter against her will into a compact detrimental if not fatal to her own national interests. Such a result would be regrettable, but the blame for it would not rest upon those who had amended the treaty. It would rest upon those who sought to force this nation to do something which it did not want to do. If America is to be an equal partner in this treaty, she must have an equal right with all other Powers to say what the treaty shall be. She is not seeking to dragoon other nations into arrangements repugnant to them. Neither will she permit other nations, even when aided by unfaithful Americans, to coerce her into offensive and inimical arrangements.

Senators who take this sane and patriotic view will not suffer their purpose to be defeated by any division of counsels over mere details. There will be no acting at cross purposes. The aim is single. The end is one. We have full confidence to believe that the splendid loyalty and patriotism which they have thus far exhibited will show no lagging nor diminution, but that the victory for America will be made as complete by our Senators at Washington as it was by our soldiers on the fields of France.

The American people have unitedly, loyally, whole-heartedly supported President Wilson throughout the war. Is it to be believed that at the instance of calculating partisan leaders they will now declare for a division of leadership and of counsel at Washington? We are of the opinion that the Republican leaders have misread the minds of the people.

Yes, there is no mistaking that "solemn style;" it is from the editorial page of our neighbor the *Times*—of October 28, 1918, just one week before the country rolled up a Republican majority of 1,250,000; but the *Times*, unconvinced against its will, is "of the" same "opinion" still; so at any rate it says.

Why?

THE nation is indebted to Senator Borah for bringing to notice the other day, during Secretary Lansing's testimony before the Foreign Relations Committee, one of the most fascinating problems in all our contemporaneous diplomacy. The facts as then elicited are these:

In the summer of 1914, soon after the beginning of the war, certain secret treaties of great importance were made between the European Allies, and especially between Great Britain and France, on the one side, and Japan on the other. These were, as we have said, secret treaties. No announcement of them was made to the world, or to the Government of the United States. In the late spring of 1917 Messrs. Balfour and Viviani, the Foreign Ministers of Great Britain and France, visited this country, but made no mention of the treaties, either publicly or privately to the American Secretary of State. In consequence Mr. Lansing, the Secretary of State, remained in complete ignorance of the existence of those treaties until early in February, 1919, when he "heard of them" in Paris.

Now those treaties were of much importance to this country as well as to the signatories. They were such as might and indeed should have had much influence upon our diplomacy. Every consideration of courtesy, propriety and honor imperatively required that our Government should be fully informed of them the moment it entered the war as an associate of the Allies. Yet our Secretary of State was not informed of their existence, and did not know of it until three months after the war was ended. That must be regarded, on its face, as a most extraordinary circumstance.

Meanwhile, however, on March 4, 1918, a member of the British House of Commons, Mr. King, publicly asked the Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Balfour, if copies of all treaties, public or secret, made by Great Britain since the opening of the war, had been submitted to President Wilson. To that Mr. Balfour replied:

"President Wilson is kept fully informed."

Now Mr. Balfour was the author of that memorable phrase about the "concrete, congealed, cubical truth," and is indeed a stickler for both veracity and courtesy. It is impossible to imagine him being so discourteous as to withhold from an ally information to which the latter was entitled, or to be guilty of the least disingenuousness in his reply to Mr. King; and of course Mr. King's question applied to the secret Japanese treaty. We are therefore compelled to conclude that—

Some time prior to March 4, 1918, President Wilson was fully informed of the secret treaties between Great Britain and Japan and between France and Japan.

For some reason of his own, however, he did not impart that information to his own Secretary of State, Mr. Lansing, but left him in ignorance of it for nearly a year thereafter.

That, then, is the problem which Senator Borah has raised. Why did not President Wilson tell Secretary Lansing about those treaties? For what occult and cryptic reason did he, in the name of "open covenants openly arrived at," withhold that supremely important information from his own chief constitutional adviser and the official most in-

terested of all in having it? We are not so much surprised at his refusing to give information to the "pygmy minds" of the Senate, even at the expense of flatly repudiating his own voluntary pledge. But that he should keep diplomatic secrets from his own Secretary of State and colleague on the Peace Commission passes understanding. A former Secretary of State wrote of the "Mystery of Gilgal." The present Secretary is one of the chief personages in a greater mystery. Why did not the President keep his Secretary of State as fully informed as he himself was kept by the Allies?

Senator McCormick of Illinois is perturbed because the voting population of England—he omits Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and the Union of South Africa—is less than that of the United States, and fears that a minority may govern a majority. —*The Times*.

It is the *Times*, not the Senator, who "omits" the fact that Britain has six votes to this country's one and that New Zealand's 1,159,000 population has the same representation as the one hundred millions of inhabitants of the United States.

The Art of Surrender

SURRENDER is worth study. It is a fine art. Practiced by a great expert it is as good as victory. General Gouraud developed the retreat into a species of tactics terrible to the advancing foe. It is an art to retreat and win. But it is only half the art that it is to surrender and win.

Surrender and win! Surrender and come home a victor, at any rate. Surrender and head a triumphal procession. Surrender and have a bright white page in the book of history on which to write your name. Surrender and get away with it, in short.

Let us consider Paris as the scene of the most perfect surrender ever made by the greatest master of the art that the world has ever seen. When the world turns about and men study surrender as it deserves, they will study the surrender of Paris to learn how to surrender, as they now study the campaigns of Napoleon to learn how to avoid the necessity of surrender.

At the moment when the great surrender was ready something happened, something dramatic, something menacing, something that set men talking, something that won plaudits from admirers, something that distracted attention. The world was told officially that it might "speculate." While it speculated the victor won his great victory by the inverse method of yielding on every point. Behind a publicity barrage the inverse conquest was made, every vantage was conceded, and when the barrage lifted, the general in possession of nothing had won the greatest triumph of all time!

Here seems to be a good rule—when in a tight place, or when you think there is no escape, send for your *George Washington* to Brest! Hurl your defiance into the teeth of all the winds! Make a splendid gesture of uncompromising idealism that all the world may see. Drop the heaviest kind of publicity barrage about yourself. Whisper

"Kamerad" gently in the ear of the foe, and when once more visible, walking at the head of your captors, you may be taken for a captor yourself, leading the conquered,—the world may not remark the bayonet which admonishes your rear as you go forward head up and confident.

You may give to France the alliance. God knows she needs the alliance. But you were against all alliances. You had sworn not to give her the alliance. Is it a defeat? No! It is a victory, the proudest achievement of your diplomacy. It makes the "advice" of the League of Nations a practical thing and demonstrates to all the world the earnestness of the men who drew the Covenant, their faith in its saving power. In addition, to show that it is no halfway thing, this triumph of yours, you give France the Saar Valley, which you were inclined to deny her, and England the reparation terms her business interests want. And to crown all, to make it a perfect work, you move forward to that supreme act: the giving of Shantung to Japan. In return you get a Monroe Doctrine amendment which France and England said they would not give you and which proves quite worthless and unacceptable.

But no! What is the use! As well try to be a Napoleon by reading about Austerlitz. The facts, the moves, are all plain. The dates—Mr. Lansing before the Senate Committee gave the date of the French alliance—and the sequence, are clear. But the combination is the work of a master. The calling of the *George Washington* to Brest covered a perfect surrender; it is the work of genius. It defies analysis. Men may come by rules to do such a thing again. But when the hosts of revolution howl about the head of your Gompers, what book will teach you the inspired *George Washington* to Brest gesture? The great surrenderer is born, not made.

Talk of pointed points! Here are fourteen brand new ones aimed at "the wrecker of the Democratic party":

"Point one" attacks the appointment of "incompetent men," naming Baker, Burleson and Garfield.

"Point two" charges him with leaving the country to "camouflage through Europe."

"Point three" says he is trying to force America to adopt an "English League of Nations."

"Point four" reminds him of his "idle promises" about free nations at Mount Vernon.

"Point five" attacks him for promoting "internationalism."

"Point six" condemns his sending Yankees into Russia, a country "with which we were not at war."

"Point seven" scores his Mexican policy and the "toleration of the murder of 300 Americans."

"Point eight" says he refused the request of Congress to take up Ireland's case at the peace table.

"Point nine" charges him with "partisanship for the South."

"Point ten" attacks his signing of the wartime prohibition act after the armistice.

"Point eleven" attacks his policy of "rehabilitating bankrupt Europe at the expense of impoverished America."

"Point twelve" attacks his forcing of Panama free tolls.

"Point thirteen" accuses him of disregarding the right of Southern negroes to vote.

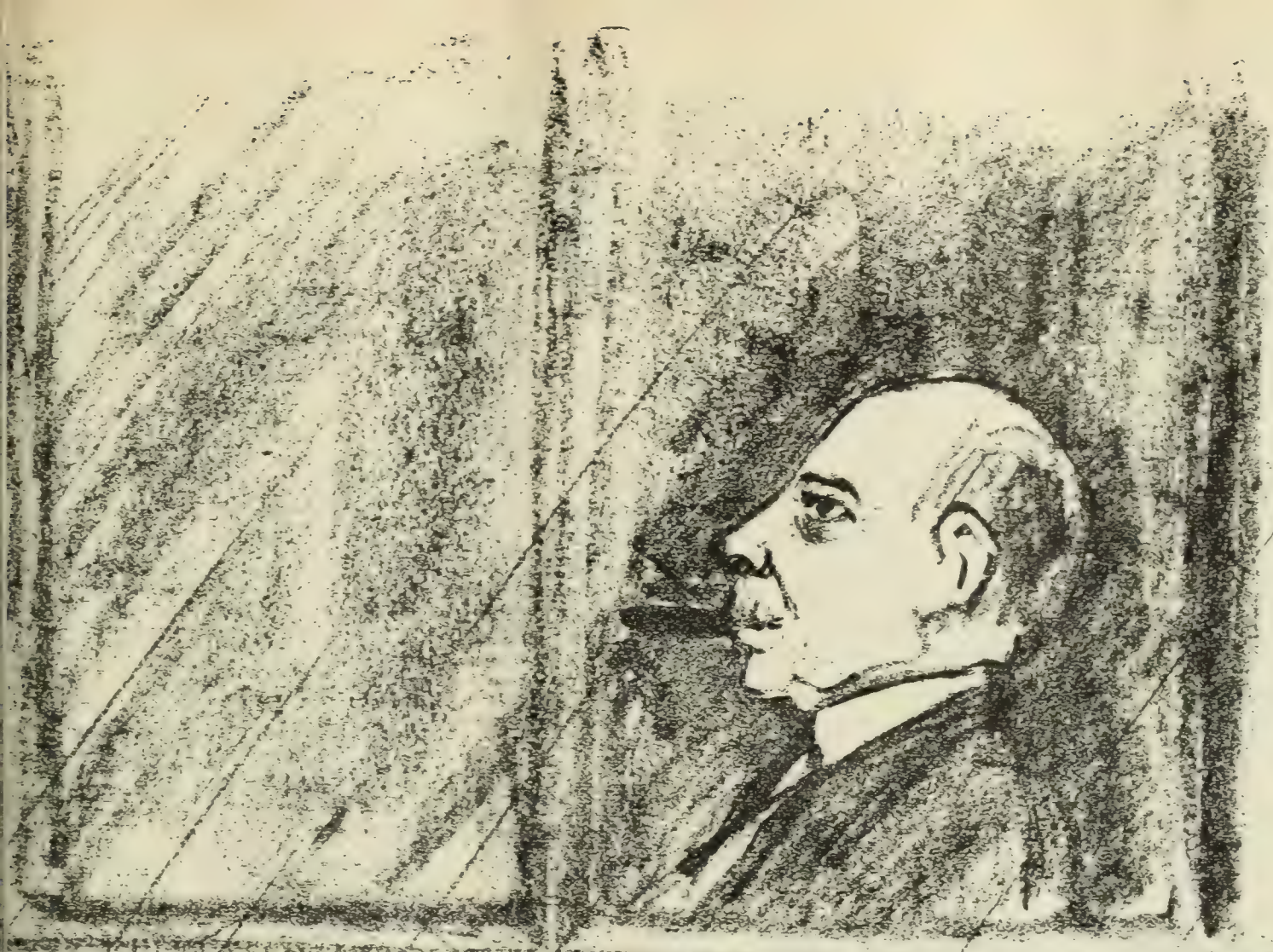
"Point fourteen" charges him with helping boost prices in America by shipping vast amounts of food to Europe.

They were addressed to Chairman Homer S. Cummings of the Democratic National Committee, signed by Mr. Francis J. Finneran, President of the Democratic Club of Massachusetts and dispatched by authority of the association.



LIFE I

(As depicted without obvious reluct



DEFENSE
D'AFFICHER

PARIS

(Secretary of State Robert Lansing)

The Week

WASHINGTON, August 21, 1919.

UNLESS some new factor arises to alter the present temper of the Senate, it is possible to forecast pretty closely what will happen to the Treaty and the League. The only out-and-out amendment likely to be adopted is that relating to Shantung. At the moment the critics of the League are confident that they have the votes to pass this amendment. It has been the centre of interest this week, and it is clear that nothing that has been said yet by either the President or Japan has weakened the Senate opposition to this clause of the Treaty. Aside from this amendment, there are the five reservations put forward by Senator Lodge, which seem certain of adoption. These are far from mild, and anything but the "unconscious interpretations" which the President's followers have been cackling about.

Once again this week Mr. Hitchcock has returned from the President with a definite announcement, this time that no "amendments" would be accepted. As to reservation, less than nothing was spoken. A very dusty fight will undoubtedly be made against "textual" amendments—which have a wicked sound and are, of course, far more vicious than reservations which accomplish exactly the same result. The Shantung is the textual amendment certain to be the center of this fight. We shall hear more of sending the Treaty back to Berlin for redrafting, and all the other bosh that has been talked. The fact that the Peace Conference is still in session and still making treaties very actively, and might very well undertake the negotiation of whatever changes this country demands, is blissfully ignored.

The feeling is becoming widespread that the wrangling over the Treaty cannot be permitted by either side to continue. The extraordinary White House conference was welcomed by everyone in the hope that the meeting face to face of Senators and President might thresh out some few doubtful matters, at any rate. Such criticism as there has been of the occasion was addressed to the anomalous character of the session. It was half public, half secret. There was no feeling of freedom of debate on the part of the Senators. That is partly owing to our peculiar system of government, and however much it might be desirable to bend the Presidency to the status of a responsible minister like the British Premier, the old aloofness and dignity of our irresponsible President remains, willy nilly. The qualities of the office are bred in our traditions. The Senators felt that a sharp cross-questioning of the President was not permissible; and they probably read the temper of the country aright. Were the President a member of the House and responsible to it, it is easy to conceive how swiftly the issue of the Treaty and the League would have been joined and how thoroughly he would have been forced to debate every detail of it long since.

The explosion in the Senate gallery at the end of Senator Lodge's speech was a deserved tribute to an exceed-

ingly eloquent plea. It counted even more as an awakener, a bucket of cold water, dashed over those absurd worshippers at the White House gate who have so far trusted in Wilsonian infallibility as to think that the League of Nations must and could not fail, let the heathen rage as they would. Of late their faith has been tried. One by one they have observed level-headed Democrats slipping off to "confer" on reservations. But they still refused to yield. Had not the "voices" spoken and the tablets of stone been carved upon? The "people" would rise up and take charge. The Republicans were political cowards and would lose heart and slink away at the finish. Something must happen. Whereupon Mr. Hitchcock would chirrup his morning carol, "The Treaty will be ratified without the change of a letter"; and the faithful would go away comforted. Of all the infatuations which our politics has seen, this Wilsonian devotion is the most irrational and fatuous. The yipping of the Marines in the Senate gallery as Senator Lodge took his seat and the extraordinary popular outburst that followed, gave the League backers the shock of their lives. They have been perceptibly quieter ever since.

The tale of the city of Kharkov, in Southern Russia, just now occupied by Denikin's troops, should be read by everyone with a hankering after Bolshevism and any lingering notion that the Lenin-Trotsky rule is "not as bad as it is painted." This unfortunate city, a centre of Russian civilization, has known eight different governments in the past ten years, German, Ukrainian and Bolshevik. By far the worst, as reported by a British correspondent with the Denikin army, was the Bolshevik. Of 268 persons executed without trial many were tortured. The contents of the sewers were turned into the dungeons. The humble suffered with the great. Sincere fanatics introduced the soviet system and gangs of predatory followers sacked and robbed; a nightmare worse than anything known under the Czars is the picture still harrowing the minds of the inhabitants. The city promptly furnished 25,000 volunteers for Denikin's army, which is making excellent progress in freeing southern Russia. The veil is gradually being torn away from Bolshevism. The revelations form one of the most horrible chapters in all human history.

The sudden clearing of the industrial skies in Great Britain is one of the most cheering events in many months. Perhaps the optimistic reports must be discounted somewhat. It can hardly be possible that British labor troubles are completely and finally settled. But there is plainly a swift and vast improvement. Two weeks ago reports were most pessimistic. Coal miners, policemen, bakers were striking. The Triple Alliance was about to vote for a general tie-up. Now all the strikes have been settled and the Triple Alliance has abandoned its threat. To all appearance, radicalism has suffered an unexpected knockout on the British Isles. The moral for Americans would seem to be that no picture of unrest is as bad as the loud talkers would have it. Steadiness tells and common sense prevails if you stick. Steady is the word.

No very alarming emotions have been aroused in political hearts at the reports of the new party to be formed by a meeting of 3,000 American liberals to be held in St. Louis in December. Like all reform movements, the embryo is in charge of a committee, known as the Committee of Forty-eight. It is not the forty-eight States which are represented, however, but rather forty-eight different varieties of reform. The halo of the intelligentsia is about the movement thus far. But it is planned to enlist the horny-handed as well. The Nonpartisan League is viewed with approbation as a suitable ally. So is labor "if the labor movement develops," as the announcement quaintly remarks. Labor has always been the puzzle of politicians in America. Every so often political actionists have arisen among American labor leaders, there have been candidates and enthusiasm—and defeats. Apparently the old party lines are too strong to be broken by any "labor" candidate. The last such effort was in the spring mayoralty election in Chicago. Fitzpatrick, the labor candidate, ran just about as the old stagers predicted, finishing a poor third. The campaign was a vociferous one, radical papers were started to help on the good work, and all the heavy artillery of radicalism was imported for the occasion. It was touted as the opening drive of labor toward a national organization. Its failure silenced the radicals for a while.

But the notion will not down. The British example has always excited the intelligentsia feverishly. Now come the forty-eight to import the British labor party bodily into America to be a refuge for the Plumb plan, the *Nation*, the *New Republic*, and all the odds and ends of radicals the country over. If all the queer folk could be gathered together they would indeed form a sizable party. But one of the attributes of queerness is an insistence upon personal notions. Witness the Socialist party with its left wing and its right wing and the middle all breaking apart while you wait. So it will be with the forty-eight, we fear. Before they have gone very far there will be forty-eight new parties—or murder.

It is a marvellous array of weapons with which the Administration is advancing upon the high cost of living. Mr. Palmer is the most vocal of the captains in the fight and he brandishes a new weapon almost every day. "Jail for profiteers" is the slogan on Monday. (But, of course, one must catch them first.) "Seize the hoarded food," follows on Tuesday. "A hoard" is actually seized, it is reported; and, oddly enough, the hoard turns out to be a moving hoard, what, in short, in periods of more normal phraseology, would be dismissed as food in course of shipment. Evidently the shipping of large quantities of food has become criminal. And the prices of food to the ultimate consumer, in the meantime? Oh, they have gone up a little, as usual.

If New Zealand is to have a vote in the Plague, why shouldn't Vermont? True, she has a working arrangement with the United States at the moment, but she entered into it as an independent Republic under conditions which did not contemplate the transfer of her sovereignty to for-

eign Powers. Governor Clement ought to speak up. Ethan Allen would have a fit if he knew what is going on.

The Democratic state chairmen have told Chairman Cummings that the party will be under a terrible handicap unless certain cabinet members are dumped overboard before the campaign opens. They think Secretary Baker or Secretary Daniels ought to be thrown to the sharks.—*Washington Post*.

Heave away at convenience; only don't touch Burleson, —as an ass-et precious, as an issue invaluable.

The builders of New York are discussing a lock-out. So are the theatre managers. The word is likely to be heard a good deal if the present endless chain of strikes continues. The lock-out is really a strike of employers. Why shouldn't the public learn the idea, too? If small groups keep on outraging public comfort and upsetting the nation's return to prosperity, why shouldn't the public resolve to boycott small groups and refuse to have anything to do with them until sense and a reasonable consideration for the public is restored?

France has awarded a Croix de Guerre with palm, the highest grade of the War Cross, to Major General Clarence R. Edwards with the following citation:

With the approbation of the Commander-in-Chief of the American Expeditionary Forces in France, the Marshall of France, Commander-in-Chief of the French Armies of the East, cites in the order of the Army:

Edwards, Clarence R., Major General, Commanding 26th Division, American Infantry:

Commanding the 26th Division Infantry, he has by his personal action made this unit one of the most spirited of the American Army. This division of infantry after having participated in the defence of Chemin des Dames and of the Woevre, took a brilliant part in the pursuit between the Marne and the Vesle. Placed at the left wing of the Anglo-Arabs at the time of the attack on the salient of St. Mihiel, it with its spirit contributed largely to the success of this operation, permitting the capture of numerous prisoners and of important booty.

At General Headquarters, April 25, 1919.

The Marshal of France, Commander of the French Armies of the East.

PETAIN.

"With the approbation" of General Pershing! By whose orders then was General Edwards relieved of command while his division was in action—an unprecedented performance in modern warfare? Has the Secretary of War no explanation to offer? Was there apprehension that Edwards, like Wood, might achieve too great a success and simultaneously too much popularity? The country would like to know.

"I have that speech in my pocket and there it must remain," said Fighting Admiral Rodman to banqueters in San Francisco, looking significantly at Secretary Daniels two chairs removed, who explained later:

Admiral Rodman showed me a copy of a speech he had written and I advised that a certain paragraph be omitted. I did not know that I was acting in any official capacity as a censor. Had I known that copies were in the hands of the newspapers I would have made no objection to the use of the speech

"It didn't bother me a bit," was the Admiral's sole comment. The objectionable paragraph bore upon "future wars." Can you beat it?

Seven Points of Railroading

S EVEN Commandments are put forward by railroad reformers; just half the number of the President's famous but very much repudiated code of peace. They have a plausible sound, perhaps as plausible as the Fourteen, but upon analysis they fail to produce that conviction which is desirable in the solution of so great a problem.

Thus they demand government purchase of all railroads at a price to be determined by the courts. It is not stated, however, whether such decisions of the courts are to be subject to referendum and recall, as some of the advocates of this scheme think all judicial decisions should be.

Again, payment is to be made with Government bonds bearing 4 per cent. interest. Then the present owners of the roads will have their property taken from them and will be paid for it in bonds bearing a lower rate of interest than they now receive from their investment. They will have to give up railroad bonds which pay five or six per cent. for government bonds paying only four. Moreover, they will themselves be taxed to pay that interest to themselves; and they will also be taxed upon the interest when they have received it. We should be glad if some expert in higher mathematics would compute for us precisely what net rate of interest on their investments they would eventually receive.

The railroads are to be operated by a directorate of fifteen, of whom five are to be appointed by the President to represent the people, five by the "operating officials," and five by the employees. We should like to know what is meant by "operating officials," and by whom they are to be appointed, since they cannot obviously be self-creating. If the President appoints them, then he would practically appoint ten of the fifteen directors. Or if, according to approved Soviet practice, they are elected by the employees, then the latter would practically designate ten of the fifteen directors.

Net profits are to be equally divided between the public and the employees. But what if there is a deficit instead of a surplus, as there is now under government operation? Would the employees "chip in" and cover half of that deficit? And is there any guarantee that they would not some time strike for a larger share of the profits or for a smaller share of the deficit?

There is to be an automatic reduction of rates when the employees' share of the profits is over 5 per cent. of the gross operating revenue. As the public's share is to be the same, reduction of rates will not occur until there is a clear profit of ten per cent. of the gross operating revenue. At that rate we really could not expect any considerable reduction of rates tomorrow, or even next week.

It sounds well to speak of "regional operation as a unified system," and we may concede that such an arrangement might be advantageous were it practicable; though it is to be observed that it is precisely the thing which the Government, including Congress and the Interstate Commerce Commission, has most strenuously opposed and forbidden. But the practicability of it is not at all certain in view of universally interesting relations which exist and must always exist between the various regions.

There is also a fine flavor of plausibility in the proposal

to have extensions of the railroads paid for by the communities benefited, in proportion to the benefits bestowed. But how about extensions through undeveloped regions, where there are no existing communities? Are the costs to be entailed upon prospective communities, which may some day come into existence? Or is there to be no more such building of new roads?

It is easy to devise fine-sounding schemes for making the heavens fall, so that we may all catch larks. But in practical experience the heavens do not fall, and we do not—at any rate by that means—catch larks.

Some day Col. George Harvey will discover that President Wilson, while indorsing the Ten Commandments, has failed to submit them to the Senate, and to Senator Lodge the President's conduct will be "simply inconceivable."—*New York World*.

Sorry! as they say at tennis. We were not even aware that he had set his seal of approbation upon those particular mandates. Did he act in his own name and by his own proper authority? If so, when? Did the Associated Press report it? Have we been asleep at the switch again?

How typical of Mr. Burleson that he sent his Chinese cook to the Washington postoffice to help sort the mail.—*Detroit Free Press*.

"Encouraging" rather than "typical," we should say.

Misplacing Responsibility

M R. GARRETSON, the former head and present spokesman of the Order of Railway Conductors, in the prosecution of his campaign for government ownership of railroads and other great industrial enterprises, makes the extraordinary charge that the "operating officials" of the roads have during the last year or two deliberately mismanaged them and have transformed their former surplus into a deficit, in order to discredit government control and to defeat government ownership.

We should think it would occur to him, even in his blind excess of zeal, that if this were true it would constitute a perfectly damning indictment of the Government, for not detecting and thwarting that conspiracy. The Government has been in absolute control of the roads, and has had power to change their "operating officials" at will. If it has permitted men who are in fact its own agents and subordinates to carry on such work as Mr. Garretson ascribes to them, it has demonstrated its utter unfitness for the job.

The charge is, however, manifestly and preposterously untrue, as must be obvious to every intelligent and judicious observer. There are in the Government's own reports of the operations and finances of the roads not the slightest indications of any such thing. There are no details susceptible of such interpretation. On the contrary, the reports unmistakably disclose other causes for the disastrous results of government control, causes chargeable not to any "operating officials" but to the policy of the Administration itself.

The same ridiculous charges have been made in other directions. It has been said that telegraph and telephone operators have conspired to impair their services, in order

to discredit government control and to create a public demand for restoration of the lines to their owners. It has even been said that dealers in food supplies, clothing, and what not else, have arbitrarily raised their prices, in order to discredit governmental price-fixing and supervision of industry. Indeed, there seems to be no extreme to which apologists for the Administration will not go in seeking to shift responsibility for its mismanagement and neglect of affairs.

It would be interesting to have them explain, on any such ground, the worst case of mismanagement in the whole public service. Badly as the telegraph and telephone services have been demoralized, they remain marvels of efficiency in comparison with the man-handled and bedevilled postal service. Are we to understand that all of the postal clerks, letter carriers and others are in a conspiracy to discredit government administration of the mails, and to compel the transfer of that service to private hands? Such a pretension would be no more absurd and groundless than Mr. Garretson's arraignment of the "operating officials" of the railroads.

London, Aug. 5.—Answering a question in the House of Commons today as to whether the Government considered informing Americans here for a prohibition campaign that "the British electors prefer to settle their domestic questions for themselves," Edward Shortt, Secretary for Home Affairs, said:

"I am disposed to agree with the suggestion that the British people can settle this matter for themselves, but, as I have stated, I do not think this step by the Government necessary."

The first part of the Home Secretary's answer was cheered.

Good for John Bull! Uncle Sam feels the same way about his family affairs.

The Law and the Profiteers

EXISTING laws are efficiently applicable to those who hoard excessive stores of food or who arbitrarily charge extortionate prices for it. So much is indicated by the activities of the Attorney-General of the United States, as also of various State and municipal authorities. We hear of extensive seizures of stored food supplies, of prosecutions started against various dealers, and of imposition of heavy fines. If such action is taken in some cases, it can obviously be taken in all similar cases, with a pleasing prospect of being adequate to a reduction of the cost of living to an honest and rational standard.

The reflection inevitably arises that if this can be done now, it could have been done months ago. The hoarding of food, and the charging of extortionate prices, were just as flagrant then as now. The law was just the same, and so were the powers—and also the duties—of the Department of Justice. The complaints of the public, and the demands for relief, were as loud and as urgent. The only difference between that time and the present is this, that the President was then abroad, ignoring domestic matters, and Congress was not in session because the President stubbornly refused to convene it, while now the President and Congress are both attending to business.

It is impossible to escape the conviction that if the President had stayed at home and minded the nation's busi-

ness, and had called Congress together immediately upon the beginning of its official term, profiteering might have been checked months ago, and hundreds of millions of dollars might have been saved to the people. Nor is it easy to escape the suspicion that in delaying all action on this matter until the Peace Treaty was before the Senate, the President sought to play a political game of which, as he has said, the Presidency used to be and should still be the "frequent source." In his address to Congress, indeed, he intimated that complete economic relief was dependent upon our adoption of the covenant of the League of Nations. Nor is there lacking a suggestion of his hope that the economic crisis, shrewdly exploited, might divert attention from the iniquities of the treaty, and that the popular prestige which he might gain through a great show of activity against profiteering might cause diminution of opposition to his internationalist policies.

In view of these things, Congress does well to act with much deliberation upon his characteristic demand for more power and more money. The nation would doubtless approve the granting of all the power and the appropriation of all the money that might be needed for the effective abatement of food profiteering, and of profiteering in clothing, rents, and all other necessities of life. But it remembers that in the parable it was the steward who had faithfully and profitably administered a few things who was made lord over many. It is quite reasonable to ask the Government to employ its existing powers to the full, before it is endowed with others, and to make its control of food effective for the relief of the public before it is invested with control of all other commodities.

If additional legislation is indeed necessary—which there is room to doubt—that fact is best to be demonstrated, and the granting of such legislation is best to be commended, by the full, faithful and efficient enforcement of existing laws.

Apropos of Mr. Taft's polite suggestion that the United States should be equally represented with the British Empire in the Plague of Nations, the Vancouver *Daily Province* remarks:

The British people are not likely to consent to the elimination of the provision, which has been accepted by the United States representatives and by all the other parties to the treaties. It is not an unjust consideration. These British self-governing nations went into the war on their own initiative at their own cost. They have contributed far more than the United States to the defeat of Germany. They have left twice as many dead on the battlefields of this war.

Our contemporary seems to overlook the fact that upon this basis France would have about twenty votes to one for the United States and more than two to one for Great Britain. Its assumption, however, that Mr. Taft mildly suggested that the Empire ought to be satisfied with one vote on the Executive Council is correct. As the matter now stands, it might have an actual majority, but the difference is of slight consequence since it would have virtual control anyhow.

The policy of "watchful waiting" in Mexico has failed.—*The Times*.

Shocking! Does the *Times*, too, "hate Wilson"?

Why Mr. Galloway Stays

POSTMASTER GENERAL BURLESON has informed his cronies that the President will not allow him to quit his post, and therefore, whether he wills it or not, he must continue to bear the heavy burdens with which he has struggled these last six years. It has been rumored for many weeks that Mr. Burleson was preparing to offer his resignation, but it is gratifying to have his own word for the fact that he has actually done it, and that the President has turned a deaf ear to him—temporarily, at least. This helps to keep the record straight.

To what extent Mr. Burleson was actuated by the promptings of the younger Democratic statesmen to make a vicarious sacrifice of himself, is a subject of engrossing interest, but one with which he alone is familiar; and it might be presumptuous for us to inquire too closely into this detail. The same thing is true of the reasons that prompted the President's decision. We might guess at them—but what's the use?

When the transmission lines were restored to their owners, the assumption was quite general that Mr. Burleson would thereafter limit his activities to the Post Office. Recent developments indicate that this assumption was not justified. He has done nothing of the sort, but has broadened the scope of his activities. Consider the situation at the Civil Service Commission.

A good many months ago Mr. Burleson discovered that the Civil Service Commission, that expensive institution which is supposed to bar politics and favoritism from Government offices, was actually picking postmasters on the record of their examinations without so much as considering their political creeds or the range of their party activities. In various ways, too numerous and devious to recount, Mr. Burleson set out to put an end to this nonsense. Unfortunately, the law is rather definite, and what could not be done openly, he thought to do by a certain kind of suasion not unknown to those of political experience.

The Postmaster General, it appears, found that Chairman McIlhenney invariably sought to satisfy his demands, but that Mr. Galloway and Mr. Craven, the other Commissioners, refused him on the ground that to do so would violate their oaths of office and make a farce of the service. The situation became acute when Mr. Burleson demanded that his niece be made postmistress at Lockport, Texas, despite the fact that three others had beaten her in the examinations. This is the same office held for years by Mr. Burleson's brother, and more recently by his nephew, who resigned under circumstances that have never been published in full.

Of course this direct affront to the Burleson family did not tend to strengthen Mr. Burleson's confidence in Mr. Galloway and Mr. Craven, and he started out to "get them"; but they were too quick for him. Off they went to the White House, and laid evidence before the President which caused him to decide that Mr. McIlhenney must quit the Commission without delay, no matter what his relations had been with the Postmaster General. What Mr. McIlhenney said or did when his desk was demanded, we do not know, but we do know that when he gave up the

\$4,500 a year job he stepped into another which the State Department supplied at \$10,000 a year.

But Mr. Burleson's gratitude to Mr. McIlhenney was to have its complement in his determination to get rid of the unruly Mr. Galloway and Mr. Craven. The President demanded their resignations last February. Mr. Craven, being a Republican, handed his in. Mr. Galloway refused to quit, despite the Presidential demand. Not in fifty years has the national Government allowed an employee to remain in office after the President had discharged him, but Mr. Galloway has for five months gone quietly about his business, defying the White House to remove him from the payroll.

It seems that he has several trunks full of evidence to establish beyond the shadow of a doubt that Postmaster General Burleson has repeatedly and deliberately conspired to break the law. If any further attempts are made to force him from office, it appears that this evidence will be loaded into several vans and hauled over to the Capitol, where a member of the House, using it as ammunition, will proceed to rise in his place and impeach Postmaster General Albert Sydney Burleson.

What right has the average citizen to complain about mail service when it takes an important letter four and one-half days to get from the Capitol to Ambassador Jusserand, at the French Embassy, a distance of one and a half miles?

Our Russian policy: Too late!

Announcement

DESPITE the many encouraging responses to our suggestion of reproducing the Washington Monument on the battlefield of France in memory of our honored dead and living soldiers, we think best to postpone actual undertaking of the project for the present. Two reasons impel this decision. First, it seems desirable to await the action of Congress upon the bill to this effect introduced by Senator Moses, and, secondly, it is hardly fair to ask people to subscribe just at this time when they are having all they can do to make a living. Time must be allowed for a settling down and a general readjustment, according to our notion of the fitness of things. But that is all. We have abundant evidence of popular approval of the suggestion and we are convinced that it can and will be carried out at no distant day. Consequently, while postponing further consideration of the project for the present, we have no thought of abandoning it. The time will come. Meanwhile, we return hearty thanks to all newspapers and individuals who have proffered aid which some day, we are confident, will be utilized, greatly to the satisfaction of our sister Republic and to the glory of our own beloved country.

Letters From Our Readers

Mr. Walsh Retorts

SIR,—In view of the fact that you published in extenso the answer of Hon. Ian MacPherson, Chief Secretary for Ireland, to the report of the American Commission on Irish Independence, I feel that in justice you should give the enclosed equal publicity.

FRANK P. WALSH.

[Enclosure]

REPLY TO THE STATEMENT OF THE HON. IAN MACPHERSON, CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND,
BY FRANK P. WALSH, CHAIRMAN OF THE
AMERICAN COMMISSION ON IRISH
INDEPENDENCE

At the request of the Hon. David Lloyd George, Prime Minister of England, transmitted by Sir William Wiseman, Secretary of the British Embassy at Paris, and assented to by Messrs. Sean T. O'Callaghan and George Cavan Duffy, envoys of the Irish Republic at the Peace Conference, the American Commission on Irish Independence, represented by Hon. Edward F. Dunne, former Governor of Illinois, and myself, visited the four Provinces of Ireland, including Dublin, Cork, Belfast and other large cities, for the purpose of ascertaining existing conditions.

Upon June 3, 1919, the American Commission transmitted its report to the Peace Conference, at the same moment handing copies to President Wilson, His Majesty King George V, the Prime Minister of England, and likewise forwarding copies to the Senate of the United States.

The report contained a list of hideous atrocities being practiced upon the people of Ireland by the English Army of Occupation in Ireland. The report was suppressed by the English censor in Ireland, and the English press initially printed incomplete and garbled accounts thereof.

After a silence of more than two weeks and upon the insistent demand of the English press, notably the *London Times*, Mr. Ian MacPherson issued a categorical statement confessing many of the charges, denying others and making explanations in the nature of avoidance covering many of them. The answer of Mr. MacPherson was editorially denounced by the *London Times* as halting and evasive; by the *London News*, *Manchester Guardian* and *London Herald* as containing damaging and shameful admissions of misgovernment and violation of human rights in Ireland.

Upon the 27th of July, there was released to the American papers, and all of the news agencies, an additional answer by Mr. MacPherson to the atrocity charges reported by the American Commission, making sweeping denial of the same.

An issue of fact is this clearly raised. If the original charges are true, England should be execrated by the liberty-loving people of the world, and Mr. MacPherson must go down in history as not only the prime mover and defender of the unspeakable crimes and cruelties set forth in the report but as a dishonest and untruthful person. If the charges are untrue, then the signers of the report should be exposed as malicious falsifiers.

The original reports of the American Commission contained the following:

In order that the Peace Conference may act in the light of knowledge of the conditions, and be fully advised as to the effort of England to keep the people of Ireland in subjection by military power and violence, in contravention of the principles for which the Peace Conference was convoked, we respectfully urge the appointment of a Commission to ascertain the facts and report the same to the Peace Conference, and respectfully submit the following alternative suggestions as to its formation and appointment:

(a) That an impartial committee be appointed by the Peace Conference, authorized to sit in the cities of Dublin and London, to take testimony as to the alleged facts herein set forth.

None of the members of such committee to be residents or citizens of Great Britain, Ireland, or any of the countries under the domination of Great Britain, or over which that country claims to exercise a protectorate or control.

(b) That a Committee of Seven be selected immediately in the manner following:

The Prime Minister of England shall select three members; the elected representatives of Ireland, including Unionists, Nationalists and Republicans, shall, by a majority vote, select three members of said committee; that the six members thus selected shall agree upon a Chairman, who shall be a resident and citizen of the United States, France or Italy. In case of inability or failure to agree upon a Chairman, the selection shall be made by the Supreme Court of the United States. That the Government of Great Britain and the elected members of Parliament from Ireland, as aforesaid, shall each have the right to select its own counsel, to conduct the examination of witnesses selected, shall be reputable members of the legal profession in good standing in the country of which he or they are citizens.

The latest answer by Mr. MacPherson, published broadcast in America, consists mainly of bald denials, unsupported by any citation to [sic] the military authorities who have first-hand information as to the truth or falsity of the charges, and without informative detailed proof to substantiate the same.

Assuming that England must eventually agree to an impartial court of inquiry substantially along the lines suggested herein, we make offer to prove the following:

ASSAULT UPON PROFESSOR MACNEILL

In addition to the statements of the investigation, who witnessed the assault, we will produce at least twenty impartial persons who saw the assault and who will testify to its brutal nature and the insults which accompanied it.

POLITICAL PRISONERS IN ANIMAL CAGES

To prove that the prisoners in Mountjoy Prison were exhibited in cages ordinarily used for wild animals, we will produce photographs of the cages unless they have been removed, in which event we will produce at least fifty prisoners who occupied them and a countless number of impartial witnesses who saw them.

VICTIMS RENDERED INSANE

We will produce the records of the jails and insane asylums, as well as the victims who have recovered, and the relatives of those who have not, to prove our charges that numbers of Irish Republicans were rendered insane by their treatment.

PNEUMONIA VICTIMS

We will produce hospital records, testimony of physicians of the highest standing, as well as intelligent and impartial witnesses who treated and saw the victims while suffering from pneumonia caused by having cold water thrown upon them from a hose in different prisons, also names and death certificates of those who died from the treatment.

DEAD, WOUNDED AND DISABLED

We will produce a list of the dead, those who were permanently maimed and disfigured by the atrocities practised upon them; also a list of those whose health has been shattered and who have been rendered incurable invalids by their treatment, all accompanied by names and dates.

VIOLENT SUPPRESSION OF LABOR

We will produce proof that the leaders of the National Labor Movement have been arrested without being informed of any charge against them, confined in jail in many instances for weeks and months; that while so confined they were treated with extreme harshness and cruelty; that their activities are spied upon by an army of detectives and their meetings infested by agents provocative; that their orderly meetings have been dispersed by the military authorities and violent assaults committed upon the bodies of men and women seeking to carry on the orderly business of their organizations; that permanent machine gun emplacements have been erected and guns mounted thereon by the military engineers of the Army of Occupation, so that Liberty Hall in Dublin, the headquarters of the Irish National Labor Union, may be subjected to destructive assault at a moment's notice.

INDISPUTABLE PROOF OF OTHER CHARGES

These, as well as the other charges in the original and supplemental report of the investigators, we are ready to substantiate not only by the testimony of the victims, but by hundreds of disinterested witnesses, including past and present members of the English Army and Royal Irish Constabulary, who, sickened at the atrocious acts they were called upon to perform and witness, either resigned their commissions or now stand ready to sacrifice their careers in the interest of humanity and justice.

The issue now has been clearly made and formally submitted to the people of the United States and the World by the official reports of the American Commission on Irish Independence and the formal reply of Hon. Ian MacPherson, Chief Secretary for Ireland, representing Great Britain in the controversy. We respectfully submit, not only in justice to the character of the signers of our original report, which we assert to have been unjustly and maliciously assailed, but to the cause of a righteous and enduring peace, that unless the English Government quickly agrees to the institution of an impartial court of inquiry by the Peace Conference its case should go by default and England must stand convicted by thinking mankind as a cruel marauder of human rights and the one remaining government of the world imposing its rule upon others by force of arms and exploiting weaker peoples by ugly might alone.

FRANK P. WALSH, Chairman,

American Commission on Irish Independence.

New York, August 4, 1919.

AN AMERICAN'S RESPONSE

League to Enforce Peace, New York City:

GENTLEMEN,—I have your night letter of August 7th, signed by Messrs. Wickersham, Cleveland H. Dodge, Alton B. Parker, J. H. Schiff, and Herbert Houston, reading: "American people must be reached immediately with true significance of League of Nations and its necessity in present very grave world crisis. Great educational campaign necessary. Will you join ninety-nine others giving one thousand dollars each to League to Enforce Peace, William Howard Taft, President."

Not in a thousand years would I contribute one cent to an educational campaign in an effort to convert our people to the League Covenant as brought back to this country by President Wilson. I quite agree with you that "a great educational campaign is necessary to reach the American people immediately with the true significance of this [dubious] document."

It would have been a fine and truly American effort if the League to Enforce Peace, under the conduct of a former President, had been of the open forum type, to really educate the people on all phases of the subject.

I can't recall any campaign or propaganda carried on in this country in recent times that apparently has had so much money behind it as the League to Enforce Peace has had, and like many other Americans, I am wondering where this financial support comes from.

If you had in mind the remarks I made, "from the standpoint of a farmer and business-man," at the Congress of the League held in Chicago some months since, when I was on the evening programme immediately preceding President Taft, you would get some notion of what my ideas were then, and I assure you they have not changed in the least, except to be more confirmed as the Shantung and other incidents have aggravated the situation.

I certainly could not see my way clear to going any further than Messrs. Root and Lodge are willing to go, and they have outlined their exact ideas in much plainer language than characterizes the composition of the Covenant itself.

President Wilson has been very narrow, partisan, selfish, and un-American in his conduct of the whole negotiation, and then his followers go further by branding as "partisan" any American who has the temerity to express his sentiments.

Quite a while since, I joined the League headed by Colonel Henry Watterson, "to perpetuate American independence."

Sincerely yours,

Champaign, Ill.

B. F. HARRIS.

FROM EX-AMBASSADOR WILSON.

SIR,—I was quite interested in some of your comments on Mexican matters in HARVEY'S WEEKLY of August 9th. Ambassador Fletcher's estimate of the number of Americans murdered in Mexico is certainly a modest one, though probably he is reporting the official enumeration based on the data in his possession. When I came away from Mexico, I brought with me among my papers a table showing the exact number of Americans murdered during the time I was in charge of the Embassy. Since that time I have added to the list of such known cases of murder as were reported to the Press and to me by private correspondence. In 1916 this total amounted to 554. At the present time the total is easily over 600. During my time, though I constantly labored to obtain justice, not a single one of these Mexican murderers was tried by a Mexican court, and I am well advised that there has been a similar failure of justice from August, 1913, until the present hour.

The testimony from other sources, which has been submitted to the Congressional Committee, relating to American population in Mexico, American investments, and American claims for damages, is wholly misleading and inexact.

There is much in our dealings with Mexico which would present the aspect of a comedy if it were not for the tragical consequences which have followed.

Indianapolis.

HENRY LANE WILSON.

ENDYMION RECALLED

SIR,—The following extract from Disraeli's *Endymion* seems to be as neat a comment on conditions in America today, as it was on conditions in England at the time to which it refers. The scene is laid in London soon after the passage of the Reform Bill in 1831. The air was full of the mists of the dawn of a new day; the old ideals and standards were to disappear in a wave of mystical humanity. Fortunately for England, for us, and the rest of the world, commonsense retained her firm hold on Nationalism at that time, as I am confident it will in America today. The passage is as follows:

Endymion, who only spoke when he was spoken to, had casually remarked in answer to one of the observations which his host with elaborate politeness occasionally addressed to him, that he thought it

was unpatriotic to take a certain course. Mr. Bertie Tremaine immediately drew up, and said, with a deep smile, that he comprehended philanthropy, but patriotism he confessed he did not understand; and thereupon delivered himself of an address on the subject which might have been made in the Union, and which communicated to the astonished Endymion that patriotism was a false idea, and entirely repugnant to the principles of the new philosophy. As all present were more or less impregnated with these tenets, there was no controversy on the matter. Endymion remained discreetly silent, and Augustus—Mr. Bertie Tremaine's brother—who sat next to him, and whose manners were as sympathizing as his brother's were autocratic, whispered in a wheedling tone that it was quite true, and that the idea of patriotism was entirely relinquished except by a few old-fashioned folks who clung to superstitious phrases.

Warrenton, Va.

E. NELSON FELL.

THE FIGHT FOR AMERICA

Sir,—I cannot longer refrain from expressing to you my appreciation of your untiring efforts in behalf of the preservation of America and things American; of our Constitution, our national life, and, indeed, of our Declaration of Independence, from the assaults directed against them by the Ego of the White House and his sycophantic followers.

You are the most cogent and convincing writer of modern times, and the American people will ever be in debt to you for your work to preserve to them and to posterity our American institutions as given us by the forefathers, from the dominion and control of European influences.

Thank God, the fight against Denationalization has been won, and you helped much to win it. Your next big fight should be against the foes of our Federal Constitution as applied to our domestic life and our right to enjoy those liberties hitherto guaranteed to every American citizen by the wise provisions of that admirable instrument.

GRANT E. HALDERMAN.

Boulder, Colo.

MELLOW BUT UNWARRANTED

SIR,—Just a few words to congratulate you on your splendid work in the interest of the people of this nation. The League for the preservation of American Independence I am sure is doing all it can to frustrate the various methods laid for a third term, and to prevent the adoption of the League of Nations which, as I see it, is in violation of the Constitution of the United States. The advocates of it explain its meaning with great mellowness; the document certainly does not warrant their interpretation. I can see but selfish motives for personal ends which are anything but in the interest of our democratic form of government. Your WEEKLY is simply great. I have directed many to read it in order to get them aroused to the danger in the adoption of such an innovation.

Coronado, Calif.

M. O. TERRY.

THE OUTRAGE AT ST. ELIZABETH'S

SIR,—I have just read in your WEEKLY of July 26th your account of conditions at St. Elizabeth's insane asylum. Won't you keep this before the public till the men responsible for such barbarity are so ashamed and so made to feel the ignominy of their position that they will no longer dare delay giving justice to the poor wretches in their power? That men who have fought for their country should be thus neglected, would be almost beyond belief, were it not that the canting hypocrisy of the present lot of Administration officials has taught us to expect almost anything from them.

Woodstock, Vermont.

S. McV. HEMENWAY.

WHO HAS NO. 17 TO SELL?

Sir,—I have a complete file of the WAR WEEKLY and HARVEY'S WEEKLY from the beginning, except number 17. If any of your readers has an extra copy of this number I should be very glad indeed to buy it.

CONSTANCE GARDNER (Mrs. Augustus Gardner).
Sagamore Farm, Hamilton, Mass.

.. CLEARING THE ATMOSPHERE

SIR,—I have been reading HARVEY'S WEEKLY with a great deal of interest for some little time past, and want to congratulate you on the work you are doing in "clearing the atmosphere."

Cleveland, Ohio.

HERBERT K. OAKES.

APPRECIATION

SIR,—I do so much appreciate your courage and discernment in your HARVEY'S WEEKLY.

Brooklyn, N. Y.

E. B. ARNOLD.

CARTOON: "CALLING FOR UNCLE SAM"

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VOL. 2 WEEK ENDING AUGUST 30, 1919 No. 35

The First Battle Won

SATURDAY, August 23, 1919, will live in history as the day on which, contrary to direful prophecy, the heart of the world did not break. It will also be remembered as marking refusal of this Republic to dishonor itself by sanctioning infamous betrayal of a helpless and trusting people. It should be celebrated in years to come as a second Fourth of July signaling confirmation of that complete independence of foreign dictation which has been jealously maintained by America for nearly one hundred and fifty years.

That is the true significance of the decisive action of the Committee on Foreign Relations of the United States Senate in voting to right the greatest wrong ever attempted in the annals of international performance by civilized peoples.

It is not for us perhaps to condemn any action, however obviously culpable, taken by friendly Powers while driven to desperation in their mighty struggle for the preservation of our liberties no less than of their own. We would not even intimate, much less assert, that under like circumstances the United States might not have felt justified by the appalling danger to all mankind in making the same shameful bargain with Japan that Great Britain and France did make unfortunately, need or no need, to their everlasting discredit.

That both of those highminded nations are fully conscious of the stain which rests upon

their honor as a consequence of their secret betrayal of an ally there can be no question. That they would welcome above all else an opportunity to expunge it is equally certain. Indeed, there is every indication, every reason to believe, that in their hearts their representatives at the Peace conference hoped and prayed that they might be relieved of the odium through the steadfast insistence of Mr. Wilson upon the cancellation of the worst imaginable example of secret and corrupt engagements such as he had solemnly declared he would never sanction.

The President failed them miserably. Admitting the wrong, he condoned it. Repudiating his own definite pledge, he acquiesced in the consummation of the treacherous contract. Ruthlessly wielding at that very moment the irresistible authority of his country over starving Italy in a precisely similar case, he meekly yielded to greedy Japan. Ignoring the conscientious protestations, still carefully withheld from public inspection, of all of his associates save one, he stamped a vicious heel upon his own confessed scruples and tossed into the blaze of personal ambition the honor of his country.

For be it remembered that, whatever excuse Great Britain and France may have had for faithlessness to a friend in the face of a common peril, the United States had none. Our obligation was vastly greater than theirs. It was at our instigation that China entered the war originally

and, while the President could not recall precisely what transpired at the time, he freely admitted to Senator Johnson that she "had every reason to know" that "we would do all that we could" to "protect her interest at the Peace conference." How well this promise was kept is evidenced by the facts acknowledged by the President that Shantung's forty-five millions of people could not have been put under the domination of Japan without his consent and that he assented because otherwise he feared that Japan would not join the League.

Whether or not his apprehension was well founded is a matter of opinion. Secretary Lansing was positive that Japan would not have withdrawn in consequence of the rejection of her demands and the President quite impatiently expressed his dissent from Mr. Lansing's judgment.

The question of foreknowledge of the secret treaty is one, not of opinion, but of veracity between Mr. Balfour, who declared to the House of Commons that the President was kept fully informed, and Mr. Wilson, who told the Committee that he knew nothing about it. Mr. Amos R. E. Pinchot, who oddly enough seems to have been on the inside, asserts that his friend Colonel House requested Mr. Balfour as early as July, 1917, to forward all of the secret treaties to the President, but there the clue to the solution of the mystery of contradictory statements by the two statesmen disappears. Doubtless the truth will find the light some day. Meanwhile, perhaps the quest should be abandoned in consideration of the high repute of those most directly concerned.

The fact of overwhelming importance is that the Committee on Foreign Relations formally voted on Saturday to ask the Senate to require the keeping of the President's pledge and thus preserve inviolate the good faith of the United States, quite regardless of the behests of Japan or of the fate of the seething melting-pot of nations or of any other real or fancied objections.

The Covenanters were shocked naturally. Even those who as members of the Committee have exceptional opportunities to keep posted could only pull their heads out of the sand and blink. Senator Swanson finally collected a few of his wits and murmured doubts of the Senate upholding the Committee. As to that, we would remark simply that so far Senator Lodge has not made a single miscalculation in his avowed policy of keeping exact step with his majority and that we ourselves happen to know that many Democratic consciences will be stifled only with the utmost difficulty if at all. The "weak knees" are no longer on the Republican side of the Chamber, thanks in no small

measure to the twisting and squirming and tactless obduracy of the President himself, but chiefly to the leadership of Senator Lodge which so greatly distresses our doleful friends of the *Times* and the *World*.

Yes, doleful is the word. The erstwhile determined buoyancy of our ponderous neighbors' spirits disappeared overnight. Already, as we noted last week, the *Times* was beginning to waver but it plucked up courage to declare in its most resolute voice on Wednesday that "the Senate may hesitate, but the country will not have a single instant of doubt; it has given its answer already" only, alas, to give warning on Friday that "if the country wants the treaty ratified it ought to make its desire unmistakably known to the Senate."

On Sunday the *Times* did not peep. Neither did the *World*. Both seemed benumbed. Mr. Cobb came to, on Monday, however, and emitted a howl of rage to no particular purpose and simultaneously the duly chastened Dr. Miller resumed his plaintive drolling. Had not the President "explained the difficulties" and "declared his belief in Japan's good faith?" Assuredly. And yet "the Republican obstructionists paid no heed to Mr. Wilson's statement of the case,"—whereas, nothing could be plainer that that they had paid most particular heed both to his humiliating confession and to Japan's polite refusal to confirm his expressed judgment and, having obtained all available information, lost no time in setting the country right in its own eyes and in the eyes of the world.

To this extent the *Times* is right: The Committee has not "put Mr. Wilson in a hole." Certainly not. It has pulled him out of the deepest hole an American President was ever in. He ought to be more than grateful. Perhaps he is. If so, a suitable expression of appreciation would be highly becoming. But even though he should view the personal situation from a different angle, he may well be thankful for the superb opportunity which has been tossed into his lap. Surely now there is no reason why he should not and every reason why he should fulfil his threat to tour the country for the purpose of inducing the people to terrify their Senators into submission to his will. He need chafe at the bit no longer. He has a real issue, plain, concrete, clean-cut.

Ought or ought not the Senate, in the performance of its constitutional functions, to right an act of the President which the President himself confesses to be a wrong? That is the first question, and the second is like unto it: Has the time come when it is necessary for this Republic to waive its right of independent

action and bow cravenly in wrongdoing to dictation from another Power? Or, speaking more specifically, is it wise, is it prudent, is it just, for the United States either to give orders to Italy or to take orders from Japan?

Other correlative queries of equal pertinence will occur readily to Mr. Wilson's acute mind, but these would suffice for a start. If incidentally he should care to explicate the dying League further, there would be no objection. Although visibly hardening, the country is still receptive and quite capable of doing jury duty faithfully and well. So let the distressingly postponed swing around the circle begin, even though in pursuance thereof it should prove necessary to abandon the announced intention of dividing honors with Pershing upon his arrival in New York. And if the McAdoos should like to move along, so much the better. No expense would be involved. Even the baby has a pass on every railroad in the country.

Meanwhile, we respectfully reiterate our suggestion to the Senate to go right along about its business. It took a long step last week when, speaking through its representative Committee, it notified the world that not only will reservations of America's sovereignty and complete control of its own affairs be made effective through required acceptance but that *the Treaty itself is going to be amended*. The Covenanters called for action and they got it. *And the Country approved*. Make no mistake about that.

Now is the time to press forward. In point of fact, we are by no means sure that now is not the time to rip the detestable Covenant out of the Treaty entirely and put it squarely up to the President to decide whether we shall have technical peace when already there is actual peace or must continue in a state of war "when there is no war."

But we shall know better about that next week.

It might be a good idea to report out the "interpretative resolutions" of Senator Pittman without recommendation and see what would happen.

The President's admission that Germany would not have to pass upon amendments to the precious Covenant and that consequently he would not have to go to Weimar "hat in hand" must have been somewhat disconcerting to Senator Hitchcock, to whose radiant intellect also the point apparently had "not occurred." The first joke of that kind related, if we mistake not, to the Freedom of the Seas and the *Herald* was severely penalized for daring to print it.

Ex Parte

THE President is his own interpreter of the Covenant of the League, and wishes the Senate to ratify the Treaty as it stands on the strength of his interpretations. He is willing, indeed, that after ratifying it without amendment or reservation, the Senate should adopt a resolution telling what is its understanding of the meaning and purport of the thing. Also, we have no doubt, he is quite willing that those Senators who fancy such sport should go out upon the portico of the Capitol and whistle against the wind. The one act would be about as efficient as the other.

The President did not, as he reminds us, practice law for long, but he surely studied it enough to know that an ex parte interpretation of a contract is not binding upon the other party. Such a resolution as he suggests, if adopted by the Senate, might be of mild academic interest to the other signatories to the treaty, but we have not the slightest assurance that it would have any greater import to them, or that any of them would acquiesce in it. Certainly this country would have no right whatever, legal or moral, to insist upon their acceptance of it. If it should make any such demand upon them, the result would probably be quite unpleasant, and unfavorable to the perpetuation of harmony among the members of the League.

A most instructive example of the mischief of attempts at ex parte interpretations occurred nearly seventy years ago, in connection with one of the most famous treaties in American history. The then existing Administration, under political exigencies in some respects not altogether unlike those now prevailing, negotiated a treaty with Great Britain, the object of which was to maintain peace, which seemed to be in danger of being broken, and to assure the friendly coöperation of the two countries in international enterprises of great moment. Some of its terms were vague and ambiguous. But Mr. Clayton, the American negotiator, placed his own interpretation upon them, without making sure whether the British negotiator, Sir Henry Bulwer, agreed with him or not, and prevailed upon the Senate to ratify it purely upon the strength of his interpretation of it.

As soon as this was done, the British Government made known its interpretation of the treaty, which proved to be essentially different from the American. The result was that within a few months the two nations were at the point of war; indeed, some shots were actually fired; a most acrimonious controversy arose; and the Clayton-Bulwer treaty, failing in everything it undertook to do, and doing the very things it was intended to prevent, remained for half a century a source of frequent irritation and actual menace between the two countries.

A mere expression of American opinion as to the meaning of the treaty would be of not the slightest practical value, unless it were approved and accepted by the other Powers. We do not recall that the President has promised to undertake to secure such approval and acceptance, if the Senate will adopt the expression. An explicit reservation, made as a part of the resolution advising and consenting to ratification, would have real force; and the acceptance of our

ratification with such reservation would automatically signify the acquiescence of the other Powers. Best of all, however, would be actual amendment of the Treaty itself, which of course would be absolutely binding upon all the signatories of it in that form.

We have cited the Clayton-Bulwer treaty as affording a monumental example of the futility and folly of ex parte "interpretations." The Algeciras treaty affords an equally memorable example of the efficiency of explicit and emphatic "reservations," which were unhesitatingly approved and accepted by the other signatories and thus became as valid as the text of the treaty itself. It should not take long for Senators—who know and care more about history than Henry Ford does—to choose which example they will follow.

Light from the Inside

WHEN William Allen White writes of the President and the Peace Conference he writes of things whereof he knows. The light he gives us is light from the inside—that is, from as near the inside of the President's eremitic seclusion as anybody could be supposed to get.

Of course much of what Mr. White tells us has been foreshadowed and guessed at already. But Mr. White is a sharp observer and a shrewd guesser. Moreover, he was one of the President's chosen entourage. He and that pious soul, the unctuous Herron, were Mr. Wilson's personally selected ambassadors to a Principo Island Bolshevik conference which the representatives of the Russian homicidal maniacs refused to attend, possibly because even the advocates of the nationalization of women draw the line somewhere, and may well have drawn it at Herron. At all events they did not attend, a circumstance which, of course, in no wise affected Mr. White's personal standing with the Potentate of Paris who had appointed him. He remained in Paris a keen looker-on at what was happening there.

All of which lends a peculiar value to the analytical narrative of his observations and deductions which he has been writing for the *Saturday Evening Post*. His picture of the cloistered isolation of the President from his supposed advisers and experts has not the distinction of a new revelation, but is none the less vivid, and even almost dramatic at times, in the presentation. For one supposedly so sympathetic with the President, and as near as anybody ever gets to the outer edges of that impenetrable glacial area which with Mr. Wilson takes the place of what in other men is the zone of personal cordiality and confidence, Mr. White is surprisingly if not ingenuously frank. He depicts Mr. Wilson as a peddler bartering our billions of promissory notes and food supplies, which the world must have or perish, for the world's adherence to the Wilsonian visions. We quote Mr. White:

All of which made the spectacle more curious and interesting of this elderly professor with his inevitable grin roaming through the forums of Europe disguised as a philosopher, but in effect half green-grocer and half banker. Surely Uncle Sam never before cut so wide a swath!

As to the width of the swath which Uncle Sam cut on this remarkable reaping expedition, that remains to be

measured. But one thing we may fervently hope and pray for, and that is that if Uncle Sam never before cut such a swath he may never again cut another anything like it!

As to the actual formation of that precious League of Nations, on which the Senate soon will either force American naturalization papers or wring its neck, Mr. White's story is very interesting. He says:

And in the meantime no one knew what America wanted in the way of a League of Nations. No American peace commissioner could remotely guess. Then the President sat down at his typewriter and pounded out a draft. He passed it around to a few friends, to a few foreign statesmen; and the work of drafting the League Covenant began. It began in Colonel House's room, 315, at the Hotel Crillon.

And when it was all done and adopted, the President sailed away home to tell us that not a *t* of the precious document must be crossed and not an *i* dotted, incidentally telling all Europe that all America was solidly lined up with him in support of the League. "Then," says Mr. White, "his troubles began." The "troubles" it appears were largely an injection by the representatives of the covenanting nations, left behind in Paris, of some elements of common sense into the League. To begin with, they tore it quite away from the treaty of peace with Germany, with which it had no business to be tied up in the first place. To this the American peace commissioners, enfranchised and rendered articulate by the Schoolmaster's absence, heartily assented.

Judge, oh ye gods, of the wrath of Mr. Wilson on his return! But he had to suppress it. He had to resort to dickering and bartering to get back even a portion of what had been lost in his absence. It revolted him, but he did it. In order to have his wilful way about depriving Italy of Fiume, he gave a part of China to Japan. Quoting Mr. White:

His disguise almost fell off. He changed his mood from the academic subjunctive to the Presidential imperative. He nearly showed his groceries and his promissory notes. Then the French press became silent. And one fine morning in the meeting of the Big Five, just as the President was prepared to introduce an amendment to the Covenant of the League of Nations affecting the Monroe Doctrine he discovered that it would not pass. He fumbled, withdrew his motion and began to con-

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sider many things. They had him. He realized that unless he would amend the League Covenant it would be rejected in the United States Senate. And our beloved allies realized quite the same thing.

Then the dickering and the bartering took hold afresh once more. And the visions vanished; and the Fourteen Points went fourteen ways galley west, east, north and south!

Of course, with copper at 23 to 24 cents, the mines of Montana, Arizona and Alaska, the richest in the world, can make a profit—a very nice one—even at present 50 per cent capacity. Just what the President had in mind in his reference to “borrowed money” is not clear, unless it was the funds tied up in carrying the copper surplus, but to assert that the mines referred to are today “kept open and in operation only at a great cost and loss” is absurd.—*Boston News-Bureau*.

Can it be that Mr. B. M. Baruch is still “in coppers”?

Mr. Lansing Was Wrong

IN their respective questionings before the Senate Foreign Affairs Committee, Secretary Lansing and the President flatly contradict each other. Mr. Lansing, being questioned by Senator Johnson, said without hesitation that the signature of Japan to the League of Nations would have been obtained even if the demands of Japan with reference to Shantung had not been granted.

The President, on the other hand, said with equal positiveness that without granting the Japanese demands concerning Shantung, Japan would not have signed. The questions and answers of the Lansing examination were read to the President as follows:

Senator Johnson—Would the Japanese signature to the League of Nations have been obtained if you had not made the Shantung agreement?

Secretary Lansing—I think so.

Senator Johnson—You do?

Secretary Lansing—I think so.

Senator Johnson—So that even though Shantung had not been delivered to Japan, the League of Nations would not have been injured?

Secretary Lansing—I do not think so.

Senator Johnson—And you would have had the same signatories that you have now?

Secretary Lansing—Yes, one more—China.

After reading this testimony of Secretary Lansing's to the President, Senator Brandegee asked:

Senator Brandegee—Now I wondered whether Secretary Lansing was well informed about this question?

The President—Well, my conclusion is different from his, sir.

Senator Brandegee—You could not have got the signature of Japan if you had not given Japan Shantung?

The President—That is my judgment.

Senator Brandegee—You say you were notified to that effect?

The President—Yes, sir.

Senator Swanson—As I understand, you were notified that they had instructions not to sign unless this was included?

The President—Yes.

Of course Secretary Lansing is wrong; primarily, because his statements are a flat contradiction of those of a President of the United States, and, secondarily, because—according to his own prior admissions—the Secretary of State of the United States was deliberately excluded from all save quite unimportant deliberations of the Peace Conference. The President of the United States was the sole, self-appointed negotiator on the part of this country. The President of the United States shared no confidences with other members of the Peace Commission, all personally selected by him as merely perfunctory associates. While not explic-

itly forbidding the intrusion of advice from his associates and his multitudinous experts, Mr. Wilson paid no heed to anybody's opinions save his own.

All this was made so clear in Mr. Lansing's own testimony before the Senate Foreign Affairs Committee—so far, at least, as he personally was concerned—that we confess to some degree of surprise that he should have undertaken to give even an opinion as to what went on behind those tightly closed doors where the open covenants were being openly arrived at.

Naturally, the President's denial of the Secretary's positive assertions is more or less humiliating to Mr. Lansing. Yet Mr. Lansing must feel that he has only himself to blame. He knew nothing about what was going on at the Peace Conference. He was not brought along to have any such knowledge. He was not there as Secretary of State of the United States. He was there as a dummy figurehead, as were all his fellow-members of the American Peace Commission.

His position was humiliating, we grant; humiliating to the point of being ridiculous. But surely the humiliation is not diminished by the sharp rap over the knuckles from the schoolmaster's ferule which his presumptuous assertion of knowledge has brought down upon him.

“Merely Moral”

“NOT legal; merely moral,” is again the attempted palliation of the entangling and potentially embarrassing obligations which we are asked to incur under the Covenant of the League of Nations. This time it is the President himself who makes the amazing plea; whether ingenuously or ingeniously, we shall not undertake to say.

We need not hesitate, he says in effect, to assume the obligations of the Covenant, particularly of Article X and XI, to go to war at the call of an alien body, or to enter a League from which we can withdraw only after fulfilling all obligations incumbent upon us under its constitution, for the reason that these obligations will have no legally binding force, but will be *merely moral*.

And then in another breath he says, referring to these “merely moral” obligations, that “If we undertake an obligation, we are bound in the most solemn way to carry it out.”

This latter declaration of the President's is worthy of all commendation. It is of course a hackneyed truism, and has been ever since it was first enunciated by Washington in his Farewell Address; but it is one which age must not wither nor custom stale, for it is a foundation stone of national integrity and honor. Moreover, it applies, if possible, more to moral than to legal obligations; so that the President might more fittingly have said not that the obligations were not legal but merely moral, but rather than they were not merely legal but moral.

But what shall be said, what can be said, of the President's argument for ratification of the Treaty with the contained Covenant on the ground that its obligations are not legal but “merely moral”? We cannot regard it as a display of cynical immorality, suggesting a readiness to

repudiate a "merely moral" obligation. Surely there is nobody with higher esteem for moral obligations than he. Nor can we suppose that he imagines the nation to be either blind or indifferent concerning the matter. If he had such an idea, he would be the first to begin a propaganda for the awakening of the nation to a realization of the importance of moral obligations.

Yet here he is actually saying, in effect: "We need not hesitate to incur these obligations, because we shall be bound in the most solemn way to carry them out!"

If this were Lewis Carroll, telling of the antics of the Chancellor in *Sylvie and Bruno*, we should chortle over it as most excellent fooling. But when it is the deliberate and measured utterance of the President of the United States, addressed to a Committee of the Senate, on a most momentous affair of state, we are constrained to cry with Senator Brandegee—as reported: "What is the use of probing into an intellectual apparatus like that?"

Guatemala Next?

REPORTS have been circulated in Washington these last few weeks that President Estrada Cabrera of Guatemala has merited the wrath of President Wilson and is about to be subjected to a diplomatic boycott, to the end that he will be compelled to close his official residence and get out of his country by the shortest and safest route. So far as we have been able to ascertain, these forebodings of international difficulties are based upon nothing more tangible than suggestions assiduously circulated by certain gentlemen whom Estrada shipped out of Guatemala for reasons best known to himself.

Possibly the gentlemen now circulating the reports have definite knowledge concerning the Administration's intentions. Possibly they are working upon the assumption that, this being the open season for established Governments, nothing more than the knowledge of stability is required in Washington to bring about the desired result. In the past, such activities have resulted in quite definite accomplishments, and for this reason it would be gratifying, if not altogether satisfying, to have the State Department announce its position.

We must confess that there are numerous attendant circumstances tending to give credence to the report. Estrada Cabrera is not a forward-looking man. He has persistently refused to give his countrymen the benefit of the new freedom which our present Administration has so generously and so consistently bestowed upon the countries between the Rio Grande and Panama, including the islands adjacent thereto.

Cabrera has been in office since 1908, and we are told that the President thinks this is long enough—or too long. During these eleven years, he has built up a stable Government and a prosperous country out of what was a shambles. He has refused to tolerate revolutions in his own country, or to take a hand in those that have occurred among his neighbors.

He affronted out friend Carranza by telling him to keep his bandits at home, and promptly sent a force of troops to his own border to see that the Mexicans stayed on their own side.

Just at present, a revolution is in full swing in Honduras, caused by President Bertrand's attempt to name his brother-in-law, Soriano, to succeed himself. A movement is afoot in Salvador to organize a force and grab Honduras while the internal strife is brewing. There may be a connection between the two. Over in Costa Rico, anarchy seems to be general as a result of the flight of President Tinoco, who was forced to quit by the refusal of President Wilson to recognize him. In Nicaragua, things seem to be relatively quiet as a result of the presence of our marines. The same is true in Hayti and Santo Domingo, where none of our marines have been murdered within six months.

American marines have never been in Guatemala, and Americans have not been murdered nor their property molested since Cabrera assumed office.

Considering all of these circumstances, the logic of the case would indicate clearly that Cabrera is the only ruler north of the Panama Canal who has not been affected by our present Latin-American policy; and—who knows?—it may be his turn next.

Guatemala has had eleven years of peace and prosperity. It is about time she had some of the benefits of liberty.

We dismiss as untenable any suggestion that the President gave Senator Borah a pettifogging answer—that what he meant was that he had not seen the actual texts, [of the secret treaties] although familiar with their substance.—*The Tribune*.

Who ever made any such suggestion?

Justice to Colonel House

THIS is a plea for justice to Colonel House. Something much more definite than rumor has it that the President is wroth with his former favorite adviser because of the advice received from him regarding the Shantung settlement. Well-authenticated accounts represent the President as feeling that he was misled. And men gathering in places where one may safely whisper state secrets say that the day of the Colonel is past. New advisers strut upon the scene—at least temporarily; and protégés of the late favorite feel uncomfortable.

What is the truth about Colonel House and Shantung? It is true that the Colonel favored the settlement adopted. It was his "formula," to use the word beloved in the corridors of the Hotel Crillon. Colonel House saw the Japanese. He saw the English. He saw everyone concerned, even the Chinese, perhaps—though no one wasted much time upon them. He reported to his chief. He had done the same thing a thousand times at Paris. Almost every compromise passed, at some stage, through his hand. He had his solution for the border between France and Germany: a Rhenish Republic. He had his solution for Dantzig: to give it to Poland. He had his solutions for Fiume, for reparations, for Thrace, for Silesia, for Constantinople. His solution was his idea of the best bargain that could be made after talking with all the parties. Invariably his solution was rejected, except regarding Shantung—the President making his own bargain, and generally, be it said, a stiffer bargain than House reported to him could be made.

Rumor imputed great influence to Colonel House at Paris. He made all these bargains frankly as an agent,

always using the words: "subject to the President's approval." He was the President's agent, broker, buffer. He saw the people in the ante-room. Mr. Wilson did not like to see people. He could not see all the people. He had to have some one to see the people for him. He did not consult with Mr. Lansing, with Bliss, or with White except in a minor degree. It is doubtful whether he really consulted with Colonel House. He let Colonel House see people and report to him. Generally he rejected House's recommendations.

On Shantung he did not. He was tired. He was in a hurry. He wanted to get home. He took the easiest way—to accept the Japanese proposal and put the responsibility for accepting it on the difficulties of the situation, on England, on France, on their secret treaties with Japan, and to leave the result to God and the League of Nations.

To throw the responsibility now upon Colonel House is to throw the responsibility upon a clerk—a trusted clerk, indeed, in contrast with the other ignored clerks at Paris, but still a clerk. The President was the whole American peace commission always. He was, equally, the whole American peace commission when the Shantung decision was reached.

So much for justice to Colonel House. Justice to the American people requires that if the present discontent of the President with his late favorite is not sufficiently strong to prevent the carrying out of the Paris plan to name the favorite as American member of the council of the League of Nations,—in case the League comes into existence,—the Senate should inquire closely into the kind of bargains Colonel House recommended to his chief, not only with respect to Shantung, but with respect to all Europe. When we enter into this business of international bargaining it befits us to know well who is to be the official bargainer.

Watchful Wobbling

When are the Allies and their Associates going to announce their Russian policy? We cannot suppose they have not got one.—*The London "Times."*

SO far as the Wilson Administration is concerned, it is the easiest thing in the world to suppose that it has not got a Russian policy. The only impossible supposition is that it has ever had a Russian policy. It has fumbled and paltered and backed and filled in its attitude towards the Russian problem, and it has done nothing else.

It has sent American soldiers to their deaths fighting the Bolsheviks, and it has sent semi-Bolshevik missionaries to parley with Lenine and Trotzky. It has sent American soldiers to bleak Siberia to support Kolchak in maintaining the only semblance of sane authority there is in Russia, and it has refused to let them fight after they got there. It has limited their exertions to the police work of guarding railroads and getting slaughtered by overwhelming raids, for their pains. It has refused to recognize Kolchak, but it has proposed a "Conference" on a Turkish island with Bolshevik assassins.

For months the Wilson Administration tolerated the presence here of an avowed Bolshevik Ambassador, leaving it to the State of New York to uncover the fact that he was

the head-centre of Bolshevik propaganda in this country.

"We cannot suppose," says the *London Times*, "that they [the Allies and their Associates] are ashamed to produce it" [their Russian policy.]

How the Allies may feel about it we have, of course, no means of knowing. But of any covert Russian policy that has been thus far dimly suggested by acts of the Wilson Administration, we in this country have every reason to be ashamed. To be sure, it is rather a veiled sympathy than a policy that is being disclosed through the Wilson wobblings, but that sympathy, in its timid, faltering manifestations, has been inclined toward the Bolsheviks.

The only ones to gain from our wobbling Russian course are the Germans. They know that things as they are in Russia cannot endure; that the forced labor of "nationalized" factories, the unslaughtered remnants of what once were Russia's educated commercial and industrial classes, and even those dumb-driven cattle, the helpless, terrorized peasantry, sooner or later will rise up and sweep the board clear of the entire outfit of Bolshevik grafters and murderers.

Then Germany's opportunity will have come. While our aimless, weathercock wobblings were swinging first towards the Bolsheviks, and then towards the struggling forces of law and decency in bedevilled Russia, the Germans were biding their time. Theirs will be the task of bringing order out of the Russian chaos; theirs will be the chance to build up another organization of armed brigandage, with the myriads of Russia's men and the billions of Russia's undeveloped wealth bound and welded by countless adroit bonds to their own by no means exhausted resources.

That is what Germany stands to win from our watchful wobbling. What *we* stand to win is well set forth by Mr. Wilson's thick-and-thin admirer and advocate, the *New York Times*:

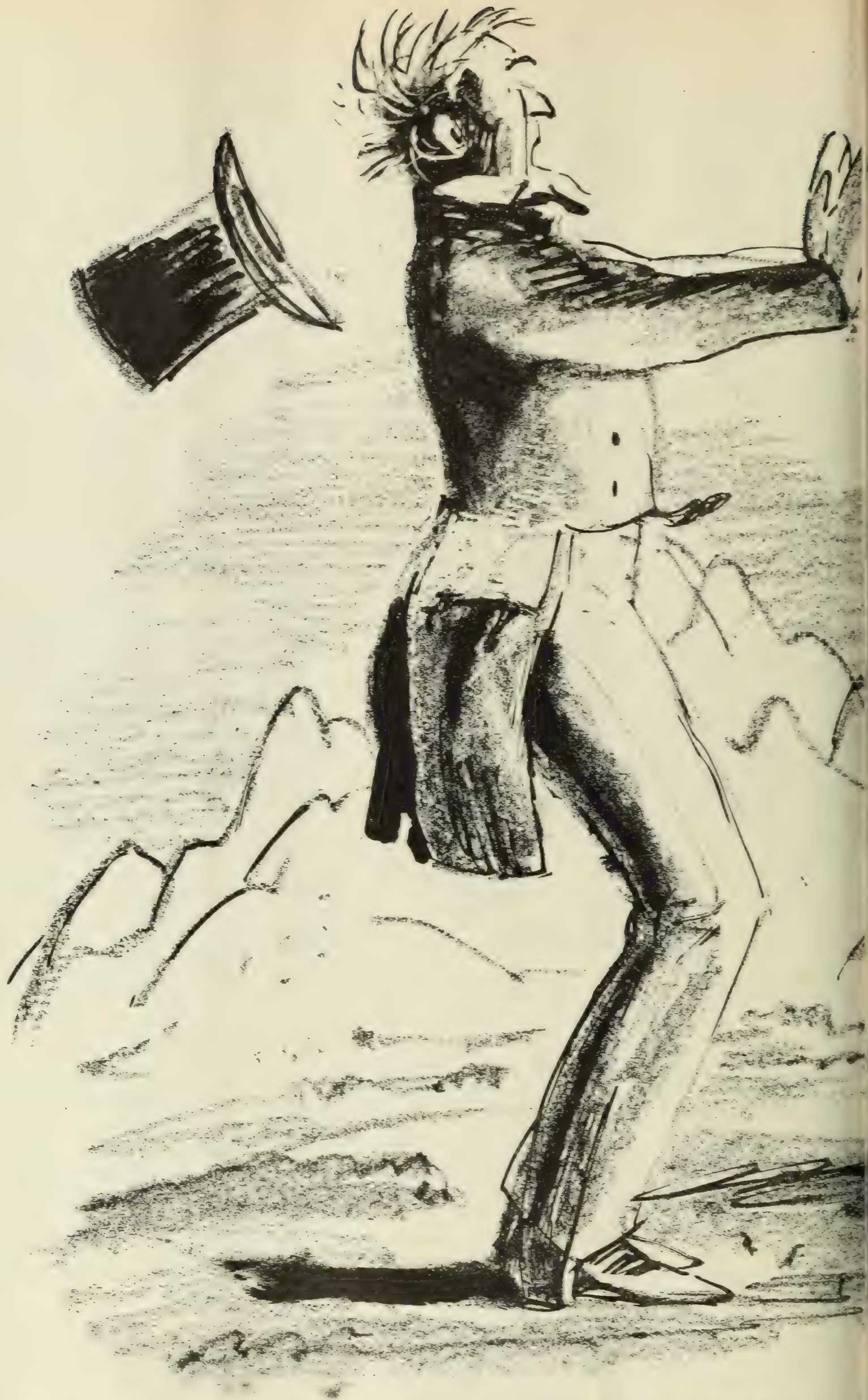
Whoever ultimately wins in the Russian civil war [says the *Times*] we shall have no friends: our present course is merely breeding distrust and hostility toward America in all Russian parties. . . . We do not seem to make a good showing under the acid test.

We certainly do not. And the *New York Sun* very properly fills an obvious gap in the *Times'* presentment of the case. It points out that upon Woodrow Wilson alone rests the responsibility for our aimless, spineless attitude towards Russia from the beginning down to the present day.

He is responsible for it [says the *Sun*.] He is the author of it. To him and to him alone the American people owe the burden of blunders, the fruits of indecision, the effects of procrastination which now weaken their position in Russia. . . . It is to Mr. Wilson that the enemies of Bolshevik propaganda owe the staggering blow their sane and heroic labors received when the Princes Island conference was suggested. It is to Mr. Wilson, that the advocates of enlightened progress in Russia owe the numerous setbacks their campaign has received from Washington.

True, every word of it.

It was certainly the grimmest of grim jokes upon the Peace Congress that under its very eyes and hand a Hapsburg Archduke should come back to the head of affairs at Budapest. We wonder what would be said at the Quai d'Orsay if a Hohenzollern were reinstalled at Berlin? That would really be no worse than the enthronement of a Hapsburg at Budapest.



CALLING

"Great Britain plans to withdraw her troops from the Middle East,"
has requested the United States to send troops to the area.



UNCLE SAM

res from The Caucasus in September and
ops to take their place."—*Paris dispatch.*

The Week

WASHINGTON, August 28, 1919.

SENATOR LODGE was again promptly "on the job." Brushing aside the inane contention that the Treaty should be acted upon *seriatim*, a course which would have meant endless delay, he rightly held that it should be dealt with topic by topic in whatever order the topics might be fully investigated and discussed. As the Shantung section, thanks to Senator Norris's fine initiative, had been one of the earliest to be considered, and as all available information had been secured and all desirable debate conducted on it, he very properly brought it up for first determination, with eminently satisfactory results. The action of the Committee, if sustained by the Senate, will, we are told, require the Treaty to be resubmitted to the Peace Conference, or at least to the other members of the Big Five, and it is predicted that they will all refuse to accept the amendment, Japan for the obvious reason that it rules her out of Shantung and France, Great Britain and Italy because they are bound by secret treaties to support Japan.

We are by no means convinced that such will be the case. We doubt if those Powers would imperil the Treaty on an issue of flagrant and cynical immorality. If they did, we should welcome the issue before the mind and heart of the American people and before the just judgment of the world. The question is simply this: Whether in making what the President has called open covenants of peace, openly arrived at, and guaranteeing the political independence and territorial integrity of all nations, we shall be controlled by secret compacts of spoliation. In such a controversy we should ask no better text manual than this:

What we demand in this war is nothing peculiar to ourselves. It is that the world be made fit and safe to live in; and particularly that it be made safe for every peace-loving nation which, like our own, wishes to live its own life, determine its own institutions, be assured of justice and fair dealing by the other peoples of the world as against force and selfish aggression. . . . That peoples and provinces are not to be bartered about from sovereignty to sovereignty as if they were mere chattels and pawns in a game. . . . Peoples are not to be handed about from one sovereignty to another by an international conference or an understanding between rivals and antagonists. National aspirations must be respected; peoples may now be dominated and governed only by their own consent. "Self-determination" is not a mere phrase. It is an imperative principle of action, which statesmen will henceforth ignore at their peril.

Those were the words, not of some pygmy-minded Senator seeking to break the heart of the world by burking the Treaty of Peace, but of the President of the United States, addressing the Congress of the United States. We must regret that he did not repeat those words with all possible emphasis to his colleagues at the Peace conference, when they proposed to spoliage China for the profit of Japan. But if he did not do so, and if he has now recreantly receded from that brave and wise stand, is that any reason why the Senate of the United States should also repudiate those principles of righteousness? Thank God, the answer "No!" was given on Saturday, in tones that were audible not only at the White House, but also at Paris and at Tokio.

The President is doubtless quite right in saying that he has no power to declare by proclamation that peace exists. The

power of declaring war is vested in Congress, and that body must also—at least through the Senate—sanction the restoration of peace. But the President does not venture to dispute the power of Congress to make such a declaration. Indeed, he has already sanctioned such action by Congress, to a considerable degree, in the restoration of peace-time conditions in commerce and in intercourse with Germany. Nobody, of course, has any thought of abandoning our associates or of dissociating ourselves from all responsibility with regard to the terms of peace. But neither, we think, have rational, responsible and patriotic men any thought of conditioning our declaration of peace upon our acceptance of terms which would impair the independent nationality of the United States.

Dr. Ferguson, the accomplished American adviser to the Chinese Government, declared that the delivery of Shantung to Japan is a grievous wrong to China, giving to the transaction even a more sinister and forbidding aspect than it had before. Oh, but he is of course prejudiced in favor of China! Very well; here is Professor Williams, formerly our own State Department's expert adviser on affairs in the Far East, and a similar adviser to our Peace Commission. He thinks that the Shantung article in the treaty is grossly unjust to China, and if ratified would be injurious to our interests and would impair our prestige in the East. He told the President so last April, and pointed out that such an arrangement would violate the Fourteen Commandments and also the President's Mount Vernon speech. But the President evaded the point with his customary dexterity, saying that he didn't think that there was anything in the Fourteen Commandments exactly applicable to the case! As though they were not calculated to cover everything in the heavens, on the earth, and in the waters under the earth!

Not the least interesting and significant part of Professor Williams's testimony related to the President's comments on the Japanese secret treaties, after he had stumbled upon them. He said that the war had been fought to establish the sanctity of treaties, and so, while some of them seemed unconscionable, it looked as though it would be necessary to recognize them. Bear in mind that he had already volubly declared that one of the prime results of the war must be, that there should be no more such treaties. Further comment would be superfluous.

The French Government is reported to be much concerned over the delay in ratification of the treaty between France and the United States providing for our assistance of that country in case of need. It is to be assumed that it is under no misapprehension as to the causes of the delay. These are two-fold. One is, or was, the failure of the President to lay the treaty before the Senate at the time when he promised to do so and when he was bound by the treaty itself to do so. The other is the President's reported insistence upon linking up the treaty with the League of Nations. The regrettable delay is therefore the penalty of inept and self-opinionated diplomacy.

The threat of the Greeks and Turks in Southern Thrace to resist forcibly Bulgarian occupation of that country, is of peculiar interest to the United States, because it is understood that President Wilson was chiefly if not solely responsible for the assignment of that non-Bulgarian region to the Bulgars. It was reported from Paris some weeks ago—and has not, so far as we know, been denied—that President Wilson refused absolutely to yield to the other Allies on this point, but insisted that Bulgaria should have that portion of Thrace in order to give her a frontage upon the Aegean Sea. Later the Union of Thracian Refugees in Greece cabled to the Editor of *The New York Times* a long protest against that attitude of the American Peace Delegation, pointing out that in the territory in question Greeks and Turks composed 85 per cent, and Bulgars only 6 per cent, of the population, and that the proposed disposition of it therefore grossly violated the principle of self-determination which President Wilson had exploited in his Fourteen Commandments. The case is obviously much aggravated by the circumstances that this country has not been at war with either Bulgaria or Turkey, and therefore really has no business to intervene in the matter at all. The President's strange course seems to have been prompted by an incurable itch for meddling.

Had it not been for the endurance and sacrifices of the Allies, argues *The London Daily Graphic*, the Monroe Doctrine would have been attacked and destroyed by Germany; wherefore America ought not to refuse to make some sacrifice in return for the Allies' services. America has made sacrifices, readily and gladly, and is ready to make more if necessary; but she does not purpose to sacrifice the very thing which the Allies' sacrifices and hers have been made to protect and preserve. What stultification it would be for the Allies to say to America: "We have saved your Monroe Doctrine for you. Now we want you to destroy it"!

The American public should not need to be reminded that Saturday of next week, September 6, will be Lafayette Day, on which will be commemorated the 162nd anniversary of the birth of that gallant knight errant of freedom who a hundred and forty-two years ago forsook his bride, incurred the anger of his king, and imperiled his fortune and his life, to come hither "as the defender of that liberty which I adore. . . . To offer my services to this most interesting republic, bringing no ambition to fulfill and no selfish interest to serve." No urging should be necessary, either, to make it a day of national observance second only to our own Independence Day. We trust that the Senate does not need to be reminded that there awaits ratification a treaty in which this country would make some potential requital for the inestimable service which France rendered it through the person of Lafayette.

The Government's sales of surplus army stores to the public had some good results. It relieved the Government of goods that it did not want and which were in danger of spoiling, and it enabled many citizens to secure supplies at comparatively moderate prices. Its effect upon the high cost of living in general was imperceptible. We doubt if a single grocer, butcher or other dealer was moved by it to reduce his

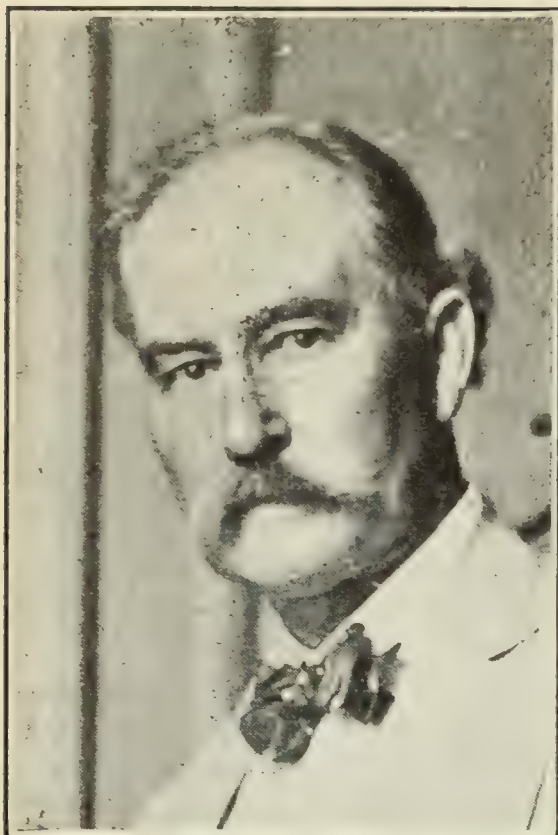
prices. The management of it was very bad. In one case almost nothing but a huge consignment of bacon was sent into an almost exclusive Jewish district, and in another, would-be purchasers of blankets were told to call for the goods at a certain place, only there to be confronted with a notice to go to another place several miles away, and that on a sultry day in mid-August. In the one case a sense of humor, in the other a sense of humanity, must have been lacking.

Amid strikes and rumors of strikes it is refreshing to hear such words as those which Judge Mayer of New York addressed the other day to some agitators who impudently asked him to use his judicial influence in favor of one labor union against another and, incidentally, in favor of the one which was trying to provoke an entirely uncalled-for strike that would cause almost infinite distress and loss to millions of the general public. He of course refused the outrageous demand, and added that if they did cause a strike, the blame would rest where it belonged, and on his part there would be no compromise. A more general attitude of that sort on the part of administrative as well as judicial officers would cause agitators to realize that the public has rights.

Current reports of great increases in foreign trade, both imports and exports, irresistibly suggest the old saying that there are "lies, damned lies, and statistics." We are told that in the last month, and also in the last fiscal year, our totals of both imports and exports considerably exceed any former on record. The figures given show that to be technically true. Yet the statement may be and probably is grossly misleading. That is because the amounts of imports and exports are expressed in values and not in quantities. The statement that our exports in July, 1919, were \$570,000,000 against only \$507,000,000 in July, 1918, is by no means fully informing unless we know how prices in the one month compared with those in the other. Obviously, it is quite possible that there might be an increase in value of exports while there was an actual decrease in quantity. Statistics will not be satisfactory nor definitely informing until they report quantities as well as monetary values.

The abolition of the daylight-saving system will be sincerely regretted, we believe, by the great majority of thoughtful people, in both city and country. That system was incalculably beneficial to the nation, in money as well as in health and pleasure and convenience, and should have been made perpetual; as it surely will at some future time when wiser counsels prevail. The President deserves grateful credit for his efforts to save it by twice vetoing the repeal measure; and it was a piece of bitter irony that so many Congressmen should flout his will in a case in which he was entirely right, after being subservient to him in cases in which he was notably wrong.

"The belief has been expressed," says a press dispatch from London, "that the United States might welcome a settlement of the Mexican problem by the League of Nations." "The belief has been expressed," said Mr. Gulliver, "that sunbeams may be extracted from cucumbers."



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SENATOR SMITH OF ARIZONA

The Senate Committee That Is Investigating the Mexican Situation

The Mexican Mobilization

THE War Department is preparing extensive plans for military operations that appear to be connected with Mexico. Superficially, at least, the plans represent a greater mobilization than has ever been contemplated for Mexico's benefit since Watchful Waiting became our national policy—or alibi. Great quantities of material of all sorts—guns, pontoons, ammunition and general supplies—have been ordered to the border. Engineers are making detailed maps of the forts of the Rio Grande and of the passes and canyons beyond. Intelligence officers are collecting every kind of data that would be of value to American commanders across the border. Questionnaires have been mailed to thousands of reserve officers to ascertain their immediate availability for field service. And so it goes. Every branch of the General Staff is active to the same end.

What it all means is known only to the President and the Secretary of War. They are authorizing the expenditures of the millions that are being added to our Watchful Waiting account. A few years ago such apparently portentous developments would have alarmed us, to say the least, but it is rather difficult to get alarmed now over the international cancer, considering past experience.

Maybe it is all the basis of a little bluff that is expected to have a tremendous effect upon Carranza when troops in large numbers are mobilized and marched up and down the border. Or maybe when General Pershing returns, the President intends to request him to start after Villa again; or maybe it means real business.

While it is futile to attempt to forecast the result, it would be interesting, nevertheless, to know just what prompted the mobilization at this time. Conditions are no worse now

than they have been for the last few years, although of course the truth has recently been filtering across the border, and the country has begun to see through the camouflage that the White House and the State Department have maintained so successfully. If we had only one guess, it would be that the President decided to get ready for action when Senator Lodge appointed Senator Fall, Senator Brandegee, and Senator Marcus A. Smith to make an investigation into the Mexican situation. Because, of course, the President knows that these gentlemen cannot be humbugged, and he knows also that when they begin to uncover the truth, the country will be shocked at the crime that has been committed not only against our own people, but against the decent Mexicans as well, by subjecting them to the operations of a ruthless banditry which his Administration was solely responsible for placing in power.

And there is the little matter of pitiless publicity that must be accounted for. When the truth finally emerges, a great many people who have accepted statements inspired from Washington will no doubt demand an accounting from the authors.

Of course all this represents merely a guess concerning the reasons that caused our great military activities at this time. We may be altogether wrong. Probably the President wants the truth to come out, and probably he has no intention of blanketing the record by making a great show of military activity. Meanwhile, Carranza's term is about to expire, and unless all information is in error, he will get out or be kicked out by some other worthy patriot of similar type.

In this connection, we have been informed, in a round-about manner, that General Pablo Gonzalez has dispatched a commission to Washington to plead his cause as the ideal

rejuvenator of Mexico. The commission, we are informed, is composed of an American named Simpson, the General's Attorney, Mendivil, and Frezieres, formerly Mexican Consul General at San Antonio. These gentlemen are well supplied with money. Just why a candidate for the Presidency of Mexico, where suffrage is supposed to be effective, should open campaign headquarters in Washington, is a phase of international politics which we cannot fathom.

A good deal will probably be heard of the virtues of General Gonzalez within the next few months. For the present, it is sufficient to state that before he became a "general" in the army of the Mexican uplifters he was an impecunious miller, and to-day his income is assessed on a valuation of \$10,000,000. At present, we have not the space in which to present the detailed statement of his remarkable financial activities during his military career. We shall do so later.

Contrasts in Pay

THE Navy Department is said to be much concerned over the numerous resignations of officers. According to a recent authentic dispatch from Washington to the press, there were then more resignations on file than had been presented in the thirty years preceding. There were hundreds of them, and they were being added to daily. Meantime, the roll of officers was about 2,000 below its proper peace strength. No wonder veteran officers were declaring that the efficiency of the service was seriously menaced.

There was and is no mystery as to the cause of these resignations. It is found in the inadequate pay which the officers receive. Their salaries range from \$1,700 to \$3,000 a year. The Government has spent \$20,000 or more apiece on them, giving them first-class educations at one of the best technical and scientific colleges in the world, and they are thus qualified to fill in civilian life places which would pay them from twice to ten times as much as the Government pays them. If they remain in the navy, they cannot afford to marry; or if they are already married, they cannot support their families decently. If they resign, they can easily acquire a competence. And human nature is as strong in them as in the rest of us.

At the same time, railroad men are agitating for better pay, and are making ugly menaces against the Government itself if they do not get it, and the employees of the chief steel corporations are meditating a general strike to attain the same end. Now a railroad freight engineer gets a very much larger salary than the average of these naval officers. He gets \$4,700 a year against their \$1,700 to \$3,000. Also the steel workers of all classes get an average of about \$2,000 a year. And these latter have not been so expensively educated as the naval officers, and are not fitted, as the latter are, to fill far more lucrative places. The explanation is given that the navy pay rates are the same now that they were in 1908, while since that time the pay of railroad men of all classes has been increased 110 per cent, and that of the steel men 160 per cent.

If we go further afield, we find still more striking and

unjust discrepancies. A hod carrier in Government employ gets for eight hours' work a day, almost as much as a second lieutenant in the United States Army gets for twenty-four hours' responsible service. Railroad freight engineers, as has lately been pointed out, get much larger salaries than the Governors of thirteen of the States of this Union! And their pay exceeds that of the average college professor. In 1916, the average salaries of all teachers in public schools, including principals and superintendents, were less than \$600 a year, or only about one-eighth as large as those of the engineers of freight trains.

We do not believe in having labor of any class or kind underpaid. We believe that the laborer should receive remuneration proportionate to the value of his toil. But that value is not measured merely by the horse-power of physical energy which he exerts, by the number of hours during which he is at work, or by the results of his activities expressed in dollars and cents. All these things must be taken into consideration, together with many more; and when they are thus considered, it surely must appear—to the railroad and steel workers as well as to everybody else—that there is an odious inequality in payment for services, the disadvantage in which does not rest upon the two classes which we have specified, nor indeed upon manual laborers in general.

It is manifestly unjust to keep on increasing the pay of certain classes of laborers and to hold that of other classes stationary. The members of organized labor who are so frequently agitating for more pay would do well to think of the equal claims of others to larger compensation.

The Dollar and the Nation

ECONOMIC reasons for the speedy ratification of the Peace Treaty were put forward first of all by the President in his appeal to the Senate Committee. They were strong and pertinent, and deserving of careful attention. He did not overstate them. We believe that the restoration of industry and commerce to a normal basis, the readjustment of prices, and, indeed, the general rehabilitation of our economic and social life, await to a perceptible degree the formal return of peace through official action.

These considerations are, beyond question, of real and pressing importance. They affect the daily life of all the people, as well as the fiscal convenience of the Government. They are sufficiently weighty and urgent to stamp with severe disapprobation even a single day's unnecessary delay in making a final disposition of the Peace Treaty. To that extent we are, and we believe that the American people are, at one with the President in that argument for expeditious ratification.

It is not, however, for a moment to be conceded that these are the sole or even the chief matters to be considered in dealing with the Treaty, and it is earnestly to be hoped that in mentioning them first of all, the President did not mean to invest them with such primacy. We Americans have often been accused, not altogether either justly or unjustly, of worshipping the "almighty dollar." But we are not entirely sordid. In the last analysis, integrity stands

above prosperity. The nation is greater than the dollar. The legend upon our banner, as Daniel Webster said, is not "What is all this worth?" The old faith of our fathers, the old ideals of the founders, the old principles of independence of 1776, are vital and motive still, and we believe that they are dominant still.

The touchstone is, therefore, not the dollar but the nation. The supreme question, upon which determination and disposition of the treaty hang, is not commercial but constitutional, not economic but ethical. It is not copper and zinc and lead, not cotton and oil, not the summer's work and the winter's needs, that must have primary and paramount consideration. No, but rather the independence and integrity of the nation, its maintenance of the sound and just principles upon which it was founded and to which it owes its growth and greatness, and its exemption from needless implication in the feuds and frictions of the world, to escape which the colonists came hither and their sons enacted and established their political independence.

These are the considerations which immeasurably outweigh the sordid questions of shop and ship, of dollars and cents. The nation wants peace; but it still more wants to remain a nation. It is not willing to barter its birthright for a mess of pottage. The people suffered many inconveniences, discomforts and privations in order to win the war, and they did so uncomplainingly. They are equally willing to endure such things further, if it be necessary to "achieve a just and lasting peace with all nations." They are not willing, in order to get rid of these burdens a little sooner, to sacrifice the past and to mortgage the future of their country.

Food Supply Abuses

THE event confirms the opinion which we expressed last week, that in the very important and urgent matter of reduction of the cost of living, it will be better to use to their fullest efficiency the governmental powers already existing than hastily to create others of a new and unusual kind. The wild clamor for making the President an unrestrained dictator of prices of all sorts and conditions of commodities has happily subsided, and with it may well go much more of the excited talk which has been extant for the last fortnight. If existing laws and processes need strengthening, by all means let that be done. But that there is need of anything more than that, does not yet appear.

The revelations of last week were significant. Enormous stocks of food supplies were found in various places, in circumstances which on their face indicated hoarding for sordid purposes rather than ordinary commercial storage. In some cases they had been stored so long that they had begun to decay and had become unfit for consumption. In all cases it was obvious that the withholding of them from the market assisted and probably was meant to assist in the artificial maintenance of extortionate prices.

Now, as we have already suggested, if the authorities, Federal, State and local, had the power to seize these hoarded stocks last week and force them upon the market for the relief of prices, they had that power last month, and last

year, and they will continue to have it next month and next year. In other words, official vigilance and energy are all that are needed under existing laws to break up and to prevent this vicious system of food hoarding to produce an artificial scarcity in the market and a consequent opportunity for high prices. And it is the business and the duty of officials to exercise such vigilance and energy.

We may add that it will be fitting to impose heavy penalties for the practices which thus seem to have been disclosed. If we have laws against usury,—that is, against the extortion of too great profits for the lending of money,—it is quite logical to enforce corresponding laws against the extortion of too great profits in the selling of food. That is of course quite different from price-fixing, since it recognizes the legitimacy of different prices for the same commodities in different places and in different circumstances, and it should prove more effective than the other for the end desired.

There is sound sense, too, in the recommendation of the Attorney-General, that the people everywhere shall take the law into their own hands, not to violate it, but to enforce it. It does no good merely to grumble at high prices, any more than it would do merely to grumble at burglaries and arson. Popular as well as official vigilance and energy are needed at all times, and especially in times of emergency like the present. The present need is for the public to coöperate with the officials in effectively enforcing the law and in thus bringing domestic economics back to a normal status.

All the Republicans with but one or two exceptions, are recorded in favor of reservations. This, with the aid of from two to five Democratic votes, will give the Republicans abundance of margin.—*The World*.

To the *Times* for reference.

Hands Off!

Dedicated to Orators and Others

I know a glade in Argonne where they lean—
Those crosses—loosened by last winter's snows,
Throwing their silent shadows on the green;
There I could go this very day—God knows!
To hide dumb sorrow mocked by tears and words,
To fall face downward on the catholic grass
That sprang this springtime through the shroud of snows
And let the little, greenwood birds say mass.

Like sound of taps at twilight from the hill,
The solemn thought comes that these youths are gone;
At evening when the breathless world grows still
And the grey day steals from the bird-hushed lawn,
When over wooded crests the sailing moon
Comes casting spells of beauty they have lost,
Across delicious valleys warm with June,
I count the fearful price the victory cost.

I count it in moongold and coin of life,
The love and beauty, that these dead have missed,
Who reaped not any glory from the strife,
Who are like sleepers by the loved one kissed—
Each sleeps and knows not that she presses near,
Or at the most sleeps deeper in his dream,
And life, and all blithe things they once held dear,
Are far and faint like voices of a stream.

Hands off our dead! For all they did, forbear
To drag them from their graves to point some speech;
Less sickening was the gas reek over there,
Less deadly was the great shell's hurtling screech;
You cannot guess the uttermost they gave;
Those martyrs did not die for chattering daws
To loot false inspiration from the grave
When mouthing fools turn ghouls to gain applause.

—HERVEY ALLEN.

Letters From Our Readers

WILSON AND GLADSTONE

SIR,—Some of us have wondered whether the audacious inconsistencies in word and action of the present President of the United States have ever been paralleled by any statesman in history. In this connection, the following comments by Lytton Strachey on Mr. Gladstone (*Eminent Victorians*, p. 307) are of interest. Substitute the name Mr. Wilson for Mr. Gladstone, and we have a remarkable word-picture of our present incumbent. Thus history repeats itself!—

He [Mr. Gladstone] had at length emerged, after a lifetime of transmutations, as the champion of militant democracy. He was at the apex of his power. His great rival was dead; he stood pre-eminent in the eye of the Nation; he enjoyed the applause, the confidence, the admiration, the adoration even, of multitudes. Yet—such was the peculiar character of the man, and such the intensity of the feelings which he called forth—at this very moment, at the height of his popularity, he was distrusted and loathed; already an unparalleled animosity was gathering its forces against him. For indeed there was something in his nature which invited—which demanded—the clashing reactions of passionate extremes. It was easy to worship Mr. Gladstone; to see in him the perfect model of the upright man—the man of virtue and religion—the man whose whole life had been devoted to the application of high principles to the affairs of state—the man, too, whose sense of right and justice was invigorated and ennobled by an enthusiastic heart. It was also easy to detest him as a hypocrite, to despise him as a demagogue, and to dread him as a crafty manipulator of men and things for the purposes of his own ambition. It might have been supposed that one or other of these conflicting judgments must have been palpably absurd, that nothing short of gross prejudice or wilful blindness, on one side or the other, could reconcile such contradictory conceptions of a single human being. But it was not so; the elements were so mixed in Mr. Gladstone that his bitterest enemies (and his enemies were never mild) and his warmest friends (and his friends were never tepid) could justify, with equal plausibility, their denunciations or their praises. What then was the truth? * * * It eludes the hand that seems to grasp it. One is baffled as his political opponents were baffled. * * * Speech was the fibre of his being; and, when he spoke, the ambiguity of ambiguity was revealed. The long, winding, intricate sentences, with their vast burden of subtle and complicated qualifications, befogged the mind like clouds, and like clouds, too, dropped thunderbolts. Could it not then be said of him with certainty that his was a complex character? But here also there was a contradiction.

If Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Wilson had not been in part contemporaries, the above analysis would suggest the transmigration of souls.

North East Harbor, Me.

ALLERTON S. CUSHMAN.

THE ISSUE

SIR,—When, some time ago, you stated the issue raised by President Wilson's foreign policy to be "Americanism versus International Socialism," I felt with many others that you had hit the nail on the head.

But is this the issue? Is there not evidence that Mr. Wilson is preparing to shift his position again, as he did on preparedness, the freedom of the seas, and many other important questions? Has he a definite policy, either foreign or domestic? Is not the real issue before our country *Woodrow Wilson, himself*?

Most other public men, past and present, have stood for something definable if not definite. They could be identified by some policy or system with which their names became associated. Napoleon was an imperialist; Washington, a federalist; Jefferson and Jackson, true democrats; Lincoln and Roosevelt, nationalists. Of these men, it could be safely predicted what they would do in a given crisis. But who so rash as to venture a prophesy on Mr. Wilson's future course? How shall he historian tag him?

The only constant thing about Mr. Wilson seems to be his inconstancy. Because of this fact, it seems to me that he should be classed with the Greek Sophists, who were the opportunists of their day. His "watchful waiting"—what is it but the expression of a determination to choose the winning side?

This might not be so dangerous, if the President should show a disposition to keep within his prerogatives. But he has repeatedly encroached upon the rights of the Senate, and in other ways exceeded the constitutional limitations of his office. By so doing, he has practically said, "The State, it is I."

Is this the sort of man the people of the United States want for leader in the present grave crisis? Do we want an artful rhetorician, who can argue with equal facility on either side of a question, whichever happens at the time to be the more popular?

Do we not rather want a man who, like Henry Clay, would rather be right than be President, or, like Abraham Lincoln, who stood firmly for the right as God gave him to see the right?

Chicago.

W. T. HEWETSON.

AN EX-SOLDIER ON ST. ELIZABETH'S

SIR,—The articles published recently in your WEEKLY, on conditions at St. Elizabeth's Hospital, have been stapled so hard to my mind that I had the article reprinted in our local paper.

As a discharged soldier, I would like to know why in the name of the Good Lord my brothers in arms, who stood the brunt of the war, went through hell "over the top" until their health has failed, are brought home and placed where they are not given any consideration whatever?

Our Secretary of War, Mr. Baker, should not let such a condition exist. Why doesn't he do something? He has the authority.

The "boys" gave the best they had, until their health failed, and now the ones they worked for and ruined their health for, turn them into dens where they receive no attention; where exercise is a thing of the past; where a bath is not known and where kindnesses do not exist.

As publicity chairman of the local American Legion, I will do all in my power to end these actions to our heroes, who instead of being in corridors and dens, should be in a rolling chair or a swell hotel.

Lykens, Pa. BRUCE MORRIS.
(Formerly Sergt. U. S. A.)

GEORGE III AGAIN

SIR,—Why keep up the argument about the American Revolution being merely against a "German King of England"? What does the Declaration of Independence say? After reciting the grievances of the colonies against King George, the Declaration says:

Nor have we been wanting in attentions to our British brethren. We have warned them from time to time of attempts by their legislature to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over us. We have reminded them of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement here. We have appealed to their native justice and magnanimity, and have conjured them by the ties of our common kindred to disavow these usurpations, which would inevitably interrupt our connections and correspondence. They, too, have been deaf to the voice of justice and consanguinity. We must therefore acquiesce in the necessity which denounces our separation, and hold them, as we hold the rest of mankind, Enemies in War, in Peace Friends.

The Revolutionary War is over. The independence of America is not due to the mistakes of a German King of England, but is in fulfillment of the designs of destiny. Why intimate that it happened only because George III, like George V, had German ancestors, and that it is all the lamentable result of an unfortunate misunderstanding?

Washington, D. C. ALBERT L. LOCKWOOD.

HYPOCRISY

SIR,—The insincerity and hypocrisy of the so-called "liberal" publications of the country is shown by their attitude toward the prohibition issue. Coerced and intimidated by a band of preacher-politicians, paid uplifters and professional reformers, our national and State legislatures have forced upon the country the iniquitous Eighteenth Amendment, which deprives millions of sober temperate men and women of the right to drink a harmless glass of beer or wine. While this gross violation of the fundamental principles of the Constitution was being driven through the Congress and the State legislatures, under the whip of clerical terrorism, none of these pretended "liberal journals" protested against its invasion of the right of each citizen to select what beverages he should drink. On the contrary, most of them favored the amendment, and opened their columns to the dry propaganda of invented statistics, baseless assertions, forgeries and falsehoods that have succeeded in intimidating our cowardly legislators into doing the bidding of the petty despots of the Anti-Saloon League. These journals that prate of liberty and democracy uttered no protest against legislation that constitutes treason to every American principle of individual liberty and personal rights, but when a nation of free men was being converted into an autocracy of fanatics, stood by, consenting unto the death.

New York City. WHIDDEN GRAHAM.

WELL, YOU'VE GOT YOUR WISH

SIR,—I am not burning to see this in type; I am writing rather in the hope of a word of editorial comment in reply. For I am at a loss to understand the almost unanimous editorial advocacy of the continuance of the Daylight Saving law. For it certainly is not true, as has been repeated time and time again, that the thing has resolved itself into a contest between tillers of the soil and the rest of our population. I am persuaded that eighty per-cent of the entire population is opposed

to it and this judgment is based on the result of inquiries over a very wide range of territory. The great majority of laborers and factory workers is against it. I do not believe that there is a mother with little children in the land who is not in despair over it. Recently I made inquiry of 25 "suburbanites," with little gardens to cultivate and lawns to mow, to which the law is supposed to be a "boon," and twenty-two of them detested it. It seems to me that the enormous majority in Congress for the repeal of the law cannot be explained by the influence of the farm workers. Why then this misrepresentation by editors "among which number be you one?" There are doubtless certain groups of men,—professional men,—also some loafers—who crawl out of bed daily about noon-time, work some six or eight hours, after which the extra hour of daylight may seem a good thing—for golf, and what not.

Is this why editors are opposed to the repeal bill?

Reading, Pa.

WM. W. KLINE.

APPEALS UNHEEDED.

SIR,—The headlines on the front page of today's New York Sun are as follows: "British ask U. S. to send troops into Caucasus," "Rioting Compels B. R. T. to stop cars at 10 p. m.," "Stocks tumble in wild break," "Vote strike unless police quit stock yards," "shopmen told they must all resume work," "New Haven R. R. shopmen out," "Roads looted, public robbed, Plumb charges," "Managers say they'll fight Players Union."

I have a very distinct recollection of the repeated appeals you made to the President to let Europe alone and turn his attention to the reconstruction problems of the war. Your appeals and pleadings of course fell upon deaf ears. The President was so taken up with the world at large that he had no time for a detail like America. He was elected to perform certain duties in America and took an oath that he would do so. This was before the 'new day' he talks so much about, so that, in his estimation, I suppose the Constitution and those old superstitions have become junk.

Would it not be a good idea to dig up the things you wrote on this subject and let the people read them again? It will not save any spilt milk, but it may aid the country in getting rid of the Wilson incubus.

C. G. HORN.

New York City.

"HYPHENATED AMERICANS"

SIR,—In order to propitiate your savage jungle disposition and induce you to read this communication to the end, I shall start it with the stereotyped declaration that I have been a subscriber and have read every word in your WEEKLY, from start to finish, and have approved of ninety-five per cent. of what you have written.

I noticed in one of your late issues that you were perplexed as to the authorship of the slogan "Hyphenated Americans," and thought it might have originated with Captain Coughlan, of "Hoch der Kaiser" fame, for which he was censured by the War Department on a protest from the German Government.

Many people have attributed the origin to Theodore Roosevelt, who used the expression hundreds of times in his speeches and to whom I sent a copy years ago. It has been taken to England, Canada, Australia, India and other countries. It is in the Archives of the Chicago Historical Society and the Sons of the American Revolution, where it was first promulgated in 1899, just after the Spanish war.

I would be grateful if you would give me credit for the authorship, possibly to gratify my vanity, as no one likes to have his thunder stolen.

Chicago, Ill.

ELLIOTT DURAND.

TAFT AND THE DEMOCRATS.

SIR,—Some one remarked the other day on the train between Tampa and Jacksonville: "Yes, there is no doubt about Colonel Harvey being a clever and brilliant writer, but he is such an extremist." And today I read with care my copy of the *Independent*—for I like to study both sides of a question—which copy carries this same date, the 2nd of August, and on page 151 I find a statement by His Highness Hamilton Holt that Ex-President Taft is in the lead for the nomination next year by the Republicans! Great guns, does not Dr. Holt know that down here in the South there is a lot of talk of the Democrats naming Taft if Dr. Woodrow Wilson shall decide to withdraw? And that thousands of Democrats here in the South believe that Taft has already quit the Republican Party?

Arcadia, Fla.

ARTHUR F. ODLIN.

APPRECIATION.

SIR,—I take this opportunity to renew my thanks for the great work you are doing for America. I am an active propagandist for the WEEKLY, sending it to friends in various parts of the country, and giving it "pitiless publicity" at home.

Concord, Mass.

DAVID CLAIBORNE GARRETT.

JAPAN IN ACTION

By JEREMIAH W. JENKS

A LEAGUE OF INSINCERITY

By DAVID JAYNE HILL

in the

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Our Royal Secretary

Secretary Daniels, accompanied by his family, was received with all the pomp of royalty. Hawaiian girls carried gaily-colored leis which they threw over the shoulders of the distinguished visitors. The Daniels party traveled on the battleship New York and were escorted by several destroyers.—Associated Press Despatch from Honolulu.

The Terrifying Tour

SCARCELY was the ink dry upon our suggestion of last week that the time was ripe for it, when word came from the White House that the President was about to set forth on his Covenanting Crusade; and before the ink on these lines is dry he will presumably have made the first of his thirty speeches. Which is well; very well. He having spent twenty-odd weeks abroad endeavoring to scramble the United States into internationalism, we shall not begrudge him twenty-odd days in which to elucidate the facile process of unscrambling. It is well, we say, despite the further neglect of urgent public business which it will involve. It is always well for the President to get into touch with the people, especially when he has, by his own confession, been so much out of touch with them for so long a time.

The time is opportune because, as we said last week, the Senate has provided him with a particularly plain, clear-cut issue, from which arise various pertinent questions which he should find it most profitable to discuss. And there are others. Millions of his fellow countrymen would like to know, for example, why it is necessary to make so extraordinary an effort to enlist the support of the people for the League of Nations if, as he himself has said, the people long ago gave him a mandate for that League. Let us recall his exact words. He was speaking on January 25 last, to the Peace Conference at Paris, urging the League of Nations as the keystone of the whole programme of peace comprised in his Fourteen Commandments. He said, of himself and his colleagues:

If we return to the United States without having made every effort in our power to realize this program, we should return to meet the merited scorn of our fellow citizens. They expect their leaders to speak their thoughts and no private purpose of their own. They expect their representatives to be their servants. We have no choice but to obey their mandate. We would not dare abate a single item of the program which constitutes our instructions.

We must confess that we do not ourselves remember that such "instructions" were ever given. The President himself did ask for something like a mandate, but the nation on the Tuesday after the first Monday in November refused by a large majority to give it to him; and Senator Jimham in his behalf asked for a signed blank check from the Senate, and didn't get it. Nevertheless, the President says, or said, that there was such a mandate, which he did not dare to disobey. Are we to understand that the nation has now repudiated its own instructions, and that it is necessary for him to woo it back to them? If it was so tremendously intent, last January, upon having a League of Nations that he had no choice but to obey its mandate, surely it ought to make its will felt by pygmy-minded Senators, without his taking the trouble to swing round the circle to stir it up to action.

There are other questions which might be taken up for sake of variety, "lest one good custom should corrupt the world." It would be highly edifying to have the President explain why it is a less serious thing to incur a moral than a legal obligation. It would be gratifying to have him tell why the United States should be so deeply interested in matters pertaining to the war in which while the war was in progress he insisted that we were not and must not be

interested at all. It would of course be beneath the dignity of his high office for him to be subjected to heckling or questioning of any kind on his tour. We must hope, therefore, that he will voluntarily take these questions up and dispose of them in a way satisfactory to the multitudinous hearers in whose minds they will doubtless be uppermost. If he will do so, his "swinging round the circle" may prove to be as entertaining an enterprise as that of his distinguished predecessor of fifty-odd years ago; and as profitable.

Duration of the French Treaty

EVERY favorable estimate of the French treaty is to be applauded, and every step toward putting it into effect is to be welcomed. Such is all the more the case because of the feeling which the French have, and which they are justified in having, that they have not been dealt with altogether fairly. They were given to understand not only that America was all but unanimously in favor of the League of Nations as it was devised at Paris, but also that the Covenant in Article X and elsewhere was to be interpreted as legally mandatory, compelling the United States and other nations to send ships and soldiers wherever required by the League. Trusting to such assurances, they assented to an abatement of the protective measures upon which they otherwise would have insisted. And now to their consternation and quite justifiable resentment they find that those assurances were deceptive, that the United States is so little inclined toward the League that there is grave doubt of its adoption, and that in any case the Covenant is not to be interpreted as legally binding or as making it obligatory upon us or any nation to furnish military force for the aid of another country. In such circumstances it is not to be wondered at that they want this treaty made effective, and in such circumstances we are doubly bound to make it effective; to atone for the deception which France has suffered.

We must express some surprise, however, at the action of the Judiciary Sub-Committee of the Senate in pronouncing it constitutional and satisfactory as it stands. There can be, of course, no doubt of the competence of our government to make a treaty of the general character and purpose of this one. But there is grave doubt of the propriety of recognizing in it a thing which as yet has no existence and may never have existence, and of actually conditioning its operation upon the existence and activity of that non-existent thing. We should think that the French would be reluctant to have it ratified in this form. Having once been fooled over the League of Nations, they might well wish this important treaty to be divorced from all connection with that delusive thing.

It is indeed impossible to avoid seeing possibility of embarrassment for both countries in the treaty in its present form. We are all agreed that such a treaty should not be perpetual but should be for a specified and in this case not very long term of years. It is always a much more grateful task to renew a treaty, when both parties desire it, than to abrogate it when one party wishes to withdraw from its obligations and it is also much easier and less offensive to decline to rene-

it than to abrogate it. This is recognized in the treaty, where it is provided that it shall remain in force until its obligations can be taken over by the League of Nations. Let us waive for the moment the glaring anomaly of thus making a part of the supreme law of the United States revocable by or transferrable to an alien body—though for such a performance we decline to believe that there is constitutional warrant. The present point is that the League of Nations does not yet exist, and there is no positive assurance that it ever will exist, or that the United States will be a party to it.

Suppose, then, that the League should not come into existence, or that the United States should not become a member of it. Nothing can be more obvious than that in such case this French treaty would be perpetually or at least indefinitely binding upon its makers, and it would be impossible for us ever to get rid of its obligations except by denouncing and abrogating it, which without the assent of France might be a most embarrassing and unpleasant thing to do. The risk of such an event may be remote and slight, but even if so it should not needlessly be incurred; and the incurring of it would be quite needless. All that is necessary is to strike out all reference to the League of Nations, and to fix the duration of the treaty at some reasonable term, say two years, with provision for renewal by mutual consent. If the League of Nations is ever to come into existence and operation it will probably do so within two years. If it does, and both parties wish it, the obligations of the treaty may then be transferred to it and the treaty as between France and America can be permitted to expire by limitation. On the other hand, if the League has not then materialized, the two countries can renew the treaty if they wish, or let it lapse if it is no longer needed and desired.

There should be no doubt in the world of France's readiness to accept such an amendment of the treaty, and there can be no good reason on either side for not making it. In fact, the only reason for not doing so and for keeping the treaty as it stands, is to provide an argument for ratification of the League Covenant. But that is scarcely a reason which should have weight with the Senate of the United States in the performance of its constitutional duty.

Lafayette Day is worthy of all commemoration, for many reasons; at the present time notably to remind us that he was a man who did a great work for this nation, for France and for the world, who had "no ambition to fulfill and no selfish interest to serve."

Harmony of the Secret Treaties and the 14 Points

LET us say a word for secret diplomacy—now that we have seen the open kind—even for the secret diplomacy of the secret treaties, conceived in sin and born of the desire for empire grabbing. They were written by the allies from 1915 to 1918, before the full disclosure of the 14 points, yet marvelously they anticipated the inspired programme for producing a perfect Europe, which would stand for all time and escape the shock of all future war.

They provided a Western boundary of Germany. On the Eastern boundary they failed, for they did not foresee the

collapse of Czarism and the rise of Bolshevism. They laid out the Northern boundary of Italy, but Italy in enlightened 1919 was more greedy than in dark 1915, and it is not yet clear whether the earlier moderation or the later greed will prevail.

They carved up the Ottoman Empire, on lines of which the news developments from Paris daily justify the foresight except of course the failure to foresee the Russian Revolution. That left a chunk of Turkey available for a later comer, the United States, if we accept a mandate which will make us a little more European, a little more like our partners in world Empire.

You read as of Feb. 1917, that French territory will include "the whole of the industrial coal basin of the Valley of the Saar," clearly a persuasion of the 14 points. And "other territories located on the left bank of the Rhine not included in the composition of the German Empire shall be completely separated from Germany" and "shall form an autonomous neutral government." A brilliant anticipation of the familiar Rhenish Republic, which existed on paper while Col. House during Wilson's absence was making his famous map of Europe, in strict conformity to the secret treaties, which disappeared when the French-American Alliance became possible, which reappeared "spontaneously" later, and is almost a diplomatic certainty of the future.

Palestine, Mesopotamia, Syria, the new independent Arab states are all foreseen in the Secret Treaties precisely as the 14 points are arranging them today. And Shantung, greatest of all the secrets, which President Wilson did not learn of till February of this year and which, in spite of his love of publicity, he did not disclose to the American public until long afterward. Maybe some Japanese diplomat sensed the 14 points as they were forming in Mr. Wilson's mind, for again secret diplomacy is justified according to them.

If there were not this perfect and mysterious harmony, why did the Paris Peace Conference write its map of Europe according to the Secret Treaties? Mr. Wilson knew of all the secret treaties, except those with Japan when he arranged for the armistice with Germany. Russia had published them in November 1917.

Having this knowledge, why did not Col. House acting for him at the conference where the armistice was agreed to, while the United States was still free, demand that the allied powers denounce, as a preliminary, all secret treaties among themselves, published and unpublished—and this would have included the Shantung treaty—why? Can it be supposed that Mr. Wilson went to Paris tied hand and foot for the lack of so simple an expedient?

Geographically the Peace Conference achieved the perfect work of ancient secret diplomacy and its treaties. Either because President Wilson committed a child's blunder and the associated powers cheerfully profiting by his oversight agreed to the 14 points, only with the mental reservation "so far as consistent with our treaty obligations, secret or otherwise," an inconceivable hypothesis, or because ancient secret diplomacy was really an enlightened thing inspired with the modern spirit of the President's diplomatic commandments, and keenly alive to the legitimate aspirations and self determination of all subject peoples.

"The Truce of Versailles"

THE entire country shares, and has long shared, the impatience which Senator Knox plainly enough manifested, in his recent speech, at the senseless mystery and secrecy with which Mr. Wilson has seen fit to envelop the Versailles Peace Treaty conferences.

"There has been so much of needless secrecy," said Senator Knox, "so many times mere partial disclosures when the whole truth could and should have been told, so much of assumed mystery in the whole affair, that it has been impossible for any of us, not in the confidences, to tell when we have arrived at the whole of any matter."

The causes for this unprecedented attitude on the part of the Executive toward the co-ordinate treaty-making power, the United States Senate, may or may not be of vital consequence. It all depends upon whether facts to which the entire country is entitled to full and unobstructed access are concealed because they will not bear the light of day, or whether they are kept in the dark because of a temperamental incapacity on the part of Mr. Wilson in the matter of that "frankness" which he so frequently and so glibly characterizes as part and parcel of his own public statements. In the one case it approaches pretty closely to a public wrong; in the other it is only an additional manifestation of that singularly hopeless lack of tact of which even the President's most ardent apologists find themselves unable to acquit him.

But whatever the cause the effect has been a degree of public irritation but feebly measured by Senator Knox's moderate expressions of regret. Yet if the President's was a light that failed, that of Senator Knox distinctly was not. Indeed, after his searchlight exploration of the League Treaty's intricate interior mechanism, there remains little more in the way of illumination to be desired. His analysis of the pack-horse mass of burdens which the Treaty would put upon us in the mere matter alone of the enforcement of Germany's multitudinous obligations has never before been spread in massed formation before the American people. It is in the nature of a new revelation of the intricately tangled threads with which Mr. Wilson boasted he would so tie up peace with his League dream that separation would be impossible. After exhaustively detailed specifications presented with remarkable conciseness, Senator Knox thus sums up the total of this one branch of our League of Peace burdens:

We are participants, either as one of the Principal Allied and Associated Powers, or as a member of the Council of the League of Nations, in the Belgian, Saar Basin, Czecho-Slovak State, Polish, Free City of Danzig, and Schleswig Boundary Commissions. We are in like manner participants in the Saar Basin Governing Commission with all the inevitable difficulties and dangers attached thereto. We participate in Plebiscite Commissions of Poland, Schleswig, and East Prussia, and the Inter-Allied Military, Naval and Aeronautical Commissions of Control charged with enforcing the disarmament provisions of this Treaty. In addition we have our own Prisoners and Graves Commissions, our own Clearing Offices if we adopt that method of adjusting the enumerated debts. Finally, we are one of the four Powers whose representatives are to sit as a Reparation Commission to assess damages against Germany, to appraise credits, to judge of her economic requirements as affecting her ability to furnish certain raw materials, to pass on her tax system, to postpone payment on her debts, to prescribe the conditions of her bonds, to recommend abatement of her debt,

to appraise the value of public property in ceded territories, and a great bulk of other duties that need not be here referred to, all of which may make or break the peace of Europe, with an obligation on our part that having so participated in the breaking we shall once more contribute our millions of men and our billions of dollars to the readjustments.

In addition to this the United States is to appoint arbitrators to determine the amount of river craft that shall go to France on the Rhine and to the Allied and Associated Powers (including ourselves) on the Elbe, the Oder, the Niemen, and the Danube, and to determine the conditions under which the International Convention relative to the St. Gothard railway may be denounced.

On the broad subject of the Treaty's threat to our national independence of action, of its turning us from "our old course of proved happiness, prosperity and safety, to a new one, for us yet untried, of alliances, balance of power and coalition with countries and peoples whose interests, aspirations and ideals are foreign to our own"—to these features of Mr. Wilson's blessed visions, Senator Knox very safely assumes that the American people are becoming fully awakened. On this subject Mr. Wilson is very likely to receive some first hand information during the course of his trans-continental missionary pilgrimage. But it is impossible that all the American people can know in detail just what the obligations are which Mr. Wilson would load upon them. "Of the hundred million who are to sign the promissory note," said Senator Knox, "but a paltry few thousand will be able to read it before signature." But there is time yet. "Little by little," said Senator Knox, "they are bringing divulgence of the facts connected with the Treaty and they may now hope finally to see *the whole of the great gaunt tragedy into which those whom they had charged with protecting them, were about to betray them.*" The italics are ours. The words they emphasize surely merit them. "The great, gaunt tragedy!" How better could be described the dark chaos into which our splendid, free, self-reliant America would be plunged if with uplifted, enraptured eyes it were to follow the beatific Wilsonian vision up to and over the edge of that cliff to which it leads?

Nobody will question Senator Knox's sincerity when he says that it is from no sympathy with the Hun that he

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BY GEORGE HARVEY

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points out harsh peace conditions of whose fulfillment Germany is admittedly incapable. It is by way of warning of the fierce, implacable hatred those conditions have left in the heart of a foe, defeated but not conquered and still breathing vengeance—a vengeance the road to which leads through Russia and possibly even involves Japan: a new and appalling coalition arrayed against western Europe and pregnant with possibilities of another war more horrible than the last.

Our own two great objectives in the war, Senator Knox demonstrates from President Wilson's war speech of April, 1917, were defeat and elimination of the Imperial German Government and military autocracy and the liberation of the German people themselves. Both of these have been accomplished and when they were accomplished our task was done. The subsequent settlements were the affair of the Allies. Save in minor particulars they concerned Europe not America. The war for us was over. But we had "visions." A light was streaming along a path that led, to our embroilment in all the future wars of Europe, Asia and Africa, and the heart of the world would have been broken had we not followed it. And so we have Mr. Wilson's League of Nations Treaty—"a Treaty," said Senator Knox, "which does not spell peace but war—war more woe-filled and devastating than the one we have but now closed. The instrument before us is not the Treaty but the Truce of Versailles."

Eliminating Gratuitous Entanglement

THE Senate committee's adoption of Senator Fall's numerous amendments to the treaty was a patriotic service comparable with its like action upon the Shantung amendment a few days before. We have no hesitation in saying that it ought to be sustained by the whole Senate, even at cost of returning the treaty to Versailles; though it is by no means sure that, with a proper management of our State Department, that cost would be involved. Let us say right here, however, that we are not in the least dismayed at the menace of such return and of the delay which would thus be caused. The treaty ought, it is true, to have been disposed of long ago. All further delay is much to be regretted. But it is immeasurably more important that the thing shall be done right than that it shall be done quickly. If the President could consume months in making the treaty conform with his self-opinionated notions, the Senate may surely spend a few days or even weeks in making it conform with American principles and interests.

That, however, by the way. What we started to point out was that the purpose of Senator Fall's amendments is to maintain and to vindicate the Monroe Doctrine, in spirit and in letter, in its noblest and most impeccable sense, by applying it subjectively to our attitude toward Europe just as much and as truly as we insist upon applying it objectively to Europe's attitude toward American affairs. We must remember that the Monroe Doctrine begins with the declaration that we have not intervened and will not intervene in

European affairs which concern Europe alone and are none of our business. That is the principle which Senator Fall's amendments are intended to enforce.

Before the United States entered the war, the President vehemently and voluminously protested that we had no interest whatever in its causes and issues. Later it was asserted with equal emphasis that we had finally entered the war only because our own rights and welfare had been assailed. Why should we in peace-making concern ourselves with matters which in the war were of no interest to us? If we were not concerned in the original causes of the war, as the President insisted, but became concerned only when our own interests were attacked, it follows with impregnable logic that we waged, or should have waged, the war not for those original causes but merely for vindication of our own rights, and, of course, that in peace-making we are to have regard not for the former but only for the latter.

That means that we are to make peace with Germany and Austria-Hungary—we were at war with no other power and are concerned in peace-making with no other—on terms which will end hostilities, vindicate our rights, indemnify us for our losses, establish guarantees against future attacks, punish those guilty of breaking international law, and assert the sanctity of treaties. Seeing moreover that we waged the war in cooperation with other powers, some of whose causes for waging it were identical with our own, it is incumbent that we should cooperate with them to a similar degree in the making of peace. That, as it seems to us, is the extent of our legitimate functions in peace-making.

We are not interested, at any rate beyond the extent to which we can rely upon the judgment and faith of our allies in the war, in the exact definition of boundaries between Poland and Czecho-Slovakia, in the terms upon which Germany may at some time resume control of the Saare mines, or in the regulation of commerce upon the Elbe, Oder and Niemen rivers. We have no business with those matters, nor even by virtue of our participation in the war; any more than our European friends have with the control of the Panama Canal or with the settlement of our controversies with Mexico. We are purposing, with the President's acquiescence, to adopt in ratifying the treaty a reservation withholding all purely American affairs from European intervention. It seems similarly fitting to reserve purely European affairs from American intervention.

Some time ago it was reported that the American delegates at Paris were protesting against having thrust upon them for conference and determination matters which were of no direct concern to the United States. In that we must sympathize with them and consider that they were right. In exact accordance with that attitude of theirs, Senator Fall's amendments would deliver us from various such matters which have already been ill-advisedly thrust upon us.

We should hope for the adoption of his amendments by the whole Senate as well as by the Foreign Affairs committee. Meantime they perform an invaluable service in reminding the American people of the extent to which the treaty unamended would involve us in "Entangling alliances" of the most offensive, the most dangerous and the most unnecessary kind.

Exit the Politicalmaster General

WHEN, two weeks ago, we announced that Postmaster General Burleson had handed his resignation to the President, and that the President had handed it back to him, we told the truth and nothing but the truth, but now we must confess that we did not tell the whole truth. We hasten to make amends for an omission that was quite unintentional, pleading in extenuation, that as the information came to us in a roundabout manner from the Postmaster General himself we felt justified in assuming that it consisted of the whole truth. Surely none knew the truth better than Mr. Burleson.

The complementary information which we now present comes from other sources quite as veracious and disinterested as Mr. Burleson himself, maybe. The fact is that the President did decline to accept the Postmaster General's resignation with certain reservations, but he demanded and got the Politicalmaster General's resignation. Tedious as a recital of the circumstances preceding the memorable White House meeting may be, it seems to be essential if an accurate account of the case is to be set down.

Upon his return from Paris, the last time, the President was somewhat chafed to find Mr. Tumulty and a host of the younger Democratic statesmen awaiting him at the dock with a very distressing account of Mr. Burleson's conduct during his absence. Led by the old reliable *World*, papers everywhere, were printing the most damaging reports of Mr. Burleson's activities followed by editorials demanding his scalp. Thousands of business associations and individuals beyond number had sent protests to the White House.

Engrossed as he was at that time, in the affairs of men everywhere else, and disturbed by his own diagnosis of the condition of the heart of the world, the President put all this aside as of secondary importance. A little later Mr. Homer Cummings and the assistant managers of the Democratic Party presented the President with a clear cut indictment against Mr. Burleson, and taking time by the forelock disavowed responsibility for what would happen if the Postmaster General was not compelled to stop meddling in the business of everyone to the inevitable bankruptcy of the business which he was hired to manage. Mr. Cummings and his associates reported with brutal frankness that Mr. Burleson was the greatest liability they had to carry in their somewhat difficult task of convincing the public that the Democratic administration was efficient.

This, of course, being the report of patriotic and forward-looking men, could not and should not be laid aside, so Mr. Burleson was called to the White House for a little common counsel. Leaving his sombrero and umbrella with Pat McKenna Mr. Burleson toddled into the President's private office and took a seat in that little straight back chair beside the desk where so many of the fallen have been chastened, or absolved, during these last seven years.

It would be an exaggeration to say that tears trickled down Mr. Burleson's cheeks as he told the President that he was willing to retire, but we are reliably informed that his wind pipes were a bit salty. Yes, he had made mistakes. Impatience coupled with a difficult temper had caused him to

do some things that he regretted—but his motives were good. Supreme loyalty to the President and to the party had caused him to do many things that had better been left undone. And so they counselled together. Finally the President decided upon a happy compromise.

He would not accept the resignation, but Mr. Burleson should remain in the official family with the distinct understanding that thereafter he would mind his own business and try to mend it as far as possible. He would stay in his office at the Post Office Department and bend all his efforts to rebuilding a postal service of what remained after seven years of his handiwork. But in all matters of policy he should take no action until the President had passed upon the case. He should appoint no First Class Postmaster. The President would do that in the future and under no circumstances should he connive at violation of the law by forcing Democrats in positions where it was public knowledge that a Republican was legally entitled to the job. He should do nothing further to irritate labor—the favorite lambkin of the Democratic party. He should cease all political activities of every kind whatsoever and should keep out of the Capitol where his presence had become a constant irritant to Democratic statesmen.

Having been deprived of ninety per cent of the objects of his former activities, time inevitably hung heavy on the Postmaster General's hands. He never cared much about the routine of the Post Office Department anyhow. He told his friends that he was weary of public life and had asked the President to allow him to retire so that he could devote his time to the development of his estate in Bosque County, which we are told, is not so profitable since public disclosures made it unwise for the statesman-owner to continue the employment of that convict labor which had added so much to his fortune. But, he lamented, the President refused him and therefore he would continue in the cabinet.

This, then is the full story of the death of the Politicalmaster General. There is little doubt that it is highly gratifying to Mr. Cummings and the other political managers. To what extent it will satisfy a long suffering public which is dependent upon a dilapidated postal system remains to be seen.

Workingmen Seeing Both Sides

AMAZEMENT, even to incredulity, was widely manifested the other day at the action of a numerous representative committee of the employes of a great industrial establishment. These men, in convention assembled, adopted a series of resolutions earnestly opposing any further demands for an increase of wages or for reduction of hours of labor. This was done entirely on their own initiative, and at a time when other men, in both private and governmental employ, were demanding higher wages and shorter hours and were striking or threatening to strike for the enforcement of those demands, to an extent both in numbers and in impassioned determination unprecedented in industrial history. On its face the incident certainly seemed a strange anomaly.

Full explanation, however, was obvious and instant, made in the very act itself. We have only to read the resolution:

which those men adopted, and to compare them with those of other organizations taking the opposite view. Usually the resolutions and other outgivings of labor unions, strike committees and similar bodies are concerned solely with the needs or the desires of their authors. The men feel the need of more money, and therefore they demand it. They want for themselves more time for recreation, and therefore they demand shorter days of labor. The argument is purely subjective. Circumstances, the interests of others, the inevitable results of a granting of their demands upon the vast and intricate interlocking social and economic system of the state are disregarded. They simply want what they want, and want it when they want it.

These men of whom we are speaking, however, employees of the Midvale Steel and Ordnance Company, took other views. Doubtless they felt their own needs as keenly as anybody. But they looked beyond them. They considered the causes of that high cost of living which is so commonly made the pretext for demands for higher wages. They saw, and said, that it was to be abated not by raising wages, which would aggravate it, but "by diligent, efficient and conscientious labor, by thrift, and by avoidance of waste and extravagance"; and especially by "increased production and the stabilization of prices in conformity with wages now being paid." In brief they were to seek not more dollars but a greater purchasing power for the dollar.

They went further. They pointed out that the workman who demands a greater proportionate return for his labor than his fellows in other industries are getting, is just as guilty of profiteering as is the grocer or other tradesman who charges extortionate prices for the necessities of life; and that the granting of their demands would simply "result in higher prices being set by the profiteers for the necessities of living to all purchasers alike." Therefore they asked not higher wages for themselves but the national control of private monopolies, the restriction of profits to fair rate, prohibition of unnecessary exports of food and clothing, and the open marketing of unnecessary exports of food and clothing, and the open marketing of hoarded supplies, in order "to bring about normal conditions, with special privileges to none but justice to all."

How influential and effective their appeal may be, we do not know. We do know that it is of inestimable value as an example and an inspiration to the whole country, to employers and employees alike, and as the manifestation of a spirit of intelligent comprehension and impartial judgment which, if it could generally prevail, would satisfactorily and speedily solve our social and economic problems. It simply means that employers and employees alike shall carefully consider both sides and all sides of controversies, instead of only their own side.

Railroad workmen demand an increase of wages of from 25 to 46 per cent. Mr. Howard Elliott, President of the Northern Pacific Railroad system, suggests that there ought to be an increase in freight rates of about 25 per cent in order to place the roads on a solvent basis when they are returned to their owners. Does the public which, in the words of the late Mr. Jones, of Binghamton, "Pays the freight," regard the two proposals with equal approval?

Senator Reed's Strong Speech

IN Senator Reed's speech of recent date we have one of the clearest expositions of the basic, underlying causes of the high cost of living which thus far has been presented on the floor of Congress.

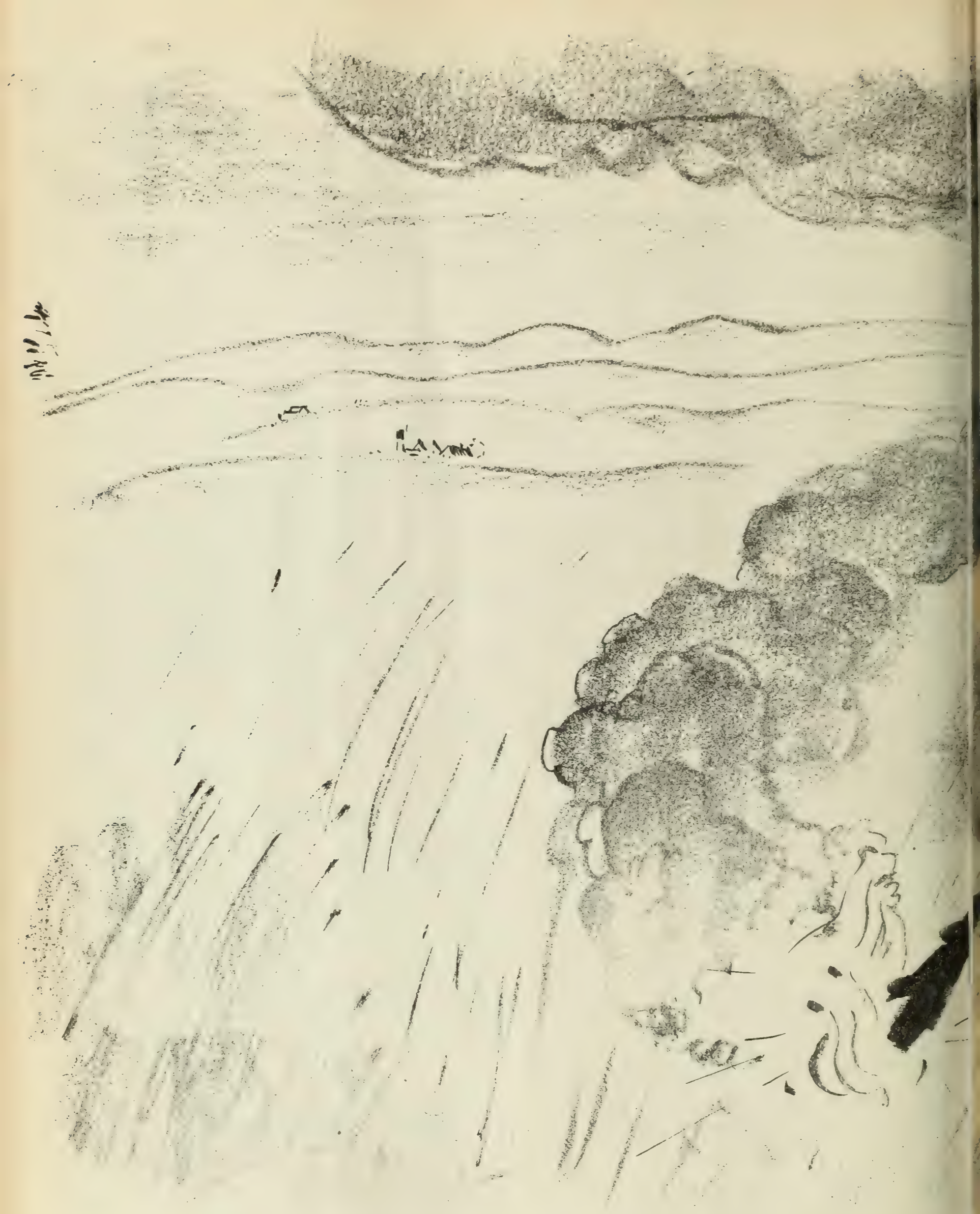
Senator Reed went no farther afield in his search for the causes of the enormous prices we are now compelled to pay for everything, than those simple laws of supply and demand which, since the beginning of time, have always governed the cost of things. We have been burning our candle at both ends and in the middle. We have not only cut down our production but we have cut down our man and machine resources of production. Both have got to be reorganized and remobilized. We have not only been called upon to feed ourselves, but to feed all Europe as well, and, incidentally, we have had to furnish Europe with the money wherewith to run the vast suction machine that so long has been draining us bare of raw materials and basic food staples.

When there is a great demand in the face of a scant supply there is competitive bidding, and when there is competitive bidding there is an upward leap in prices. And, when one of the competitive bidders is a Government shoveling out taxpayers' money like a drunken sailor the prices skyrocket in proportion. There is greed and grasping and speculative cornerings of markets as a matter of course, however stringent may be regulations in restraint of the same. But this profiteering, wholesale and retail, great as may be the private fortunes amassed therefrom, is in reality but a drop in the bucket of the sum total of causes which have brought about the high price effects from which we are now suffering. Those causes, as Senator Reed so impressively revealed, boil down to a simple case of under supply and over demand.

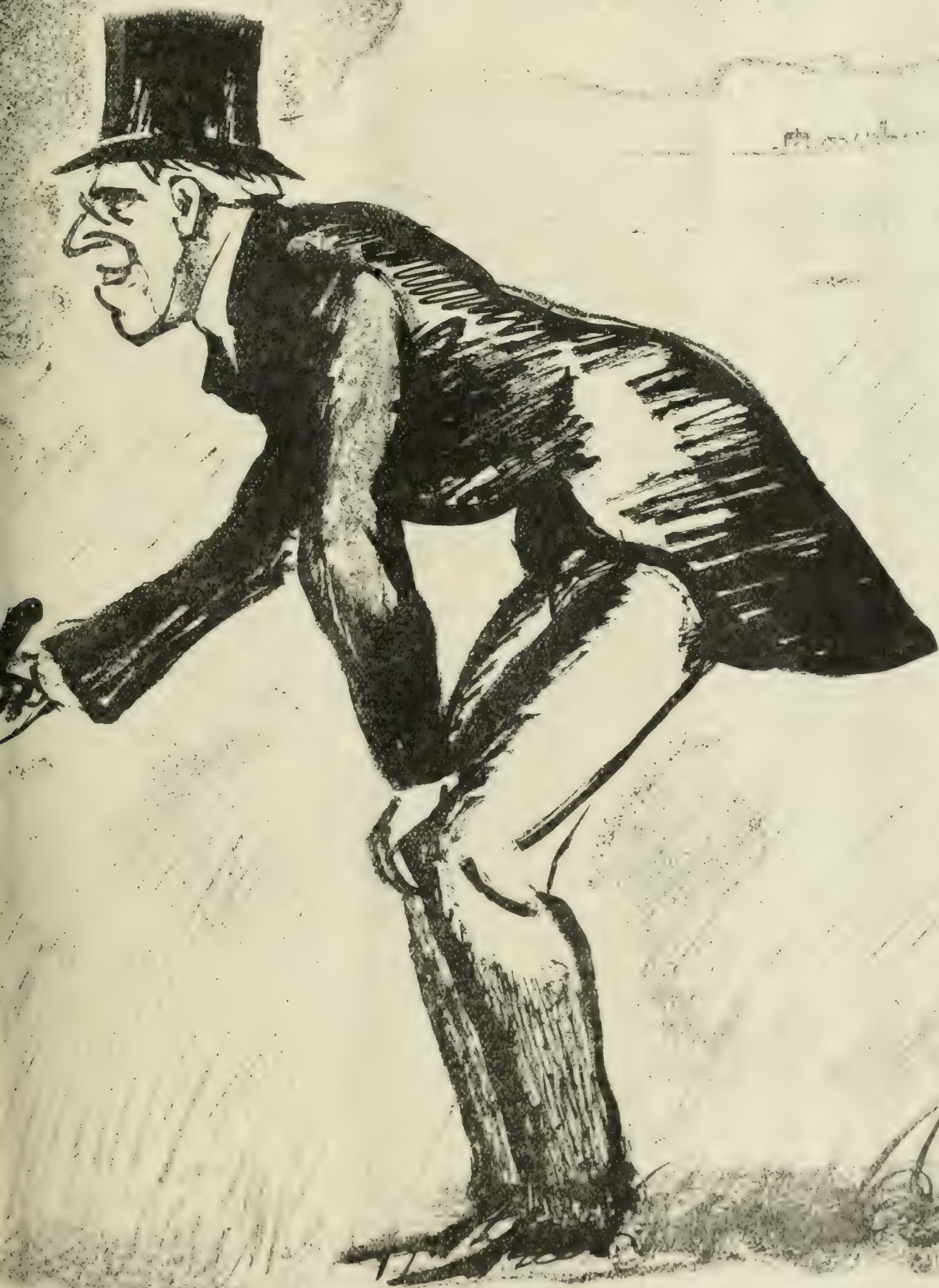
Not until the wide gap between production and demand, which four years of this Hell's riot made inevitable, is reduced to hailing distance across, may we expect to see any other than sporadic price reduction under the unnatural stimulus of legislative or popular pressure here and there applied. Meantime, whatever tends to reduce production tends by just that much to maintain scarcity, and, with scarcity, high or even higher prices. The drain of the war is only partially over. Our men are back, but they are not yet back at work. The productive power of these three or four million strong pairs of young arms is not yet felt and will not be felt for another year to come. During that interval, but in diminuendo, they will continue to be consumers and not producers.

And then, of course, we must count, apparently, upon the continuous performance insertion of labor strike spokes in the wheels of production. That is the unknown quantity which just now seems to dominate and bewilder all calculations as to the time when we may hope to see better days.

In the meantime, if it is any consolation, Senator Smoot, in the course of a brief interruption of Senator Reed's exhaustive address, revealed the fact that the rate of increase in 90 important commodities during the last three years of the civil war was almost exactly parallel with the increase in the price of the same commodities during the last three years of the great world war so recently ended.



“ALL QUIET ALONG THE POT”



—DESPITE THE BACK-FIRING

The Week

WASHINGTON, September 4, 1919.

INTEREST is in the West. Thither the Court, no longer in Residence, has betaken itself, leaving not even the indispensable Tumulty behind to maintain here the Throne of Administration. Precisely why the appeal of despair in behalf of the moribund Plague of Notions is to be made primarily and chiefly if not solely to the Trans-Appalachian region, does not yet appear and can be seen only as in a glass, darkly. Whatever the reason be, the land of Borah and Beveridge, of Fall and Reed and Johnson, can be trusted to deal with the Covenanting Crusade no less effectively and patriotically than that of Brandegee and Lodge. The tone and temper of the Presidential utterances will be observed with much interest. On a former occasion he menaced opponents with his "fighting blood," in moderate emulation of another eminent autocrat's threat, "Him who opposes me I will dash to pieces!" but there are indications that in fact the lion will roar gently as any suckling dove.

If "a cat may look at a King," it may be suggested that it would be profitable and perhaps least uncomfortable for the President to address himself chiefly to the very definite issues with which the Senate has provided him, to wit, whether we are gratuitously to make ourselves participants in the betrayal and spoliation of the Republic of China, and whether we are to implicate ourselves in numerous alien controversies in which, according to the President himself, we have and should have no interest. It would, we should say, scarcely profit him to resume his ancient wont of interpreting voices in the air and visions on the horizon which are audible and visible to no other senses than his own. Once he half-persuaded Europe that all America was at his back with a mandate for the Covenant; only to have the hollowness of that pretence revealed the moment the censorship on Trans-Atlantic advices ceased to be effective. Again he strove to persuade America that the heart of the world would be broken if the Covenant was not adopted letter perfect; only to have that touch of pathos transformed into bathos by the snickers and guffaws with which the British House of Commons greeted mention of the League. It is no longer on such lines that his hope of winning popular support can lie.

If courtesy permits the suggestion that anything can be of greater interest than Presidential peregrinations, reference to that effect may be made to the Director-General's treatment of the railroad strike in the Coast States. We may waive any base suspicion of relationship with the President's tour in those regions, and say ungrudgingly that the only criticism of Mr. Hines's action is that it should perhaps have been taken more promptly. But let us also waive that criticism, and say that the Director-General, following out the President's order, has taken precisely the right course. It is the business of the President, through the Director-General, to operate the railroads of this country, just as much as it is his business through the Postmaster-General to carry and distribute the mails, or through the Secretary of War to direct the activities of the army; and anybody who interferes with the operation of the railroads is thwarting the functions of the United

States government, just as much as though he impeded transit of the mails or hindered the operations of the army. That is a fact which glib and facile railroad strikers will do well to understand; and which should also be fully appreciated by those who advocate permanent government management and ownership of the roads. When there is a strike on roads under private ownership the government occupies an impartial position, intent merely on keeping the peace and seeing justice done to both sides. When there is a strike on roads owned by the government, or operated by it, the strike is against the government itself; and with such a strike we all know how any government worthy of the name must deal.

The preparation of a bill providing for the nationalization of the coal mines is announced. It is not surprising. Indeed, it has been confidently expected. It was clearly forecast in the preposterous Plumb measure for nationalization of the railroads. Of course it is perfectly permissible for anybody to put forward such projects. But we should greatly prefer to have it done without any camouflage. Those who are agitating for government ownership and operation of great industries should admit frankly that Socialism *per se* is their aim, and not merely amelioration of the conditions of labor, which really plays a very small second fiddle in their esteem.

Cardinal Mercier is now on his way to this country. If there be an American citizen of any faith or creed or of none at all who does not give him the fullest possible measure of welcome and of honor, he will be unworthy of his citizenship.

Bracketted together come announcements that American, British and all Allied forces are straightway to be withdrawn from Russia, and that British warships have destroyed Bolshevik vessels in the Baltic and have bombarded the Bolsheviks out of Odessa. If ever there was an extreme case of "Good Lord! Good Devil!" it is in the Allied and Associated policy or lack of policy toward that manhandled country. Yet from the very first every observer with the intelligent perception of a cigar-store Indian must have realized that Russia was one of the very most important factors in the whole world situation.

One item of American participation in the affairs of other lands which all can cordially approve is apparent in the visit of General Gorgas to Guayaquil and other South American cities, for the purpose of promoting the sanitation of those centres of pestilence. There is no brighter chapter of American history than that which tells of the redemption of Cuba from pestilence under General Leonard Wood's Government of Intervention, and the like work which was subsequently done, also by General Gorgas, at Panama. We should rejoice to see it made possible to record similar chapters concerning other South and Central American countries, though not, of course, with any accompaniment of political intervention.

It is sincerely to be hoped that Mayor Hylan, of New York, will not be charged with flunkeyism or with toadying to the crowned heads of Europe, just because he has made

that distinguished Anglophile, not to say Anglomaniac, Mr. William Randolph Hearst, preeminently conspicuous in the welcoming of the Prince of Wales. It is a delicate attention and indeed a compliment which we have no doubt the Prince will fully appreciate; all the more if on the occasion of his visit to that city Mr. Hearst decorated his newspapers with little British flags, as he used to do with little American flags when the practice served to bring more coppers into the thrifty till. The intimation that Mr. Hearst is a candidate for the decoration of K. C. B. is, however, we feel warranted in saying, quite unfounded. Much as he loves Old England, he loves democratic simplicity more.

We do not think much of Mr. Glenn E. Plumb's railroad bill, but we must heartily commend his remark that there is no hope of getting it through this Congress, because this Congress was not elected on any such issue. While we do not believe in a general initiative and referendum system, we do believe that no constitutional change, and no change so radical as government acquisition of railroads would be, should be made by the government without giving the people an opportunity to make their wish and will directly known. That is to say, it should not be enacted by a Congress which was elected at a time when it was not an issue before the people, but should be deferred to a succeeding Congress, in the election of which it would be an issue before the people. Two years is not too long to wait for deliberation, in a matter which transforms our whole scheme of government or of economics.

There can be no doubt that, as some correspondents with almost the intelligence of reporters are saying, Hungary is tired of anarchy. She is also tired of Bolshevism, Sovietism, Socialism, and all other such "isms." We can believe that the recent temporary acceptance of a Hapsburg prince as her ruler was a manifestation of reaction against the detested regime of Bela Kun. Unfortunately we are also compelled to believe that the Roumanian incursion and some features of the attitude of the Allies toward them are turning many Hungarians toward Socialism in some form as a last resort of desperation. It is deplorable that that country, which in Kosuth's time so strongly commanded American sympathy and admiration, should now so greatly be abandoned to utter bedevilment. Incredibly rich in natural resources, and inhabited by one of the most virile peoples in the world, Hungary should in some way be redeemed from the curse of its former Hapsburg—and therefore Hohenzollern—domination, and made a bulwark of security instead of a menace to southeastern Europe.

The revelation of the Politicalmaster-General's Burlesonizing of the Civil Service Commission need cause no surprise. We pointed out in these columns some time ago the manner in which the Merit System in the Postoffice Department was being prostituted in the demands of nepotism and spoils. There was a similar scandal during the President's first term, which brought upon the administration scathing criticism from the National Civil Service Reform League. Of course while the voice is the voice of the Politicalmaster-General, the hand is

the hand of the President himself. Mr. Burleson could not do what he has been doing and is doing without the President's approval; and indeed in some of the most flagrant features of the discreditable business the President himself has personally figured. It is a shameful business.

Nothing could be more creditable and plausible than that the German government has contemplated sending Dr. Haimhausen—who was Count Bernstorff's Counsellor at Washington and therefore privy to and responsible for that Ambassador's deviltries—hither as its first Ambassador to the United States. A government in which the unspeakable Erzberger figures prominently and dominantly is capable of any shamelessness. Whether an administration which sent George Herron to hobnob with the Bolsheviks and wanted to have Lenine and Trotzky represented at Paris would properly resent such an insult, is an interesting question. But they do say that nobody is so censorious toward lapses of virtue as a reformed rake.

The government sales of surplus accumulations of army stores have doubtless been productive of good. They have enabled a small minority of the people to secure some supplies at reasonable prices. That they have materially affected the general cost of living is open to much doubt. But of this there can be no doubt, that it would be pernicious to develop and perpetuate the practice, as some are suggesting, into a regular system of government retail shops throughout the country. That would be an incursion into sheer Socialism, which could have no other result than the demoralization and destruction of private business. It would be intolerable to have the government thus competing with private shops, since it would inevitably be hopelessly unfair competition, which the private shopkeeper would be unable to meet. Therefore it would lead to government monopoly of all business.

There is sound logic in the demand that if a League of Nations is created, and if we enter it, the United States shall have as much voice and voting power in it as any other nation. It will not do to say that Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, and India are separate nations, and are thus to be treated in the League, with an independent vote each. They may be quite separate in domestic affairs, but in foreign affairs they are all members of the one empire, just as our forty-eight states are members of one republic. They all have the one supreme executive head, and they all have the one diplomatic and consular service. What would the other nations say if we should demand forty-eight votes in the League, for our forty-eight states?

"Peace, peace, when there is no peace." There is an amount of international and civil fighting going on in Europe to-day sufficient to be considered a large war if all wars had not been dwarfed by that which ended last November. It goes on, too, under the very eyes of the Peace Conference, largely in and among states which are supposed to be amenable to the directions of that body. It would be interesting to know what measures the Conference is taking to abate so scandalous a state of affairs.

The Presidential Frankenstein

THE most striking and also the most regrettable feature of the new crisis in railroad affairs is the discrediting and flouting of the President of the United States.

In his two letters, the one to the general public, the other to the dissatisfied employes, the President was almost at his best. He was more lucid and direct than usually, and eminently reasonable. His logic was invincible. His protest against adopting what would be a permanent measure to meet what must be a temporary condition, and his appeal for patience and cooperation in restoring a normal status should have prevailed upon every rational-minded citizen. A few years ago such a presentment from him would have been indubitably efficient. It would have been accepted as decisive, without demur; as it should have been on this occasion.

Yet it was not. It was rejected with scant courtesy, if not with scorn. The committee representing the dissatisfied employes curtly and without hesitation declared that his proposals were not acceptable, and immediately took steps for a referendum on the question of ordering a nation-wide strike in disapproval and defiance of the President of the United States. And the general expectation was that such a strike would be voted by a large majority.

That, we may say, was a display of deplorable disrespect for the President. But it was, beyond that, a disheartening revelation of lack of moral authority on the President's part. Men—Presidents as well as others—generally receive the respect which they command, and while we may criticize the railroad men for their curt and cavalier treatment of him, we are compelled to consider seriously the extent to which he has forfeited a compelling claim upon anything better.

The explanation is not difficult to discern. The regrettable fact is that the President has played the part of a Frankenstein, and is now confronting the consequences. The first serious step in the process was taken in granting to labor unions privileges and immunities which no other organizations enjoyed. The second was in granting railroad employes arbitrarily a large increase of wages without reference to the wages of other industrialists or to the effect of such action upon the road and upon general social economics. A third was in failing to assert governmental authority over government employes—for such all railroad men now are—when their conduct savors of potential mutiny and sedition.

In view of these things, and others of like kind which are readily recalled, it may be regrettable and reprehensible but it cannot be accounted surprising that the President is now treated with lack of respect by those to whom he has thus catered. A little while ago, representatives of some of the greatest labor organizations bluntly declared that they were "in no mood to brook" the execution of a policy which he was known to have in view. Now, his proposal for an adjustment of demands is contemptuously brushed aside without argument as entirely unacceptable. And he is President of the United States and the direct official head of the great industry in which these men are employed.

It remains for the people of this nation, through their representatives in Congress or through the force of public opin-

ion to command for their executive head the authority and respect which he seems no longer able to command for himself, and to demonstrate that the counsels if not the orders of the President of the United States to a numerous class of temporary employes of the Federal government are not to be lightly disregarded.

There may be legitimate difference of opinion as to the desirability of permitting or prohibiting the resumption of immigration to this country on anything like the ante-bellum scale. There can be—save for our own Bolshevists—no question of the very urgent desirability of maintaining over whatever immigration there may be a very close and inexorable scrutiny. It would be a deplorable mistake to open our gates to any extent to the wastrels, political agitators, Bolshevists and other undesirables who are now seeking to flock hither in great numbers. The President is exactly right in urging the continued exclusion from this country of "all persons whose admission to the United States would be dangerous or contrary to the public interest." We hope that he is equally right in reckoning that a passport system, administered by the diplomatic and consular service, will be sufficient to assure that end.



—London "Outlook"

• PYGMALION UP TO DATE

(Lord Robert Cecil and the League of Nations)

"Will she come to life?"

Senator McCumber on Shantung

“WHO excuses, accuses.” The shrewd French epigram was never more true and apt than in the case of Shantung, and in all the utterances on that case never more applicable than to Senator McCumber’s labored apologia. His address was regarded by the administration party as of supreme importance, since he was the one Republican Senator who could even to that extent be marshalled on their side, and they profess to consider it as quite satisfactory. Senator Hitchcock, the administration leader, gleefully declared that it had put a nail in the coffin of the amendment which the Foreign Affairs committee had adopted to the Shantung section of the treaty. We should rather say that it erected an “R. I. P.” above the irresurrectible corpse of that unhallowed compact of force and fraud.

For what was the gist of Senator McCumber’s argument?

It was twofold. First, concerning the assignment of the former German “rights” or claims in China to Japan, it was an unblushing application of

“The good old rule . . . the simple plan,
That they shall take who have the power,
And they shall keep who can.”

Other nations, in years past, we were told, had plundered and oppressed China, because they were stronger than she; and therefore Japan should be permitted to do the same.

And that from a champion of a League of Nations which is ostensibly ostentatiously intended to forbid and to prevent that very thing!

The second part of the apologia is likewise. It concerns the secret treaties between the European allies and Japan. Those treaties were made secretly, and were kept secret from the United States, not only while its makers were soliciting us to enter the war but also after we had done so. Indeed they were not disclosed until after the ending of the war. And that secrecy Senator McCumber approved and defended, as one of the necessary ways and means of diplomacy. He stood up cynically for one of the very worst features of the old system as practiced by Machiavelli and Metternich and Bismarck; the system under which diplomacy was a synonym of deceit.

And that from a champion of “open covenants, openly arrived at.”

All the tortuous turpitude thus smugly defended was, we are told, in order to induce Japan to join the League of Nations. Never was there a more flagrantly immoral application of the principle, “the end justifies the means.” But never was there a more stultifying application of it, since while it is pretended that the end justifies the means, it is quite obvious that the means deny, repudiate and destroy the end.

Senator McCumber’s argument was, however, quite fitting, consistent, and appropriate, as a part of the propaganda for a League of Nations which was conceived in hypocrisy and born in unblushing cynicism. The thing was foisted upon Europe through the false pretence that the American people wanted it, when in fact they had just refused by a decisive majority to sanction the policies of its protagonist, and now it is being foisted upon the United States through the equally

insincere pretence that the heart of the world will be broken if we do not accept it, when in fact men in other lands snicker behind their hands at mention of it. The climax of its cynicism was reached in the blandishment that we need not hesitate to incur the obligation of the Covenant, since they were not legally binding but only moral in their force. To that monstrous avowal Senator McCumber’s eulogium of force and fraud forms an appropriate epilogue.

A Russian Khartoum?

THERE can be no doubt of the seriousness of the Siberian situation. The Kolchak government is in desperate straits. It has had to remove its capital before the advancing foe. Its armies have been driven back, and important places have been surrendered to or captured by the Bolshevists. Defeat and demoralization are actual; complete disaster is possible.

The reason is obvious. The Siberians have been abandoned by the Allies, and left without means of defence. They outnumber the Bolshevists, perhaps ten to one. But millions of unarmed peasants are helpless before thousands of well armed soldiers. We must remember that all the vast population of Siberia is destitute of military supplies and of the means of providing them. They have no arsenals, no munitions factories. They are dependent upon the Allies, and upon us, for such supplies. On the other hand the Bolshevists are in possession of vast stores of supplies, of all the arsenals and factories of the former Russian government, and of all the wealth of the old Imperial treasury. A contest between the two is hopelessly unequal.

The policy of the Allies, dictated, it is said, by President Wilson, has been one of vacillation, temporizing and delay. Recognition of the Kolchak government has been withheld, although on every practical principle it was long ago abundantly entitled to it. Assistance in the form of arms and ammunition has been withheld. The apparent purpose has been to wait and see if the Siberians were able to win without help. If they were, they would be recognized. If not, why they would have to lose, that was all. The Allied attitude was much like that of a patron as ironically described by Dr. Johnson in his mordent letter of rebuke to the Earl of Chesterfield.

Now, with heavy loss incurred and catastrophe impending, we are told of some hurried and flurried efforts to send some of the supplies which should have been sent months ago. Pray Heaven it may not be too late!

Years ago occurred the world’s greatest example of damnable delay in the catastrophe of Khartoum. Month after month Gordon pleaded for either support or withdrawal, for some definite and decisive policy. Month after month the Gladstone government, intent on “playing politics,” hesitated, temporized, delayed. At last, when it seemed good politics to do so, it acted, and sent forward a relief expedition; which moved with resolution and with all the speed possible in circumstances of crass ineptitude, but which arrived just too late. Similar to that has been the American and Allied policy toward the heroic defenders of democracy, decency and humanity in Siberia. To-day we can only hope that the parallel will not be complete.

The President on Powers of Government

IN the next edition of President Wilson's instructive and authoritative treatise on "Constitutional Government" there will doubtless be some additions—it is not susceptible of corrections—suggested by the limitations and applications of Presidential powers incident to the conduct of the Great War.

Thus we shall expect to be informed that while only Congress has power to declare war, the President has full power to create a state of war and to engage in actual war without the authorization, advice or consent of Congress. Citations of facts of record in support of this proposition can be made from the annals of our operations in Mexico, northern Russia, and Siberia.

We shall be informed that the President has power to negotiate treaties of peace with countries with which we have never been at war; in proof of which, see the record of our relations with Bulgaria and Turkey.

But with countries with which we have been at war, the President, even with the cooperation, advice and consent of Congress, has no power to proclaim peace, save through the ratification of a treaty to which all other belligerents are parties. That is confirmed by his own declaration to a member of the United States Senate.

Also it will, we assume, be stated that if the President of the United States thinks that a lawful government does not exist in some other country, why, such government does not in fact exist and is not to be regarded by any third country as existing, the opinion and self-determinative wishes of the people of that first-named country to the contrary notwithstanding. *Exempla gratia*: Costa Rica.

At this interesting rate of progress, there will soon be a lot of new things to be learned by students of the American Constitution and constitutional law.

A Clear Case of Rabies

Do these rabid men in Washington ever pause even for one instant to inquire what is the controversy in which they are engaged? . . . By our plenipotentiaries, by the Chief Executive himself, who is the negotiating power, we have come to agreement in respect to the Treaty—*New York Times*.

NOT a full agreement, neighbor; only a tentative agreement, so far as this country is concerned. The full powers of our plenipotentiaries permitted them to negotiate only tentatively any treaty under consideration. Fortunately, the advice, consent and ratification of the Senate of the United States are essentials to the consummation of a binding treaty. It is little short of astounding the way in which this axiomatic constitutional proposition is constantly overlooked in discussions of the Senate deliberations over the revolutionary documents which the President brought back with him and laid before the upper house of the Legislative Branch of the Government with an imperious "sign there" gesture.

The *Times* characterizes as "these rabid men in Washington," the Senators who are refusing to violate their sworn duty by instantly obeying this insolent autocratic order. The *Times* is more temperate, we might even say more decent, in its stigmatising epithets than is the President. But the *Times* itself goes too far by many lengths. If there is rabidness in the case, we submit that is rather more discernible in the language of the *Times* than in the conduct of those Senators who, in refusing to shirk the responsibility which their sworn obligation has placed upon them, are doing precisely what the country expects and demands that they shall do.

The *Times*, like the President himself, seems to confound the negotiating with the ratifying power. It knows better. The President knows better. Both know that the Senate, in jealously and conscientiously scrutinizing engagements involving questions of graver import in our foreign relations than have ever before arisen; engagements involving sacrifice even of our national independence of action; engagements plunging us into a tumultuous, uncharted sea of potential international trouble—both the President and the *Times* know that in performing this duty of rigid, deliberate scrutiny of ruthless cancellation and elimination, if need be, the Senate of the United States is doing what the Constitution of the United States commands that it should do, and that which, if it failed to do, would bring down upon it the righteous execration of the nation.

The President knows this, and the *Times* knows it. Yet both seem so afflicted with that same rabies which they so freely attribute to others that they apparently are quite blind to it. The patient who imagines that everybody around him is suffering with that affliction of which he alone is the only victim, is a classic symptom familiar to all psychopathic observers. It applies, of course, to cases of mere megalomania as well as to more acute manifestations of disturbed cerebral balance. "These rabid men in Washington" cries the *Times*. "Pygmy minds; should be hanged heads down higher than Heaven," thundered an August Voice.

And all because, in a grave crisis in American history, the chosen representatives of the American people are doing their sworn duty in the Senate of the United States. We again quote the *Times*:

This small body of Senators repudiates the work and the signatures of the plenipotentiaries, it maims and transforms the whole meaning of the Treaty by amendments—some fifty of them in a day, we might say in a bunch. If such things can be what respect and consideration will be shown to plenipotentiaries of the United States in future serious negotiations?

If our plenipotentiaries in future serious negotiations either tacitly or articulately misrepresent the actual powers confided to them, we should say, in answer to the *Times*, that they ought not to be shown any respect or consideration whatever, for the simple reason that they would deserve none.

But we venture the prediction that never again will a self-appointed plenipotentiary of the United States make proclamation to the world that he speaks with the full authority of the American people whom he has solidly back of him, when the American people, accepting his own personal challenge had but a few days before repudiated him and all his work.

Letters From Our Readers

A DEBT WIPED OUT?

SIR,—I have enjoyed beyond measure the numbers of HARVEY'S WEEKLY, and it is seldom that I find anything with which I disagree. However, your attitude toward the special alliance with France has surprised me not a little. I am opposed to it uncompromisingly. And "may I not" say that long before either Senator Brandegee or yourself called attention to the provision of the instrument providing that it must be presented to the Senate "at the same time that the Treaty of Versailles shall be submitted for ratification," I had written to Senator Borah and invited his attention to the clause. I have considered the whole matter with the greatest of care, and do not hesitate to say that if it is ratified it will be a dead letter.

I was in the camps throughout the greater part of the war, and during the period of the demobilization, talking intimately with thousands of our soldiers, and I think that I know them. I have yet to meet one who is willing to return to Europe on any such purely benevolent mission. They positively will not go, nor will their mothers and fathers consent to have them go. It is as certain as anything in the world that no Administration would dare to conscript them for such service, or their younger brothers, either. There will be trouble in this country if it is attempted. These men entered the army with one object, to defeat and punish Germany because she had insulted and injured us, ordering us from the high seas and sinking our vessels and drowning our nationals with criminal abandon. They did not go to fight for any flag or any land but their own. When war was declared, it had been but a few months since Mr. Wilson had appealed for reflection on the ground that he had kept us out of war, and was returned to Washington on that implied promise that he would continue to keep us out. The people of the country had seen the invasion of Belgium and of France; they had seen all the Hague conventions and provisions of international law violated by Germany; they had before them the full exhibit of German outrages in those devastated lands; and still they were indisposed to interfere. Only after our interests had been repeatedly attacked and the situation for us was unbearable, were we willing to enter the struggle. I was not of those who cried, "peace, peace," when there was no peace. I urged Mr. Wilson, long before he ceased to urge us to neutrality, to act like an American and quit writing notes. But I know that the state of mind in this country was what I have described. And when we entered, it was in self-defense, and not to make the world safe for Democracy with a big or little initial letter.

And we must not delude France. We must not promise what we cannot perform. The people of this country will not undertake to bear the burdens of all the nations. Germany and France are as certain to quarrel and fight over the questions that have kept them at sword's points for generations as human nature is certain to remain for a long time about what it has been and is today.

Mr. Wilson bases his plea for the ratification of this treaty upon the ground that we owe France a debt on account of her help during our Revolution. Can that debt never be extinguished? According to his own view we went out on a crusade to save France and other democratic nations, and did save them. At what a cost, ask the fathers and mothers of the thousands of American lads who sleep in the soil of Europe. That old debt has been completely extinguished in this offering of precious blood, for the American soldier saved France with his life. But if it has not been extinguished, have we the right to pledge the blood of unborn generations, the blood of our grandchildren and great-grandchildren, to finally liquidate it? We have not. These boys who have come back, leaving their comrades and brothers behind, do not propose to pledge the blood of their unborn sons to any such crusade.

First Presbyterian Church, Newport, Ky. T. W. RAINEY.

—IF—

SIR,—In one of its feeble editorials recently served to the public, the New York Times claimed that if the proposed League of Nations had been in existence in 1914, there would have been no world war. Ordinarily it is difficult to convert an argument based upon an "if" that did not exist, but in this instance it happens to be easy.

Had such a League existed, President Wilson and his rubber-stamp Congress would undoubtedly have taken exactly the position they did take, and as a result, our country would have been definitely committed to neutrality even in thought. Having officially taken that stand, we would probably have stuck to it. The result would have been victory for Germany over the Allies, and our turn next,—and we unprepared.

New York City.

CHAS. B. HOBBS.

A "THEFT OF COLORS."

SIR,—On page 11 of your August 9th number, you take occasion to charge "the German Republic" with "an insolent theft of colors." I beg leave herewith to state a few historical FACTS, of which the writer has been an eye-witness; and by the grace of Almighty God, my memory is still unimpaired.

In the years 1846-1848, certain of the German peoples tried to establish a Republic; and after a number of pitched battles had been fought (in which the grandfather of the Ex-Kaiser figured and became known as "The Prince," because he caused his armies to mow down with shrapnel, mercilessly, the peasants who opposed them) a Congress (or Diet) of representatives of most of the German states met in St. Paul's Church, Frankfort A. M., May 18th, 1848.

They adopted then, seventy-one years or more ago, as national colors, a flag of Black, Red, and Gold (Yellow); and canes and other trinkets bearing these colors had been used in all the German states among the revolutionary parties for years, generally in secret.

But the back-bone of the revolution was broken up in Baden soon after, and those who escaped summary military execution fled to England and the United States of America for asylum. Among the latter were three of the principal leaders of that first attempt by Germans to establish a Republic, viz: Frederick Hecker; Franz Siegel; and Carl Schurz; all of whom later on served with distinction in the volunteer armies of these United States of America, during the war for the preservation of the Union, 1861-1865, with hundreds of thousands of their fellow-American citizens of German birth or extraction; tens of thousands of whom attested their loyalty to the Starry Banner by leaving their bones on Southern battlefields.

So much in further explanation of that "insolent theft of colors;" for it looks as if the Republican wings of the German peoples rather liked "Black, Red and Gold (or Yellow)," long before the Belgians as an independent Nation were very much in evidence.

When the late-lamented and respected Col. Roosevelt was Governor of New York, he sent a contribution to the Jamestown Exposition and it read: "A Square deal to every man: No more; no less."

I think that is something all true Americans can, and do appreciate.

I admire and read your WEEKLY greatly, and frequently give or send copies to personal friends of mine in both Senate and House. But fair play and a square deal are alike honorable to all who practice them.

FREDERICK EGNER.

[Conceding that an unsuccessful democratic uprising in Germany in May, 1848, adopted black, red and gold as the colors of its flag,—a flag which never won international recognition,—we cannot concede that this was "long before the Belgians as an independent nation were very much in evidence." Belgium had become an independent kingdom in 1831, seventeen years before the democratic diet at Frankfort-am-Main, and had at that time adopted as its national flag the tricolor of black, gold and red. But that was not the beginning of the Belgian tricolor. Black, gold, and red had been the Belgian national colors since the twelfth century, when the Dukes of Brabant, with Brussels as their capital, and Louvain as their residence, ruled over all the Netherlands. We should be greatly interested to learn of any comparably ancient German title to the same colors. The Prussian colors are black and white, and those of the German Empire were black, white and red, formed by joining the black and white of Prussia (five centuries old) with the red and white of the Hanseatic League. The only title to gold or yellow that we can recall for Germany is in the yellow field on which the iron cross appeared in the German imperial standard. We should not think that the new German republic would wish to copy its colors from a flag exclusively identified with and exclusively used by the Hohenzollern emperors.—EDITOR.]

Letters From Our Readers

PRESIDENTIAL INCONSISTENCIES

You might begin with that piece of hypocrisy: "He kept us out of war," which gave him the election in 1916. On February 24, 1916, he wrote to Senator Stone as follows: "You are right in assuming that I shall do everything in my power to keep the United States out of war . . . and I do not doubt that I shall continue to succeed." And as near the election day as September 30th, he said: "The certain prospect of the success of the Republican party is that we shall be drawn in one form or another into the embroilments of the European war."

Then, everyone will remember the flamboyant speech of Governor Glynn keynoting the National Democratic Convention of 1916, in which Wilson was pictured as the great saviour of the nation because his amazing and transcendent genius had settled every outrage against the nation "by negotiation," and keeping us out of war. We who demanded protection of American rights were mere jingoes and "swashbucklers."

How serenely that implied covenant became a scrap of paper—after the election—everybody knows. If the fact that he did not keep us out of war were only a question of *bad judgment*, the case against Mr. Wilson and his spokesmen would still be bad enough, but, unfortunately, the matter does not rest there, as is shown by a correspondent in your WEEKLY of July 5th. He quotes the French General Petain as saying (before Mr. Wilson's second campaign) that Colonel House—who "almost never makes mistakes"—assured him: "*We shall be with you in the war as soon as the President can lead the people up to the point.*" If the foregoing is true, it not only constitutes the most contemptible piece of fraud and duplicity in American politics, by carrying a Presidential election through false pretenses, but the foulest crime in our history by keeping us unprepared notwithstanding the certainty of war. However that may be, there can be no doubt that the President's judgment was utterly worthless, even though his intuitions may have been good.

I do not subscribe to that newly advanced doctrine that to punish a public official for his political sins, or his incompetence, or a criminal for his crimes—now brought forth to save the Kaiser—is to make a martyr of the victim. Martyrs are not made in that way. If the accused is guilty, then he does not become a martyr by just punishment. It is only when the innocent are punished that martyrdom is created.

In beginning your exposure of Presidential bad judgment and self-reversals, it might be more logical to start at the beginning. You would then open, probably, with the famous "molasses to catch flies" phrase of candidate Wilson, when, in his campaign speeches, he solemnly preached that platforms were made to be *lived up to*, only to go square back on the particular plank he referred to in that speech as one of the first of his presidential acts—the repeal of the Panama Canal Toll Act.

Then, omitting such minor flipflops as his contradictions concerning woman suffrage, child labor laws, etc., etc., "may I not" suggest that, with or without "common counsel," you concentrate your "pygmy mind" on an effort to expose the humiliating, disgraceful and incredibly stupid wobbles and blunderings of that giant intellect in his dealings with Mexico? I cannot contain myself on this subject, so I will pass the buck to you, trusting in your prudent and truthful pen to set down nothing but known facts—nothing extenuated, naught set down in malice.

The "too proud to fight" speech and attitude no doubt caused the Kaiser to sink our ships, drown our citizens, and order us off the high seas, and I really believe that Wilson would have stood for all that the Huns and Mexicans did, had not the people *forced* him to take some action.

Then, of course, you would not overlook his preparedness record. First he said: "it is not new—there is no new need to discuss it," and in his usual cocksure way he continued: "I turn away from the subject." Yet a few months later he flew into a mental panic and frantically called the nation to arms, saying: "Prepare, for I know not what a day may bring forth."

Your eagle eye would not overlook such "breaks":

Then you will remember the famous "peace without victory" silliness that he had to swallow and choke down later on.

First he said we were fighting (after he finally allowed American manhood to vindicate itself) to uphold *American* rights on the high seas and elsewhere. Then he said we were fighting "to make the world safe for democracy." Now, the League of Nations is to uphold kings and despotisms—the King of England, of Italy, the Emperor of Japan, and kings everywhere. Binding us in with a despotism beyond anything ever dreamed of by the conquerors of old doesn't look much like making the world safe for democracy—at any rate, not to the ordinary mortal

who never happened to be a pedagogue, or more than "pygmy minded."

Just before the armistice—during the note writing entanglement—he said we could not treat with the Hohenzollerns, but only with responsible representatives of the German people, as distinct from the Kaiser's clique. Those who signed the peace treaty are as strong for the Kaiser as ever, and all Germany openly flouted the treaty as a scrap of paper. Yet his eagerness to have them sign so as to "save his face" at home, knew no bounds. Can it be that, seeing his term of office expiring here, he bends every energy to get the League adopted in the hope of stepping from the autocracy of Washington to that of Geneva?

Finally, the crowning blunder of Mr. Wilson and his blind partisans, such as Senators Swanson, Hitchcock, Williams and their kind, is the fact that they obstinately and stupidly object to even any *improvement* in the terms of the league. That is downright lack of patriotism, to state it mildly.

Yours truly,

Santa Monica, Cal.

H. H. HUGHES.

"FORSAKEN"

SIR,—In re: "Forsaken" in the WEEKLY of July 26. What can be done about this state of affairs? It must be true or you wouldn't print it, and if true, how can anybody be comfortable until the situation of those poor fellows is relieved? Have you settled on any course of action in which your readers can share, or have you some advice to give as to how effectual action can be started?

Our national legislators have their hands full fighting the League of Nations and trying to clear the infinite muddle in everything the Administration has touched; but Congress might let pass the investigation of burned airplanes and of automobiles and motor-cycles squashed to junk rather than sell them to the French, and of spruce production, etc., etc., etc., and give the time thus saved to those forsaken at St. Elizabeth's.

Ordinarily I would not kill even a caterpillar, but just now as I re-read "Forsaken" I am wishing that Secretary Baker might be suitably punished for each and every unnecessary suffering experienced by the service men at St. Elizabeth's. Would that he might be detained there long enough to be purged of his self-satisfied cruelty!

But to get down to brass tacks, *what can we do?*

OLIVE W. ROBERTS (MRS. JOHN W.).

Seattle, Wash.

ARE WE "PIQUANT?"

SIR,—Very many thanks for your handsome gift of your exceedingly piquant "WEEKLY." It has proven invigorating in stimulating other men and incidentally has been a profitable advertisement for you, I quite believe.

THE AMERICAN RED CROSS (Herefordshire Branch)
Hereford, Eng.

W. H. PRITCHARD.

A CHOICE OF RESORTS.

SIR,—I have recently discontinued my subscription to HARVEY'S WEEKLY because its policy seemed to be to keep the United States as a little Garden of Eden entirely apart from the rest of the world.

Hartford, Conn.

J. M. LATRD.

[Well, the Garden of Eden wasn't such a bad place.—EDITOR.]

"SPLENDID EXPOSITION."

SIR,—Just finished reading your Syracuse University address on the "League of Nations." It is indeed the truth. Is there not some way that this splendid exposition of the pending question can be placed in the hands of every family in this country?

Marquette, Mich.

A. F. JACQUES.

"ILLUMINATING."

SIR,—I have read with much interest your article "America and Humanity," in the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW and I take this opportunity to write you that it is the most illuminating and most thrilling contribution to this League's discussion that I have seen.

If it could be read by every American citizen the result of their verdict would not be in doubt, as in my opinion it is to-day.

I congratulate you most heartily.

East Walpole, Mass.

CHARLES SUMNER BIRD.

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"On the Road to Mandalay"

SALEM is the smallest county in the State of New Jersey. It was represented in the Legislature in 1911 by a modest citizen of small intellectual capacity and a timid nature who really wanted to do what was right. For some reason or other he could not see his way conscientiously to support a certain measure whose passage the new Governor, Mr. Woodrow Wilson, demanded, and he said so. Whereupon the Governor sent for him and politely but firmly notified him that he must reverse his position or he, Mr. Wilson, would go down into Salem County and appeal to the people to repudiate him as their representative then and forever thereafter.

The poor chap was up against it. Mr. Wilson had just been elected by a tremendous majority not only, but also, as is sometimes said, he had just bludgeoned the political life out of the man who singlehanded and alone had forced his nomination upon the worst boss-ridden convention the State had ever known. Against such odds the little Assemblyman, lacking capacity for oratory and command of patronage, realized that he had no chance. So reluctantly and grievously he sacrificed his convictions and violated his oath of office at the ruthless behest of his master. What happened to him subsequently we do not recall. It hardly matters.

The interesting point is that the Executive method prevailed. Terrorization was a demonstrated success. It was but natural therefore that its originator, being temperamentally not disinclined, should adopt it as his very own and pur-

sue it religiously or otherwise, as indeed he has pursued it ever since, with results as invariably gratifying to himself as occasionally they were distressing to others until he went abroad and met men of approximately his own size and returned with only a fad to his back.

It was this unhappy circumstance beyond a doubt that impelled Mr. Wilson to revert to the traditional practice of using molasses as an enticement into his web of pygmy-minded insects of the Senate of the United States. But, alas, the allurements, tendered however seductively by unpracticed hands, was unavailing and there was nothing for it but to resort again to the tried and true vinegar which first proved efficacious when applied to the conscience of the poor little fly from Salem. This is the genesis of the Terrifying Tour undertaken to arouse the people to the danger of vesting in Congress a portion of the power of which the whole should be concentrated in an individual presumably, if not admittedly, possessed of omniscience.

We approved of the project from the beginning. Granting, as some insist with apparent reason, that it is at least extra-Constitutional for a President to put the power and prestige of his exalted position into an effort to break down a co-ordinate branch of the Government and to compel its members to waive their convictions, we could not ignore the tremendous advantage of a conclusive outcome. Either the President would, in his schoolmasterly phrase, educate the people or the people would impart a greatly needed lesson to the President. That seemed in-

evitable and the record of the first of the six arduous weeks clearly confirms our opinion that one and perhaps both of the desired results will be attained.

Thus far, we have to confess, we have profited little from the President's discourses as bearing upon the reasons why we should sacrifice our independence or why, assuming as he declares, that we concede nothing under the Covenant, we should not say so in language which all can understand. But we have no wish to hasten his promised explication. It is only fair to make ample allowance of time for the performance of what seems to be a difficult task. And there is no particular need for hurry on his part. He has finished his work and the Senate is proceeding as rapidly as prudence permits in perfecting the frightfully complicated document and may have it ready for ratification by the President as soon as or even before he returns. That would be a happy circumstance indeed.

Meanwhile, in the total absence of danger of America being denationalized, those of us who are accustomed to tuck in our shirts in cossack-fashion only when burglars or traitors seem likely to achieve their purpose, may view certain aspects of the situation with a watchful complacency closely approaching wholesome amusement. Frankly admitting the difficulty of restraining impatience at the President's cautious attitudinizing in Columbus, the obvious fact that he had not then decided whether to appear as an Elijah in creased trousers or in the Messianic role affected in Italy or as a hard-hitting Roosevelt clearly should be accorded due consideration. The effect, moreover, of the excessive interest manifested by the few casual onlookers in the latest styles from Paris exhibited by one's traveling companion as contrasted with the anticipated enthusiasm over one's self could hardly have been soothing to a spirit charged with inward appreciation.

On these accounts alone the *Tribune* might well have modified its expression of indignation at the President's one direct declaration to the effect that "the only people I owe any report to are you and the other citizens of the United States." Even though it did seem to push Congress aside and imply a sneer at the Senate in particular, had not like notices been served upon entire Governments in Europe that they might not find it healthy to stand between him and their peoples? So far from deploring the utterance, we ourselves welcomed as highly encouraging this unexpected segregation of American citizens from "men everywhere" as worthy of special mention. Besides, the Senators are "other citizens" anyway; otherwise they could not be Senators. Surely carping such as that ill

becomes a public journal which itself seems still to be wondering whether it is for or against "the League of Fine Passions,"—a beautiful title by the way upon whose invention we heartily congratulate Mr. Wilson. We didn't know he had it in him.

Ostensibly, we grant, there is a grain of perplexity as big at least as a mustard seed in the President's cheering announcement that if the Treaty is accepted "the men in khaki will never have to cross the seas again," put forth at the very moment when his personal Commissioner, Mr. Charles K. Crane, was calling for 50,000 troops to police Armenia and the President himself was sending soldiers weekly to Siberia and advocating a standing army of half a million men, but that maybe was Elijah speaking; and who among us shall question the words of a Prophet?

The Columbus experience was disheartening to a degree. Even the railway employes whose favor the President has cultivated so assiduously were wholly unresponsive. "None of them," remarks the *World* correspondent, "cheered as they usually do when a President or a political celebrity comes to town." And there was only a "thin crowd" on the streets. "Not more than one-fifth of the 2,000 seats were occupied. Whatever the cause or causes there was very little enthusiasm displayed in the streets. The President himself seemed to sense the apathetic atmosphere for, contrary to his custom in such events, he did not stand up in his motor and wave his hat, a straw by the way."

The meeting itself was a frost from Frostville. There were three or four thousand people in the hall but "speech and pleaful climax," says the *Sun* report, "were received with a sort of apathy not even barely relieved by the patter of handclapping" and the only enlivening note was struck by a Chinaman who shouted "How about Shantung?" and received no response. And no wonder. The people of Columbus, as we happen to know, are exceptionally intelligent and cultivated, closely resembling those of Eastern cities like Springfield and Rochester. They expected to hear intelligible answers to criticisms of the League Covenant and this is the kind of slush they got:

Some gentlemen have feared with regard to the League of Nations, that we will be obliged to do things we don't want to do. If the treaty were wrong that might be so; but if the treaty is right we will wish to preserve right. I think I know the heart of this great people whom I for the time being have the high honor to represent better than some other men that I hear talk.

I have been bred and am proud to have been bred in the old revolutionary stock which set this Government up, when America was set up as a friend of mankind, and I know—if

they do not—that America has never lost that vision or that purpose.

But I haven't the slightest fear that arms will be necessary if the purpose is there. If I know that my adversary is armed and I am not, I do not press the controversy, and if any nation entertains selfish purposes set against the principles established in this treaty, and is told by the rest of the world that it must withdraw its claims, it will not press them.

A dig at "some gentlemen" of the Senate delivered with an air of ineffable superiority; a misstatement of the purpose of the Revolution unless the Declaration of Independence is a lie; and a virtual confession of unwillingness to fight even for the right except at an advantage. Faugh! said Columbus, and went back to work. Clearly the role of Elijah would not serve. So off went the mantle somewhere between Columbus and Indianapolis and on went the brass knuckles.

Now a President of the United States never gets mad at least in public, but there do come times when circumstances fully justify manifestation of righteous indignation and we squarely challenge anybody to disprove that this was one of those times. And yet Mr. Wilson yielded to temptation only to the extent of inviting his antagonists to "put up or shut up" and did not, in Western parlance, "let loose" until he reached St. Louis. Then, however, he gave vent to his suppressed feelings of resentment chiefly at the Senate but partly, one would judge, at the unappreciative folks of Columbus and the thousands of Indianapolis who stamped their way out of the big hall before he got fairly started.

We greatly enjoyed reading the St. Louis speeches, they were so full of pep. After declaring that "politics is adjourned,"—a phrase which we seem to have heard before—and announcing that he was a real upstanding American quite unlike "some other gentlemen"—sighs of relief and gratification from Washington—he requested Senators Lodge, Knox, Brandegee, et al., not by name but by inference, to "let me know how they will prove that they are not absolute, contemptible quitters," incidentally adding with emphasis, "I for one am no quitter."

That made quite a hit; so the next day in Kansas City he pursued the same line of philosophical argument by depicting opponents of the League as "men who approach the question with passion, with private passion, and party passion, who think only of some immediate advantage to themselves or to a group of their fellow countrymen, and who look at the thing with the jaundiced eyes of those who have some private purpose of their own;" and added grimly

that "when at last in the annals of mankind they are gibbeted, they will regret that the gibbet is so high."

We have to confess that at first reading we were somewhat startled by the terms of this sentence to death; the punishment really seemed unduly severe; but upon reflection we recalled that soon after he was first elected President Mr. Wilson announced his purpose to hang the Baruchs and Lamonts of Wall Street "as high as Haman" and at last reports they were not only serving both their country and themselves quite handsomely but basking in royal favor; so perhaps we need not worry over the decrees against "Bolshevistically inclined" Senators.

But it would be a waste of time to dwell further upon these and similar angry and senseless ejaculations. Mr. Wilson is grievously disappointed. He wants his own way and knows now that he cannot have it and naturally is mad as a hatter. Whether he will take warning from the wave of disgust which has swept over the country at his shocking vituperation remains to be seen. One would think he must realize that he is riding for a disastrous fall, but you never can tell. He seems to have lost his head altogether for the time. Or it may be, as many suspect, that his real purpose is to create a situation which will seem to require his candidacy for a Third Term. Such an inference might indeed be drawn from this amazing declaration in Kansas City:

My fellow-citizens, I have come out to fight for a cause. That cause is greater than the Senate; it is greater than the Government. It is as great as the cause of mankind and I intend, in office or out, to fight that battle as long as I live. My ancestors were troublesome Scotchmen and among them were some of that famous group that were known as the Covenanters. Very well, there is the covenant of the League of Nations. I am a Covenanter.

Talk about Egomania! When before ever did an American President, even Andrew Johnson, make such a deliverance as that? His "cause" forsooth; at best a most questionable contrivance for however excellent a purpose and to the minds of many a gross betrayal of the country! Greater than the Senate,—a body endowed by the people with powers equal to his own! Let that pass. But—*Greater than the Government*—the Government of the United States established by the Fathers of the Republic, sustained nobly by their sons and likely to stand forever as the model of all peoples—the Government which and which alone Woodrow Wilson took a solemn oath to uphold and defend! Good God! What is fermenting in that mind of boundless conceit, ugly arrogance and limitless ambition?

We can only wait and see. The utter futility

of the Terrifying Tour has already been demonstrated, but the possibilities of self-revelation are by no means exhausted. Four long weeks still remain to be spent in explication already run into objurgation. And the promises will be fulfilled to the letter. No trumped-up necessities for the President's immediate presence in Washington will be countenanced. Woodrow Wilson is no quitter. He himself has said it.

Meanwhile, praise God, we have a strong, capable, patriotic Senate of the United States which is not only calmly performing its allotted tasks with commendable dispatch, but is fully equipped intellectually and morally to meet any emergency which may arise.

Americanizing the Treaty

THE Senate Committee on Foreign Relations has spoken, with no uncertain sound. It did so simultaneously with the President's opening speech in his appeal to the nation against its own representatives. It did so in a way much more direct, explicit and intelligible than his, in a way to which it will be difficult for him to reply and which it would be impossible for him to answer.

It adopted, as an integral part of the act of ratification of the Treaty, four reservations. These in both matter and manner express the "irreducible minimum" of legitimate demands for Americanization of the Treaty. They require:

1—That the United States shall have the right to withdraw from the League of Nations at its own will on giving the notice required by the Covenant;

2—That the United States shall not be required to intervene in any way in any foreign controversy save at its own will expressed by act of Congress;

3—That the United States shall reserve for self-determination all questions which it considers to be purely domestic; and

4—That the Monroe Doctrine shall be preserved intact, for our sole interpretation.

We do not believe that there is a man in the Administration or on its side, not even the President himself, who in his heart denies the justice or the desirability of every one of these provisions. We do not believe that there is one who, unless under some sinister constraint, would venture publicly to dispute their justice and desirability, not to say their necessity. For what would such denial inevitably imply? An affirmation of their converse. We do not believe that the President himself, even at the climax of the flamboyant propaganda in which he is now engaged, would venture to tell those fellow citizens to whom alone, he insists, he owes any report of his doings, that—

1—Our right of withdrawal from the League of Nations should be dependent upon the will and pleasure of some alien powers;

2—That we should be required to intervene, in alien affairs, with diplomatic, economic or military force, against our own will and without the sanction of our own government;

3—That we should submit to alien determination matters which we consider purely domestic; or

4—That the Monroe Doctrine should be abandoned or surrendered for interpretation to the very alien powers against which it was directed.

It is understood that some, perhaps even the President himself, concede the propriety of these reservations, but hold that they should not be made a part of the act of ratification, to which other signatories are required formally to assent, but that they should be adopted after ratification, in a purely explanatory manner. The answer is obvious: Such adoption would not be worth the breath which it took to make it. The adoption purposed by the Committee is the only form which would make the reservations effective.

There are also those, perhaps among them the President himself, who deprecate such adoption of such reservations, for fear that it will be displeasing to the other principal signatories of the Treaty. Let us consider what that means. Those other signatories either approve or disapprove the purport of the reservations. If they approve it, they will not object to the adoption of the reservations, but will themselves promptly and cordially acquiesce in them; as they or some of them have hitherto acquiesced in similar reservations. If on the other hand they disapprove it, that is the most conclusive reason imaginable for making the reservations, and for insisting upon them at whatever cost; for it is proof that if they were not made and enforced, alien powers would presently be in a position to demand of us that converse of them which, as we have said, no American statesman would dare to propose to this nation. It should be obvious even to the President himself, as it is to the "pygmy minds" of the Senate committee, that to open the way to such demands would be to incur danger of the most unfortunate and ominous complications in our foreign relationships.

We believe that much else should be done with the Treaty, beside the adoption of these four moderate, conciliatory and amicable reservations. The Treaty should be radically amended in its text. The infamous Shantung section should be transformed or expunged. The entire Covenant of the League of Nations should be excised, for separate treatment. Other changes should be made. But if opinions differ, as we recognize they may, on such points, they cannot differ concerning these reservations. These form, as Mr. Hays aptly declares, the irreducible minimum of American demands. Upon them the majority of the Senate must, for America's sake, stand firm, inflexible, immovable.

Throughout his spectacular swinging round the circle the

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President may as much as he pleases affect to ignore his responsibility to the Senate in treaty-making activities, and may to the top of his bent pretend that he has to report to nobody but the unorganized and multitudinous public. The overwhelming majority of patriotic American citizens will support the Senate in its demand for the Americanization of the Treaty as an indispensable prerequisite to its ratification.

Our Fifth General

THE welcome to General Pershing was well deserved, as will be whatever further attentions are paid to him elsewhere than in that metropolis which is the nation in epitome. He has served the Republic well in one of the greatest crises, and republics are not always ungrateful.

In two respects his service has been unique. One is in that it was performed in an entirely foreign war, foreign in its origin and in its place. The nearest approach to it, though indeed it is scarcely to be reckoned an approach, was that of Admiral Dewey in the Philippines. But Dewey fought in a war which was not foreign to us in its origin, and he fought it in a place which, though near the antipodes, was made an American possession.

His service was unique in another respect, in that although he was the supreme commander of the American armies, he was himself subordinate to a higher officer of another nation. Not one of his four predecessors in the rank of General ever served under an alien commander, though two of them did all of their greatest work as subordinates to a superior American officer. Never before was an American army placed under the command of an alien Generalissimo; though the fact that it was in this case is one of the most creditable circumstances of the war.

Nor must one other circumstance be overlooked; of singular romantic interest. Our first General and our latest General both did their greatest services in an alliance with France. The first had French officers and troops under his command, for France had placed herself at our service; the latest with his troops was under French command, for we had placed ourselves at France's service. Never was there a more perfect requital in history.

It is as the personal token of that payment of our more than century-old debt to France that General Pershing is to receive a large and hearty portion of America's welcome on his return hither with victory and honor.

"The Irreducible Minimum"

—Chairman Will H. Hays

Reservations to the Peace Treaty submitted by the Committee on Foreign Relations:

Resolved, (two thirds of the Senators present concurring herein) that the Senate advise and consent to the ratification of a treaty of peace with Germany, signed by the plenipotentiaries of the United States and Germany and by the plenipotentiaries of the twenty-seven allied and associated powers,

at Versailles, on June 28, 1919, with the following reservations and understandings to be made a part and a condition of such ratification, which ratification is not to take effect or bind the United States until the said following reservations and understandings have been accepted as a part and a condition of said instrument of ratification by at least three of the four principal allied and associated powers, to wit: Great Britain, France, Italy, and Japan:

1. The United States reserves to itself the unconditional right to withdraw from the League of Nations upon the notice provided in Article I. of said treaty of peace with Germany.

2. That the United States declines to assume, under the provisions of Article X., or under any other article, any obligation to preserve the territorial integrity or political independence of any other country or to interfere in controversies between other nations members of the League or not, or to employ the military or naval forces of the United States in such controversies, or to adopt economic measures for the protection of any other country, whether a member of the League or not, against external aggression or for the purpose of coercing any other country, or for the purpose of intervention in the internal conflicts or other controversies which may arise in any other country, and no mandate shall be accepted by the United States under Article XXII., Part I, of the treaty of peace with Germany except by action of the Congress of the United States.

3. The United States reserves to itself exclusively the right to decide what questions are within its domestic jurisdiction, and declares that all domestic and political questions relating to its affairs, including immigration, coastwise traffic, the tariff, commerce, and all other domestic questions, are solely within the jurisdiction of the United States and are not under this treaty submitted in any way either to arbitration or to the consideration of the council or of the assembly of the League of Nations, or to the decision or recommendation of any other power.

4. The United States declines to submit for arbitration or inquiry by the assembly or the council of the League of Nations, provided for in said Treaty of Peace, any questions which in the judgment of the United States depend upon or relate to its long established policy, commonly known as the Monroe Doctrine: said Doctrine to be interpreted by the United States alone and is hereby declared to be wholly outside the jurisdiction of said League of Nations and entirely unaffected by any provision contained in the said treaty of peace with Germany.

Who or what is the Germany that is to be punished for the crime of the war? The President assures us that to punish Germany was one of the objects of our participation in the war and of the making of the Treaty. He is, however, careful to make it plain that it is not the German people who are to be punished. At almost the identical moment of time that the President tells us this, his Secretary of State, Mr. Lansing, reminds us that it was the American Delegates at Paris, of whom of course the President was chief and Mr. Lansing second fiddle, objected to the former Kaiser's being haled to the bar to answer for his crimes. Who, then, or what, is the German culprit?

Strikes and Lockouts

“**T**OO good to be true” must probably be the judgment passed upon the recent proposals of the Executive Council of the New York State Federation of Labor. The sentiment of the Federation itself was promptly declared to be unfavorable to them. They were repudiated by its President. Yet we believe that to most impartial minds they appear reasonable and desirable; some of them so much so that their permanent and general application should be a matter of course.

The proposal which was most objected to by other officers and members of the Federation, and was declared by them to be preposterously impossible, was to the effect that all existing strikes should be suspended, on the basis of the *status quo*, for a period of six months or more, to afford the President an opportunity to reduce the cost of living to normal figures. That, it was objected, would mean a sacrifice by the strikers. Doubtless. But it is necessary for all men at times to make sacrifices, and it is sometimes the part of wisdom so to do, if thus the desired end can be gained. Many men are now striking solely, they say, because of the high cost of living which makes it necessary for them to have higher wages. If the cost of living were reduced their present wages would be sufficient and they would not strike. It would certainly seem more rational for them to cease striking, even at a sacrifice, and thus let the cost of living be reduced and the problem be solved, than to persist in striking and thus inevitably keep up if not actually increase the cost of living and so perpetuate if not aggravate the evil of which they complain.

There is, however, an exception to this proposal. That is, that during this industrial armistice of six months or more there shall be no new strikes “except in such circumstances as, in the opinion of the Executive Council, render it imperatively necessary to use the strike weapon.” Now, assuming the opinion of that Executive Council to be if not superhumanly inerrant at least reasonably sound and judicious, we submit that that is a rule which should prevail not merely for six months but for all time. It should be a perpetual principle of industrial relations and controversies: “No strikes unless they are imperatively necessary.” We do not like strikes. But we concede that there are cases in which they are righteous and deserve success because they seem to be “imperatively necessary” to obtain justice for the workingmen. Unfortunately there is too much ground for the implication contained in the proposal which we are discussing, that many strikes are not of that character, but are by no means necessary. It would be fortunate for workers as well as for employers and, most of all, for the general public, if such were prohibited not merely for six months but for all time.

To the second of the proposals we have no doubt that even the labor unionists and strikers who object to the first will heartily assent. That is, that any employer, corporate or individual, who should take advantage of the armistice to gain something selfishly at the expense of labor, should be rebuked and disciplined by other employers, and if not by them, then by organized labor. To that we should most

heartily assent; only, as in the former case, we should make it still more comprehensive and lasting. It is a principle which should prevail not merely for six months but for all time, and which should apply not to employers alone but equally to employes. Nothing is more essential to the establishment and maintenance of just and satisfactory conditions in the industrial world than that there shall be absolutely good faith on both sides. The employer who breaks faith with his workmen, or takes advantage of circumstances to overreach them, wrongs not them alone but if possible still more his fellow employers by bringing upon them a reflection of the discredit and distrust which he himself incurs, and is deserving of the severe reprobation which they owe it to themselves to visit upon him. And precisely the same is to be said of workmen, individually or collectively, who take unfair advantage of their employers.

“Too good to be true,” or too good for acceptance and enforcement, may unhappily be the present judgment of passionate and heedless men upon these proposals as a whole. Yet the making of them will not be in vain if men are thus led to think of the principles of sympathy, equity and integrity which must form the only secure basis for economic prosperity and peace.

Whether New York telephone subscribers and users appreciate the more the reduction of rates or the improvement of service, is an open question. That they exult with profound thanksgiving in the un-Burlesonizing of the service is no question at all.

Congressional approval of the President's call for a national industrial and economic conference at Washington was of course a foregone conclusion. The scheme is an admirable one, and the only unfavorable comment upon it is that it ought to have been brought forward long ago, and that it would have been more profitable for the President to stay in Washington and attend to such matters as that than to postpone them while he spends weeks hippodroming the country for the Plague of Notions. Very different is the proposal to proceed with an international labor conclave such as is provided for in the League Covenant regardless of whether the Senate ratifies the Covenant or not. The President would be prohibited by law from participating in any such conclave abroad, without the assent of Congress. He may deem that assent unnecessary here, but it would be courteous and judicious, if nothing more, for him to await it. The representatives of this nation really ought to have something to say about our participation in international affairs.

Nobody will grudge the postoffice employes whose salaries have been increased, though it does cost the nation forty millions. While other salaries and wages have been increasing by leaps and bounds, theirs have stood still—indeed in some cases have actually decreased. They have been serving for considerably less than the government itself has declared to be the minimum living wage. And beside that, they have had to serve under Burleson.

Carranza and the Doctrine

"'Nobody asked you, Sir!' she said"

WE may charitably concede that there is room for doubt concerning the motives of Mr. Carranza of Mexico in his recent amazing and amusing outburst against the Monroe Doctrine. It is conceivable that he spoke in entirely good faith, through a mistaken notion that the Doctrine was, as he described it, an assumption by the United States of "forcible guardianship over all the nations of the Western Hemisphere," and therefore a menace to the independence of Mexico, which he as a perfectly good Mexican patriot was bound to resent and to resist. True, such a view of the Doctrine would be so false as to escape being offensive only through being irresistibly ludicrous, and it might seem disrespectful to Mr. Carranza to impute to him the possibility of cherishing it. Yet for his doing so there would be distinguished and authoritative warrant. It would be unreasonably exacting to expect the President of Mexico to surpass the President of the United States in knowledge of United States affairs, or to censure him for not doing so. Seeing therefore that the President of the United States has put himself on record as regarding the Monroe Doctrine as an international "regional understanding," it should not be cause for surprise or for censorious animadversion if the President of Mexico actually interpreted it in the absurd way which Mr. Carranza has indicated.

It is also conceivable that Mr. Carranza's utterance was made as a bit of sheer Buncombe, of the Bombastes Furioso type, intended to impress the peons of Mexico with the transcendent valor of the man who could thus flout and defy the detested Gringo; a theory in justification of which an equally eminent example may be cited. We are not, it is true, unmindful of the austere condemnation which the President of the United States once pronounced upon any person who should use the foreign relations of this country for the advancement of personal interests or ambitions. Yet we are also possessed of a keen and irresistible realization of his having himself done that very thing to an extent quite unapproached in American history. Why should not his neighbor at the other side of the Rio Grande do the same thing?

In either of these cases, however, and in any imaginable case, the American answer to Mr. Carranza's ridiculous ebullition is quite obvious. The United States does not ask him to recognize the Monroe Doctrine. It never has asked him to do so, and never will. It does not care a picayune whether he recognizes it or not. Indeed, without being disrespectful, we may say the same with reference to all the other nations of the world. We do not seek their "recognition" of the Monroe Doctrine. It is not an international arrangement, as the President strangely affects to believe. It is not international law. It is not something which requires for its validity the aid or the assent of any other nation. It is simply a statement of American policy, of American principles. It is a statement of what the United States has done, or has not done, and of what it would do in certain contingencies; just that and nothing

more. It would be agreeable and gratifying, from a sentimental point of view, to have all other nations regard that policy, and indeed all our policies and courses of action, with approbation. But certainly our adherence to it does not in the slightest degree depend upon their so doing.

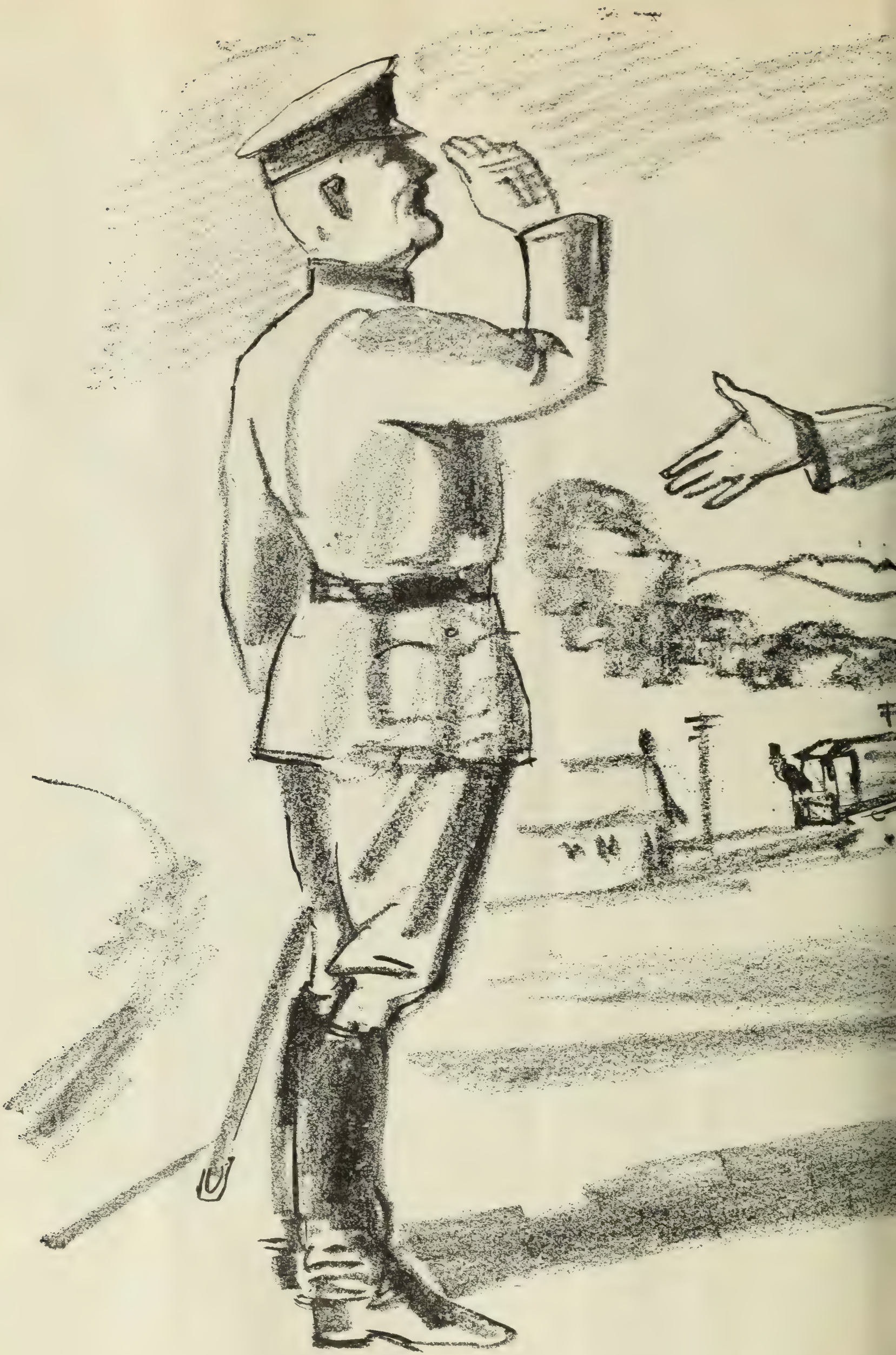
It may be very shocking to some ultra-altruistic souls, who conceive the chief object of America's existence to be to sacrifice her own welfare to the caprices of others, but the "cubical, concrete, congealed" fact is that the Monroe Doctrine is purely subjective in its primary purport. It was conceived and promulgated, and is resolutely maintained, for our own good. It is a policy of the United States, enforced by the United States, for the United States. In it European powers are inferentially warned not to meddle with the political independence of our southern neighbors, not, however, for their sake but our own, because such meddling would be a menace to our tranquillity and welfare. Mr. Monroe did not consult a single one of the Latin American States before he promulgated the Doctrine. There was no reason why he should have done so. We are not sure that any of them knew of it in advance. We are quite sure that if they had known of it, and if one of them, some Carranza of that day, had refused it recognition, Mr. Monroe would have issued it all the same. And the same principle of action obtains to-day. We do not consult those nations concerning maintenance and enforcement of the Doctrine, because it is our Doctrine and not theirs, and we are maintaining it for our own sake and not theirs.

We should be glad to have their approval; even Mr. Carranza's approval. So too we should be glad to know that the Akhoond of Swat approved our Civil Service system, and that the Begum of Bhopal was favorably impressed with our policy of forest conservation. In fact, we are quite confident that with a very few exceptions we have the approval of Latin America for our Doctrine. The unanimous enthusiasm with which it was greeted by those countries at its promulgation is a commonplace of history, and the almost invariable course pursued by them since has disclosed no departure from that original attitude. We have also a vivid recollection of the appreciation of the Doctrine which was manifested by that great patriot, soldier and statesman without whom there would now be no Republic of Mexico of which Mr. Carranza could be President—Benito Juarez. As for Mr. Carranza, we can only hope that having removed from his manly chest the burden of this mirth-producing pronunciamento, he is feeling much better than he did; and we beg to assure him, with our most profound consideration, that we too are feeling quite well, serene and undismayed.

And the Monroe Doctrine, in spite of the President of Mexico and the President of the United States, will continue to do business at the same old stand.

"The only people I owe any report to are you and the other citizens of the United States."—*President Wilson.*

Of course, since Senators and Representatives are citizens of the United States. But the Constitution requires him to make special report to the Senate of his diplomatic doings, and to all Congress on the state of the Union.



WELC



HOME

The Week

WASHINGTON, September 11, 1919.

"THE tumult and the shouting dies." True, echoes of vapid vituperation drift in upon the western breezes, and Senator Hitchcock, with a constancy of devotion that makes Mrs. Micawber seem fickle, vows that he will never give up the fight until the Treaty, with the Covenant, is ratified without amendment or effective reservation. But day by day insistence wanes. Hysteria subsides. Human nature, both physical and mental, simply cannot keep on perpetually jumping up and down and shrieking that the thing must be done or the heart of the world will be broken. "At last silence comes," and men realize that the calm, thoughtful, dispassionate but tremendously resolute judgment of the chosen representatives of the nation must in the end prevail. It is, without irreverence in the analogy, another case of wind, earthquake and fire, and after them a still, small voice; for the still, small voice is the will of the people.

Without any fuss and feathers, Senator after Senator comes out from the Administration ranks and takes his stand upon the American side. Senator Shields did this, in the Foreign Relations committee, to the ill-concealed consternation and dismay of the dwindling company of Covenanters. Senator Simmons, for years one of the most influential men on the Administration side, soon let it be known that he would accept proper reservations, and this made it all but certain that his colleague, Senator Overman, would do the same. Who will be the next to take this step, and how far the process will extend, are questions which the President's supporters are asking fearfully; and which, asked in the President's own mind, exacerbate the asperity with which he rails against his critics. Senator Ashurst, one of the President's most devoted adherents, after careful canvass, finds only twenty-seven who can be depended upon to stand out for the Treaty as it stands; or five less than one third of the Senate.

The net result is to put all possibility of compromise quite out of court. What might have happened had the President pursued a courteous and conciliatory course, we need not now speculate upon. It is too late. The President has deliberately chosen to defy the Senate and to rail against it with the argot of the street, simply because it insists upon doing its constitutional duty. He thus leaves no course open to it but to do its duty, regardless alike of bullyings and whinings. If the result shall be unfortunate in any respect, responsibility and blame will rest not upon the faithful and patient representatives of the United States, but upon the peevish and impatient martinet who sought to make himself dictator in peace-making as Congress had made him in war-waging.

The resignation of Mr. Galloway as Civil Service Commissioner calls renewed attention to a peculiarly discreditable feature of President Wilson's administration. Mr. Galloway says in so many words what all informed persons know to be the exact truth, that his resignation was "forced" because he "would not keep with Postmaster-General Burleson in debauching the civil service and making a sham of the merit system." The circumstances were that Mr. Burleson insisted upon having the rules and competitive examinations of the Civil Service Commission manipulated in the interest of the

old spoils system, so that he could fill offices at pleasure with his relatives, friends and political backers. The President knew that this was the issue between Mr. Galloway and Mr. Burleson, and he deliberately elected to stand by Mr. Burleson and to force Mr. Galloway to resign, so that his place could be filled with somebody who would be a pliant tool of the Postmaster-General in making the Postoffice Department a happy hunting ground for nepotists and spoilsmen.

When to this we add remembrance of Mr. Burleson's uncommon zeal for putting the telegraphs, telephones and what not else under government ownership and control, we begin to sense the magnitude of this administration's conspiracy against free democratic government. The scheme was to put as many great enterprises as possible, with millions of employes, under direct government control; then practically annul the Civil Service system, so that all that vast army of citizens could be organized into a political and partisan machine. After that, there would be little use in holding elections—more than simply to "announce the result" as they used to do in Mexico.

Presidential geography:

Serajevo is a city of Serbia.

Prague is the capital of Poland.

Bagdad is in Persia.

On Thursday of last week the President, speaking at Columbus, dwelt eloquently upon the unselfishness of America in making the Treaty of Peace, and upon the fine passions of the world as there expressed, "its philanthropic passions, this passion of human sympathy, this passion of human friendliness and helpfulness;" and then he said:

I hear a great deal about the selfishness and the selfish ambitions of other governments, but I would not be doing justice to the gifted men with whom I was associated on the other side of the water, if I did not testify that the purposes that I have outlined were their purposes.

On Thursday of last week, also, the Secretary of State, speaking at Boston, said:

We must recognize the fact, unpalatable though it may be, that nations to-day are influenced more by selfishness than by an altruistic sentiment of justice. . . . If we are wise we will not deceive ourselves by assuming that the policies of other nations are founded on unselfishness or on a constant purpose to be just even though the consequences be contrary to their immediate interests.

Some weeks ago the President said:

I differ from Mr. Lansing.

As we welcome Cardinal Mercier, it is fitting to recall the words which he uttered to the Belgian people, in the very midst of the war, at a time when their sacrifice was complete and their redemption seemed still uncertain:

Even supposing that the final issue of the gigantic duel is uncertain, the moral triumph of Belgium is an ever memorable fact for history and civilization . . . Out of respect for our plighted word, to proclaim that in your consciences right comes before all else, you have sacrificed your goods, your homes, your sons, your husbands; and after eighteen

months of coercion you are still as proud of your deed as on the first day.

That is an absolutely true record, and for it credit is due to three : King Albert, Cardinal Mercier, and the Belgian people.

"Try the League, but keep prepared for war," is the advice of General March, Chief of Staff; a very much modernized variant of the classic "Trust in God, but keep your powder dry." The use of poison gas by Germany was unjustifiable, but it had to be met with similar tactics by the Allies. And if Germany in the late war thus employed illegal means, there is no assurance that she or some other country will not do the same again. Therefore the United States should be at all times prepared for such an event. Evidently the Chief of Staff does not share the President's confidence in the infallibility of the League as a preventive of war.

We cannot feel deeply impressed by the action of the special committee of the American Bar Association on the League of Nations. Three of its five members reported in favor of promptly ratifying the Treaty without amendment or effective reservation. They did this on the ground that business and other interests required speedy ratification. At the same time they admitted that the Covenant ought to be radically amended, and they recommended that as soon as the thing is ratified steps should be taken to amend it. That is to say, it is to be approved, and then immediately disapproved. Also, we are to forego amendment of it while amendment is possible, and then seek amendment when amendment is practically impossible. "That way madness lies."

Few arguments against amending the Treaty in advance of ratification are more fallacious than that which seeks to draw an analogy between this case and that of the Constitution of the United States. It is true that the Constitution was "amended" after ratification. But the amendments were mere additions of things that had been omitted from the original draft. They did not repeal nor alter a single word that had been ratified. The amendments which the Treaty needs, on the contrary, are direct repudiations, eliminations and changes of provisions which it is now urged that we should ratify in the original draft.

The President with supreme cocksureness declares that When this Treaty is accepted, men in khaki will not have to cross the seas again. We should think, reverently speaking, that only the Almighty was qualified to say that. Certainly we should like to have the assurance, before we trust in it, on better authority than that of him who "kept us out of war"—only until he could get himself reelected by virtue of that Pecksniffian pretence.

The law for the enforcement of the prohibition amendment defines intoxicating liquors as all beverages that contain more than one half of one per cent of alcohol or more, and it forbids under penalty their manufacture or sale. That of course bars out buttermilk, which is said to be a particularly favorite tipple of prohibitionists. But exemption is specifically made in favor of home-made cider and root beer. Why? Everybody knows that those beverages, when fit to drink, contain con-

siderably more than one half of one per cent of alcohol. Why should an exception be made in favor of apple juice and not also in favor of grape juice? Why should a weird compound of sassafras root, birch bark and prince's pine be permissible, and an extract of barley and hops be banned? And how about perry, and metheglin, and mead? And what's the matter with koumyss and kindred brews? Are they classed with champagne and buttermilk and bourbon, offspring of the Demon Rum? Or are they immune along with switchel and the major ingredient of stone fence? We thirst for information.

A London dispatch—which Washington affects to discredit—states "on the highest authority" that Great Britain and the United States have guaranteed Belgium's future security against German aggression. We should not object a bit to having that done. But we should like to know (1) How it has been done without action of the full treaty-making power of the United States, and (2) Whether it has been done in accordance with the First Commandment: "Open covenants openly arrived at."

The Liberal caucus of the Canadian Parliament has determined to demand amendment of the Peace Treaty, first of all to Article X. Also, an important section of the French Chamber has recorded itself against it. Yet we are assured that all other nations but our own are unanimously for it, *verbatim et literatim*, and that the heart of the world will be broken if we dare to amend it in accordance with American principles.

"Uncle Joe" Cannon with breezy vigor opposes the bill for selling waste and arid lands to soldiers, on the ground that the soldiers don't want them. If that is so, it ought to settle the case. In any event it will be well to let this incident, whether the proposal be good or bad, serve as a reminder of the danger of running into too many schemes for the alleged benefit of the soldiers. We agree heartily that the boys in khaki are entitled not only to just but to generous treatment. But they ought not to be exploited to make capital for somebody else, and there should be no discrimination in their behalf which would be unjust to others and injurious to the nation which they have been serving. Thus the attempts to put them in a preferred class in the Civil Service are to be regarded dubiously. We should unhesitatingly approve giving soldiers the preference for appointment, all other qualifications being equal. If two men are rated alike in competitive examination and one is a soldier, by all means give him the appointment over the civilian. But it would be a grave injustice to the public to give a less competent soldier the preference over a more competent civilian. As a matter of fact, the great majority of soldiers have too much self-respect to want or to accept such coddling. All they want is a fair field and no favor.

Speaking of the little nations, "Let them show me how they will keep out of war by not protecting them!" exclaims the President, as one who has uttered an unanswerable argument. But he quite neglects to show how we should keep out of war by protecting them. In that game it is his move first.

"Confinement in Washington"

COMING from a President of the United States who has broken all records of absence from his post of duty, Mr. Wilson's statement at Columbus that for a long time he has "chafed at his confinement in Washington," is a direct appeal to the American sense of humor which will hardly fail of response.

Of the thirty months which have elapsed since Mr. Wilson's second inauguration, he has spent something like half a year in semi-royal progresses in foreign lands, including about a month on the high seas and something like five months of administration, or attempted administration, of his high office by transfer of our Executive seat of Government from the banks of the Potomac to the banks of the Seine. In addition to that, he is now on a 10,000 mile transcontinental excursion which is to consume a month more of time. Add to this the ordinary vacation absences and excursions of, say, another month, and we find that Mr. Wilson has been relieved from "chafing at confinement in Washington" for something like eight months, all told. This approximates four months a year vacation which the President has allowed himself with full salary and traveling expenses of half a million dollars or so out of the pockets of his employers, the patient, all-enduring tax-payers of the country.

The legality or illegality of the President's foreign travels during his term of office need not be discussed. The question has never been brought to an issue and probably never will be. As to the propriety of these foreign roamings, however, that is a question which already has been so definitely and for all time settled in the minds of the American people that it is wholly safe to say than never again will an American President attempt to follow the dangerous precedent in this respect which Mr. Wilson has made. Hereafter, no matter how badly in need of re-psychologizing may be the esteemed populations of the Hedjaz and Timbuctoo, we feel quite safe in saying that, so far as American Presidents are concerned, the job will be done by the absent treatment and not again by personal presence and physical laying on of hands. If the heart of the world is going to break unless an American President starts on another globe-trotting expedition, then the heart of the world will have to go smash. The day of peripatetic American Presidents is ended. From the end of the Wilson administration on, they will stay in Washington and mind their own and the American people's business, irrespective of the cardiac symptoms of Europe, Asia, Africa and Polynesia, and even irrespective of whatever chafing at confinement there may be entailed.

But as to the actuality of the President's confinement sufferings we have not the remotest doubt. The wander-lust habit is hard to break. After roaming the world over and receiving the adulations of thousands and the effusive hospitality of royalties in all the accessible capitals of Europe, we are free to admit that enforced stay in plain, dull Washington, even though relieved by the engaging society of Mr. Tumulty himself, might become irksome. The dammed up reservoirs of suppressed rhetoric naturally would cause a

chafing and an eagerness to break loose. All that is explicable enough. None the less, we feel pretty sure that Mr. Wilson's plaintive moan about his "confinement in Washington" will touch that button in the American mental mechanism which instantly responds in gargantuan shouts of laughter.

"When this Treaty is accepted, men in khaki will not have to cross the seas again."—*President Wilson*.

Does that mean that Article X of the Covenant imposes "only a moral obligation," and that therefore when the League asks us to send troops we shall refuse?

Self-Determination

THERE was no uncertain note in the riot act which the Supreme Council read to Germany about the proposed annexation of Austria. The new German Constitution, it appeared, made provision for the reception of Austrian delegates to the German Parliament, and the annexation of Austria as an integral part of the German Reich—as the republic prefers to be called. But the Treaty of Peace, which Germany had already signed and ratified, bound that country perpetually to respect the independence of Austria. Wherefore the Supreme Council, rightly holding that the Treaty had precedence over the Constitution, ordered Germany to eliminate the provision in question from the latter instrument, under penalty of an immediate advance of the Allied forces on the Rhine.

This action of the Supreme Council is generally approved. It was highly desirable thus summarily to rebuke and to undo the first attempt of Germany to evade the terms of the Treaty. It was, of course, to be expected that she would break her word at the earliest opportunity, and it is to be expected that she will continue to do so whenever she has a chance. This quick failure of her first attempt at bad faith may not discourage her. It should serve to remind us and the Allies of the need of vigilance and inexorable firmness. In addition, it is doubtless a good thing for the rest of Europe to have Germany and Austria kept apart. Germany is strong enough to cause anxiety without that formidable addition.

The incident, nevertheless, taken in connection with several others, raises an interesting question concerning that right of popular self-determination of government which forms so sacrosanct an element of the New Dispensation. According to that benign principle, peoples are no more to be "ruled and dominated by arbitrary and irresponsible force," but "by their own will and choice." Obviously, that would warrant us in insisting that Germany should not forcibly impress Austria into the reorganized Reich. But suppose, as is by no means improbable, that it was the "will and choice" of the Austrian people to unite with their German kin. Nothing could be more natural and reasonable. They are of one race and blood, one language, one religion, one literature, one "Kultur." They were formerly

members of one Empire. If now they both wish, in their own free will and choice, to reunite, who in the name of self-determination shall say them nay?

It was, as we have observed, a fine joke upon the Allies to have a Hapsburg Archduke restored to power at Budapest. We are told that he was compelled to retire under pressure exerted upon him by our excellent Mr. Hoover; and it is intimated that the Hungarians really did not want him, anyway. Perhaps not; we do not profess to know. And we should not regard with pleasure or satisfaction the restoration of any of the Hapsburg clan to sovereignty, nor expect it to be profitable to those over whom he should rule. But in case—if such a thing is conceivable—it was the “will and choice” of the Magyars that Archduke Joseph should be their chief of state, by which of the Fourteen Commandments could such exercise of self-determination be forbidden?

We have recently heard, too, about proposals or attempts to establish in the Palatinate and perhaps elsewhere in the Rhine Provinces an independent republic, separate from the German Reich, and there have been varying and contradictory rumors, some that the Allies were encouraging and others that they were repressing the scheme. There are doubtless arguments in favor of such a creation, and there are also arguments against it; between which we shall not now assume to judge. But we cannot see how, in the name of self-determination, any outsiders are entitled to intrude their “arbitrary and irresponsible force” into the matter, or to “rule and dominate” the people of the Palatinate against “their own will and choice.”

It might be, as we have said, that some potential acts of self-determination in Europe would be unfavorable to the interests of the Allies, or vice versa. That, however, is not to the point. The question is whether it is fitting to vindicate a principle by violating it, to enforce the law of self-determination by denying it to the very peoples whom we require to respect it. Perhaps such a course is consistent and appropriate; but if so, seeing that it relates exclusively to European peoples, would it not be well to apply the principle of self-determination to Europe as a whole, as well as to its various members piecemeal? Fifty-odd years ago we settled our own problem of self-determination here, without European aid or meddling. It might be well now to let Europe settle hers without our intervention.

Amid the doleful chorus of German woes sound some strangely contrasting notes. While we are being told that the whole country is suffering unspeakable depression and is in so bad a plight that it ought to receive aid rather than be required to pay indemnity, we are also informed that Berlin is ablaze with cabarets which keep open all night long, and that already the British markets are being flooded with the output of German factories. The world should have learned by this time that however truthful a German may be individually, Germany collectively and nationally is a monstrous liar, and that just as it tried to deceive the world in the war, it will also try to deceive it in peace.

Some Fine Discriminations

OBVIOUSLY, the President is one who can
“ . . . distinguish and divide
A hair 'twixt south and southwest side,”

and in every turn of the political kaleidoscope his nimbleness in dialectics finds new exposition.

It was only a little while ago that he bewildered all spectators with his dexterity in demonstrating the difference between a legal and a moral obligation, and in explaining why we should not hesitate to incur the latter though we might well balk at the former, despite the fact that the latter was the more binding of the two. A reverent disciple of Whately has formulated his convincing syllogism thus:

Of two obligations, we should the more readily accept the less binding.

A legal obligation is less binding than a moral obligation.

Therefore we should more readily accept a moral than a legal obligation!

Having achieved this masterpiece of logic, he proceeded with another, if possible still more subtle. The Senate had asked him, if compatible with the public welfare, to impart to it the authentic text of a certain diplomatic declaration which had been signed by the Big Five on June 16 last. He declined, on the ground that to make it public now would cause a certain degree of embarrassment, not to America but to the other Powers. Now, as the President of course, was well aware, that declaration had been officially published by the British Government on July 4, and some time afterward had been republished in this country, in our *Congressional Record*, from the British copy, thus being made as public as it would be now if he were to comply with the Senate's request. An accomplished disciple of Malebranche analyzes his attitude thus:

We must make no publication that would embarrass the British Government.

It did not embarrass that government for itself to publish this declaration officially.

It did not embarrass it for us to republish unofficially its official publication.

But it would embarrass it for us to publish officially that identical publication.

Therefore he could not give the Senate an official copy of the document which had already been published officially in Great Britain and unofficially in the United States.

What wonder that the logical-minded Senator from Connecticut speculated hopelessly about “an intellectual apparatus like that”!

The National Association of Postoffice Clerks has acted wisely in declining affiliation with the American Federation of Labor. There is no reflection upon the latter organization in saying that no government employes of any kind should ever belong to it. “No man can serve two masters.” Membership in the civil service of the nation and also in a labor union would cause danger of a man's some day being called upon to choose between the two—whether he would be loyal to the government or loyal to the union. That is a choice which no American citizen ought ever to be asked to make.

The Plot of the Pygmies

ON the very first leg of the swing around the circle a deep-laid plot was unearthed. When the turn out of the masses in Columbus failed, and when the thin lines of those who did turn out manifested an uncheering stolidness of attitude, then it was that the plot in all its ugly nakedness stood revealed. The correspondent of the *New York World* saw the little game at a glance.

"It did not take very deep digging," he wrote, "to develop the fact that the Senatorial opponents of the League have invoked the full power of the Republican party to set the stage against the President, and to discourage in every way possible the success of his mission."

There you have it—nipped in the bud at the very start. Hereafter should one read of the Wilson caravan receiving only what the French call "successes of curiosity," we shall know what to make of it. The Machiavellian hands of the opposition Senators will have been at work. Popular enthusiasm for the President and his mission will have been deliberately dampened. "Word had gone out," said the *World* correspondent in explanation of the Columbus frost,—"word had gone out, presumably from Washington," to Republicans everywhere to take no part in Wilson demonstrations. The Senatorial pygmies, of course, are back of it all. Not only are they turning the hose on any pro-President enthusiasm, but they are cutting the vitals out of the sacrosanct League itself. At Indianapolis the President told them to "put up or shut up," and they had already, with the aid of Democratic votes, put up four amendments cutting these United States entirely loose from the League's super-Government domination, and even totally asphyxiating that very Article X, to the defence of which Mr. Wilson had devoted a good part of his Indianapolis address.

All a Republican plot, standing out plain as a pikestaff. Its ramifications are not even confined to this country. Its cloven foot was discernible in the British House of Commons when that dignified body forgot all decorum and burst into shouts of derisive laughter at the mere mention of the League of Nations by Lloyd-George. All the work of the pestiferous pygmies, of course. And now they are going to keep it up all the way across the continent and back wherever the President goes. A deliberate plot against the success of his mission. An underhanded malignant scheme to defeat his effort to stampede the Senate by turning loose overwhelming masses of an aroused people upon it.

A pretty contemptible pygmy game, whatever way you look at it. But it will not work. It has been uncovered and thus frustrated at the very start. The *World* correspondent said it all and exposed it all at the very first attempt to put it in operation. Whatever misadventures in the way of cold storage response to the Presidential presence the future may reveal we shall know at once the pygmy cause of it all and discount accordingly.

"I have for a long time chafed at the confinement of Washington."—*President Wilson*.

Was "Washington" a slip of the tongue for "Paris"?

"Representatives of the United States"

ONE of the latest of the reservations to the Peace Treaty which have been proposed is so obviously appropriate and necessary that it might well be adopted first of all, in fulfillment of the ancient rule that the last shall be first; the only comment upon it being an expression of surprise and regret that there should ever have been occasion and need for thus enforcing a principle so salutary and fundamental that it ought always to have been regarded as a matter of course.

The reservation is to the effect that no act of any representative of the United States, in connection with the League of Nations or with the enforcement of any portion of the Treaty, shall be in any way binding unless such representative shall have been appointed by and with the advice and consent of the Senate.

That reservation might indeed be made more general in its scope and application, so as to provide that no act of any alleged representative of the United States in connection with any matter whatever shall be binding, unless he has been appointed in conformity with the Constitution and laws. For how could it be otherwise? The acts of an unauthorized agent should not be and in fact are not binding. No man is a representative of the United States, that is, an authorized agent, unless he is regularly appointed by some competent power. And the President alone is not such a power. The Constitution specifically requires that all appointments of "public ministers" shall be made by and with the advice and consent of the Senate. Anybody otherwise appointed is not a representative of the United States, and his acts can have no binding force.

We have had entirely too many "Commissioners Paramount" and "personal representatives" and what not other miscellaneous fry, assuming to speak for the United States. They were not and are not "representatives of the United States," but only of the President; and we have not yet reached a point where the President is the whole United States—unless perhaps in his own over-inflated fancy. As for the notion that a Presidential autocrat can send out his personal representatives to mix up this nation in this, that and the other alien affairs, and then demand that we shall countenance and confirm all their fantastic and un-American doings, under penalty of "breaking the heart of the world"—it is to laugh. The United States of America is still a constitutional republic, not an absolute monarchy.

"Put up or shut up!" is a peculiarly unfortunate challenge for the President to fling at the Senate, seeing that hitherto his consistent and persistent contention has been that the Senate has no business to "put up" anything, but must confine its functions to ratifying without the crossing of a t or the dotting of an i anything that he sees fit to offer it. As the President who above all others in American history has scorned, resented and rejected the counsel of others, his present demand for an alternative plan is either an exhibition of monumental brass or a cry of despair.

Letters From Our Readers

POLAND AND THE JEWS

SIR,—I am a consistent reader of your, HARVEY'S WEEKLY, and I profess a liking of the same. This in spite of the fact that I have not been converted to all of your beliefs and opinions. I like your straightforwardness. I admire your courage.

I am writing these few lines, though, as an objection to an article contained in a recent issue of the WEEKLY, under the title, "Poland; and Some Others." I am going to ask if you have any objections to raise against the granting to the Jews the right to worship their God in their own manner, so long as that practice does not work an injury nor a curtailment of the rights and personal liberties of other peoples? Have you any objection against a guarantee of religious rights, and other such rights being granted to the Jews? I cannot believe that you have.

And still, in the article above referred to, one might be led to believe otherwise. Is it really "superfluous" that the Big Five should make the Bill of Rights a condition precedent to Poland's independence? Who was it that won that independence? Truly Poland helped, but in helping were they not helping themselves? Where would Poland be as regards her independence were it not for the Big Five? To whom is Poland indebted, and is that debt not greater than the acceptance of the Bill of Rights? To whom will Poland look for the preservation of her independence if not to the Big Five?

In my humble opinion, you do not believe that the Jews have been and are being oppressed and persecuted in Poland. You say, "They were always good natured and tolerant." I remember that on one occasion, in speaking of these pogroms, you said that the whole affair will prove nothing but German propaganda. You go on to state that the Poles are "too courteous, too generous."

And yet, if this really is German propaganda, I would advise that you suggest to Senator Reed that in his opposition to the League of Nations he eliminate from his speech a statement to the effect that Poland, on the day that she was made a free and independent country, "celebrated" by killing 2,200 Jews. "Superfluous—good natured and tolerant—too courteous, too generous." Hardly all of that, Mr. Harvey. You and the Senator, I understand, are very much in line, and to have the Senator misled to such an extent that he is going around disseminating German propaganda, is, in my opinion, somewhat of a reflection.

In an attempted comparison, you state that Poland could have said in answer, "We will put a stop to pogroms, if you will put a stop to lynchings." What an analogy! Though I am unalterably opposed to lynchings, and mob rule in general, how could any such man as yourself make any comparison between the rape of a white woman by a negro, and the innocent pursuit of religious rites by a Jew?

In conclusion, I would suggest that before you raise such strenuous objections to the Bill of Rights, you investigate and see if the same is really "superfluous." Learn the truth about the persecutions and pogroms. Personally, I believe that Senator Reed knew what he was talking about. If these things have really happened, how can you say that the Bill of Rights approximated a pledge from the Poles, "to do the very things which they of course meant to do, and not to do the things which they of course never thought of doing?" Does the brutal massacre of 2,200 persons, be they Jews, Hottentots, or what not, evidence their good nature, tolerance, courtesy?

I say with you, God Save the New Republic of Poland, but I trust that there never will be a Republic of Poland until the Poles have been made to realize and appreciate the fact that the World will not stand idly by and see a weaker people persecuted and crushed, as Germany, in her bitter experience with Belgium, can readily testify.

Birmingham, Ala.

W. SOL. BEARMAN.

[Our correspondent is right in what he describes as his "humble opinion": we "do not believe that the Jews have been and are being oppressed and persecuted in Poland." In that disbelief we are confirmed by Mr. Louis Marshall, President of the American Jewish Committee, who has been spending some months in Europe in the interest of the Jews of Poland and other countries, and who declares that he heard of no "pogroms" whatever in Poland.

I DEAL

SIR,—I take great pleasure in reading HARVEY'S WEEKLY, and an even greater pleasure in quoting it and showing it to my friends. Keep up your good fight against the League of Nations idea. To me it seems that W. W. makes his appeal for a higher ideal, but I certainly feel that he spells it "I deal!" And speaking of deals, I'm somewhat afraid that he thought he was simply playing old maid, while Mr. Lloyd George (a consummate joker) and the rest of the bunch knew the game was draw poker.

C. T. FULLWOOD.

Pittsburgh, Pa.

ENOUGH OF SCHOOL-TEACHER ETHICS

SIR,—Your address at Syracuse University is being read and listened to and thought over seriously.

We've had enough of school-teacher ethics and high-browed idealism and we're getting very flabby on the diet. May the Great God give us some real, rugged, strong, clear-visioned men! We need them, and where shall we find them?

I am glad you dared to say it at Syracuse. It's just the kind of physic that the country needs. We have become plethoric on the diet of the past decade, and especially of the past seven years. Who shall restore our national spirit?

Nanticoke, Pa.

W. H. SHARP.

"A COLOSSAL HUMBUG"

Sir,—Go on with your good work in combating the League of Nations, for it certainly is the most colossal humbug, freak, fraud and fake ever attempted to be imposed upon the credulity of the people of the United States. It makes the Government of the United States a police officer in Europe and an umpire in the settlement of petty quarrels between European nations in which we have no concern, and makes us a collection agency for the collection of debts due to other nations in which we have no interest.

The unholy attempt to destroy the Monroe Doctrine under the guise of defining it as an "International Engagement," or as a "Regional Understanding," or as a "Treaty of Arbitration," is nothing but a piece of diplomatic knavery.

"Be not weary in well doing."

Minneapolis, Minn.

L. E. STETLER.

THE BUCKEYE TEST

Sir,—Let me shake hands with you across the miles! You're doing a noble and necessary work. I would that your paper could go into the hands of every true-blue American in this dear land.

I'm with you—heart and hand, body and soul!

Good sir, you modestly and meekly
Call your paper "Harvey's Weekly."
'Tis "Harvey's"—that I see all right;
But weakly? Not by a helluva sight!

Shoot it to 'em, Colonel; they deserve it. If anyone tells you Ohio is for the League of Nations—well, tell 'em to revise their opinions, or suppress their statements. Out here in the Buckeye State we apply this test to one and all:

I'm for America, through and through;
I'm for the old Red-White-and-Blue—
Today, tomorrow, and the next day too.
I'm an American! What are you?

Malta, Ohio.

JAMES BALL NAYLOR.

INEVITABLE? WE THINK NOT

Sir,—After having followed closely President Wilson's "Fourteen Points," the Peace Conference proposed amendments, resolutions and suggestions by our best statesmen for and against the League of Nations, and watching the editorial pages of representative publications, I am convinced that were I an international banker, a union laborer, a Negro, a European, an Asiatic or a Bolshevik, I would be for it. Were I a Democrat, I would have to be for it, because of the fact that it is the President's hobby, and were I a Republican, I might follow a "rainbow chaser" like former President Taft; so that, as I see it, you and I and a few other Americans are about the only ones against it, and the curse is inevitable.

Plant City, Fla.

W. A. CLARK.

FROM EDITOR KNOX.

SIR,—Your WEEKLY is always a fount of inspiration. Thank God for your trenchant pen!

Manchester (N. H.) Union.

FRANK KNOX.

Letters From Our Readers

CRIME AND THE UNIFORM.

SIR,—Referring to your comment in the June 28th number about the practices of men in Service uniform, probably aided by the New York police, permit me to express the opinion that:

Congress should immediately pass an Act prohibiting the wearing of the uniform by every man out of the Service, except at times of State or National meetings or encampments. The uniform is not permitted to be worn before military service is exacted, and should not be after it has been completed. The most vicious crimes under the sun have been committed with the aid of that uniform—crimes not otherwise possible—because it inspired confidence and enabled the wearer to practice deeper deception. Women and girls have been the principal sufferers. Stop it. We're suffering from the same thing all over the West. It will be an ugly chapter for the future.

Portland, Oregon.

A. S. DAUTRICK.

IMPERIAL INEFFICIENCY

SIR,—I was horrified at the implication in a recent article in your WEEKLY entitled, "Acquitted," that the Imperial Postmaster was guilty of anything but the grossest inefficiency in his competent misdirection of His Majesty's Post, Telegraphs and Telephones. Your decision, however, that such colossal inefficiency would in itself be a preventive of any intentional criminality, was highly gratifying.

If it had not been such I should have felt it my duty to offer new evidence in the case which would have proven conclusively Lord Burleson's innocence of any crime except the rather ordinary one of inefficiency.

For the past twenty months I have been in His Majesty's Service in the American Expeditionary Forces fighting, all unwittingly, to be sure, in defense of His Majesty's Own Fourteen Points and the Confederation of the Universe. Upon my return to the Empire I was naturally rather eager to see and hear from my immediate family.

In consequence I communicated with my brother, who resides only two or three hundred miles from the camp at which I am stationed. In reply he sent me, from July First to July Eighteenth, two telegrams, three night letters and three (so-called) special delivery letters. Of the above, I received only one telegram, a day late, two night letters, late. Of the special delivery letters I received only one, mailed July Second and arriving July Twenty-third—only twenty-one days to traverse a distance which one could hardly walk in less than a week: from Philadelphia to Boston.

Of course, the Imperial Mail Service is not what it was in the days of the Republic, but, then, one should not be over-critical. Even a King "in His Own Name and His Own Right" can hardly be expected to direct the movements of the Universe and the United States without neglecting one or the other.

Furthermore, let us all remember that "The King can do no wrong."

Camp Devens, Mass.

ARMY OFFICER.

A LEAGUE DANGER

SIR,—In all of your splendid discussion of the League of Nations, there is one point I do not recall that you have mentioned, and it seems to be right pertinent. The point is in a letter from Judge Albert of Columbus, Nebraska, to W. M. Cain, and is as follows:

"There is a danger lurking in the League of Nations which thus far I have not heard discussed. The past two or three years has taught us something of the war powers of the executive. As commander and chief of the armies, it is necessary that when the country is at war, he should be clothed with these tremendous powers, but the framers of the Constitution wisely withheld from him the power to declare war. But this League of Nations, if adopted, is a treaty. As such is a part of the law of the land. As part of the law of the land, it is the duty of the Executive to enforce it. If to enforce it requires an army sent across the sea, it seems to be that it would be no great stretch of his power to order them across without waiting the action of Congress. If to enforce this treaty, he sends an army across the sea, are we not at war? If at war, is he not clothed with the war-powers pertaining to his office?"

"In short, is there not danger that if this treaty be ratified, the President will be continually called upon to exercise these extraordinary powers and become, in fact, a military dictator?"

Fremont, Neb.

L. D. RICHARDS.

"THE PRESIDENTIAL CONSCIENCE."

SIR,—There is a saying that "conscience is education." That expression is misleading; for while the President has the highest cultivation, it has not changed the real fiber of his conscience. Conscience may be like a musical talent: it may be improved by cultivation to the limit of its capacity; but a second-rate conscience and a second-rate musical talent can not be cultivated up to the first-rate.

I have heard consciences compared to razors. Some razors will hold the finest edges; some reasonably fine edges and some no edges at all. Our President seems to have the medium quality conscience, and is oblivious of the fact that it is not of the first quality.

The United States Constitution gives the President the power to make treaties with foreign nations by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, provided two-thirds of the Senators present concur. It needs no argument to convince an average man that it is unconscionable to attempt to extort the concurrence of the Senate by a political trick or by coercion, by seeking to force Senators to vote contrary to their convictions.

Any one with a delicate sense of honor will perceive and admit that it was the intention of the framers of the Constitution to have the free and untrammelled judgment of the President and the Senators in the making of treaties. The President took an oath to support the Constitution. Yet in his speech in New York on the eve of his leaving for Paris in March, he stated that the Treaty of Peace and the Treaty for the League of Nations would be so intertwined that the Senators would be compelled to accept the League of Nations unless they were willing to plunge the world into the confusion which would follow the rejecting of the Treaty of Peace.

Now he has carried out his threat and brought home such a Treaty as he threatened to bring; and, in effect, says to the Senators: "Accept my League of Nations or the war will be continued."

Morally, that act is like trying to obtain the Senators' votes at the point of a pistol. It would be inexcusable for the President to hold a pistol at the head of a Senator while he is voting and it is reprehensible for him to put a Senator in the attitude of voting for a continuation of war by refusing to vote for his League of Nations. The President tried to undermine the Italian representatives at Paris by appealing over their heads to the people of Italy. Clearly, that did not evince a high sense of honor. He is now reported to have an intention to stump the country to create a sentiment in favor of his League of Nations, so as to frighten Senators into voting his way. I can not believe that the Constitution makers intend that the President should thus attempt to overawe Senators in this way. His methods are wholly unprecedented, and the pity of it all is that he seems to be unable to realize the wrong of them. It is also a pity that the people of Europe will judge the American conscience by Mr. Wilson's acts.

WM. C. LAMBERT.

Louisville, Ky.

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF HISTORY

SIR,—My enjoyment of your publications is so keen that I feel constrained to express it to you. In all the discussion of the League of Nations that I have read in the WEEKLY, one point that is to me of much significance has not been stressed. I refer to the arguments to be drawn from the psychology of history. A comparison of the history of the United States and Europe from the beginning of our national existence will reveal so wide a divergence in theories of government; in national aspirations; in foreign policies; in fact, in all things that have to do with a nation's well-being, that the very thought of linking our destiny for the future with the nations of the old world seems born of a curious misapprehension of the essence of real nationalism. The tense moments in the Peace Conference were brought about by that difference in historical perspective to which I have alluded. Of "open covenants, openly arrived at," the States of Europe know nothing. Of such attitude of mind as that betrayed in our relations with Cuba, the great land-grabbing powers of the Continent are entirely ignorant. Of the bartering of rights for the gaining of political ends they know all there is to know. Of that which John Hay called "shirt sleeve diplomacy" they are as ignorant as babes. But these things have been wrought into our national history. Fiume and Shantung alone are enough to give serious thought to the most devout Covenanter. The President, as a student and teacher of history, should not forget that it has a psychology all its own.

R. B. MATHEWS.

Ellsworth, Maine.

CARTOON: I, W. W. IN ACTION

HARVEY'S WEEKLY

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VOL. 2 WEEK ENDING SEPTEMBER 20, 1919 No. 38

To Robert Lansing

SIR,—Yours has been a typical American career. Born of highly respected parents in a thriving town in the State of New York fifty-five years ago, you passed your boyhood in an atmosphere surcharged with the spirit of patriotism which had been quickened by the civil war. You were graduated with high honors from the fine old college at Amherst at the age of twenty-two. Three years later you were admitted to the bar and have since been universally regarded as a capable and honorable representative of your chosen profession.

Your success has been creditable and noteworthy. You have served as counsel for your country in several important cases. You were so fortunate as to win the affections of and to marry the gracious and cultivated daughter of a famous diplomat. Your personal life has been as notably free from suspicion of taint as your professional career. You are a member of many estimable associations and social clubs. You hold the highest honorary degrees from many American universities and colleges including your own alma mater. You belong to the discriminative Psi Upsilon.

You have few, if any, enemies and a host of friends, of whom the writer of these lines has long been and hopes long to be counted as one. Your elevation to the exalted position which you now hold was hailed with exceptional satisfaction by all who knew you. The forbearance which you have since exhibited in calmly ignoring the studied insolence of your arrogant

and jealous chief has been such as probably would not have been shown by any one of your illustrious predecessors. As doubtless you are aware, some have felt at times that your submissiveness hardly became a man of spirit conscious of the rightful dignity of so high a place, but none has denied to you credit for heeding the dictates of your conscience in continuing to serve your country as best you could in circumstances which could not be changed.

It is, therefore, sir, we beg you to believe, with the deepest regret that we feel impelled by a sense of public duty to inquire whether the many who have admired, respected, even loved, you for so long have erred in their judgment, whether you are in fact the courageous and patriotic American they have believed you to be, whether in a word you are a MAN.

Five days have elapsed since you were apprized of the fact that a former official associate, with whom you had lived on terms of intimacy, had made against you before a Committee of the Senate of the United States an accusation which, if true or unexplained, cannot fail to inflict incalculable injury upon your reputation. We quote the exact words of Mr. William C. Bullitt of "a note of a conversation" which he claims to have had with you on May 19:

The Secretary sent for me. It was a long conversation and Mr. Lansing in the course of it said that he personally would have strengthened greatly the judicial clauses of the League of Nations covenant, making arbitration compulsory. He also said that he was absolutely opposed to the United States taking a mandate in either Armenia or Constantinople.

That he thought that Constantinople should be placed under a local government the chief members of which were appointed by an international committee. Mr. Lansing then said that he too considered many parts of the treaty thoroughly bad, particularly those dealing with Shantung and the League of Nations. He said:

"I consider the League of Nations at present is entirely useless. The great Powers have simply gone ahead and arranged the world to suit themselves. England and France in particular have got out of the treaty everything that they wanted, and the League of Nations can do nothing to alter any of the unjust clauses of the treaty except by unanimous consent of the members of the league, and the great Powers will never give their consent to changes in the interests of weaker peoples."

We then talked about the possibility of ratification by the Senate. Mr. Lansing said: "I believe that if the Senate could only understand what this treaty means and if the American people could really understand it would unquestionably be defeated, but I wonder if they will ever understand what it lets them in for." He expressed the opinion that Mr. Knox would probably really understand the treaty and that Mr. Lodge would; but that Mr. Lodge's position would become purely political, and therefore ineffective. He thought that Mr. Knox might instruct America in the real meaning of it.

We turn now, sir, to the Treaty itself and find the first two signatures of the representatives of the High Contracting Parties to be of:

THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES, by:

The Honorable WOODROW WILSON, PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES, acting in his own name and by his own proper authority;

The Honorable ROBERT LANSING, Secretary of State.

Of the authenticity of these signatures there is, of course, no question. The vital point, vital to you, sir, as Secretary of State, as a true American, as a man of honor, is: Did you make those statements to your own subordinate and intimate associate, Mr. Bullitt? If not, why have you not said so? Can it be possible that you do not realize that your present attitude is wholly untenable? Think for a moment! Did you, sir, as Secretary of State of your country, sign a treaty, "many parts of which," particularly those relating to "Shantung and the League of Nations," you considered "thoroughly bad"? Did you connive at the deceit of the "unanimous consent" provision which President Wilson is lauding as the safeguard of America but which you know to be the instrument of full control by other Powers? Did you attach your honored name to a commitment of this nation which you realized neither the Senate nor the people would accept if they "could only understand what this treaty means" and "what it lets them in for"? Did you "barter away our birthright," as you said in your Boston speech, with the deliberate intention of participating by your silence in Mr. Wilson's frenzied effort to betray his country?

Did you do these dastardly things, Robert Lansing? If so, why? What was the impelling

force; what the inducement? Are you a craven? Are you afraid of Woodrow Wilson? Or are you so eager to retain your place that you are willing to disgrace it and abase yourself?

Perhaps you regard this as a matter of loyalty. If so, sir, at what point does loyalty to a chief whose perfidious work you condemn cease and loyalty to your country and your oath of office and your honor begin? Possibly you think you can evade your responsibility. You intimated as much when you shifted everything to Mr. Wilson's shoulders in your testimony before the Senate Committee. True, no doubt, as you said, he ignored you and your fellow manikins completely and himself did the whole business. But one thing he did not and could not do. He did not sign "Robert Lansing, Secretary of State," at the bottom of that "thoroughly bad" paper. You did that with your own hand and, unless your former associate is the colossal liar which you have not yet pronounced him to be, you did it with full knowledge that you were helping Woodrow Wilson to "put over" something on the American people which they would instantly reject if they had the true understanding of its meaning, which you since May 19 have concealed from them.

Silence, Robert Lansing, will not serve in this case. Silence now is confession. You may have an explanation. If so, sir, you cannot make it too quickly either as an acting or as a former Secretary of State. Every day, every moment, is adding to your discredit. Recall, we implore you, your oath of office, your honor and your friends, and remember—

"No man can serve two masters!"

Which, Robert Lansing, shall your master be,—your despot or your country?

Those circular letters to the nations of the world, for putting the League of Nations into operation, which Colonel House and Lord Robert Cecil were some time back reported to be preparing, are apparently beginning to have effect. Various Spanish statesmen of the highest rank are formally suggesting that Spain should intervene to turn the United States protectorate out of Santo Domingo. Castilian courtesy of course forbids them to doubt that the League is actually in force. For which, much thanks. It is an instructive and illuminating reminder of what the thing would lead to if ever we were such fatuous fools as to subject ourselves to its unamended Covenant.

As far back as last February the *National Review*, one of the most level-headed periodicals in England, said "There is some doubt as to how far Dr. Wilson has a mandate from the Great Republic to press his peculiar views on Europe." We don't believe there is much doubt now.

Bullitt Blabs

ONE of the latest and worst indictments of the President comes from one of his own most particular pet proteges. It was the President who, with his old-time fondness for "working the press," called Mr. Bullitt from his newspaper job to be an expert adviser in high diplomacy. It was the President who made Mr. Bullitt a conspicuous member of the staff of the Peace Delegation. It was the President who selected Mr. Bullitt to be the ambassador of the Peace Congress to the Bolshevik government of Russia. It was the President who grouped Mr. Bullitt with Dr. William Bayard Hale and the onetime Reverend George Davis Herron as the trinity in whom he most delighted to repose his confidence.

Down to the present moment there has never been a hint of any withdrawal of that confidence. For all that the nation and the world know, the President still regards Mr. Bullitt as worthy of all credence and confidence. True, Mr. Bullitt some time ago resigned and repudiated all connection with the Peace Conference, in terms which should have blistered the epidermis of the President's inmost soul, so scathing was their implied reproach. But the President emitted not a peep in reply. Apparently his attitude toward Mr. Bullitt remained unchanged.

Now Mr. Bullitt speaks out in meeting. Loyally mindful of the Presidential decree that all covenants of peace shall be open and be openly arrived at, he opens up to the public gaze some of the hitherto dark passages of the present Covenant. He sees no reason why he should not disclose to the Senate of the United States, at its request, the methods and circumstances through which was arrived at that Covenant which it is now asked to ratify letter perfect. In brief, this is his story:

That in his original plan of a League of Nations the President made no provision for any nation's withdrawal, no mention of the Monroe Doctrine, and no reservation of purely domestic questions from international jurisdiction;

That the President wanted all powers to "accept without reservation the principle that the peace of the world is superior in importance to any question of political jurisdiction or boundary";

That the President was a domineering autocrat, his four nominal colleagues being in fact mere ciphers, and all of them, even Colonel House, dissenting from his policies;

That Mr. Lansing, Secretary of State, declared that he considered many parts of the Treaty thoroughly bad, particularly those dealing with Shantung and the League of Nations; that he considered the League of Nations entirely useless, the great powers, especially England and France, having simply arranged the affairs of the world to suit their own selfish and sometimes unjust interests; and that if the Senate and the American people could be made to understand what the Treaty really meant, it "unquestionably would be defeated";

That other expert advisers to the Commission declared at the President's proposals for a League of Nations would destroy the Monroe Doctrine";

And that Mr. Bullitt persuaded the Russian Soviet govern-

ment to accede to the British proposals for peace, and that Mr. Lloyd George thereupon repudiated them.

Such is the testimony of the President's own expert adviser and chosen representative, backed up by him with documentary evidence, including various important papers which the President was "unable" to supply to the Senate but which Mr. Bullitt found no difficulty in supplying. Such is the testimony of a man who has never yet been denounced by the President as "pygmy minded" nor condemned to the gibbet, but who was selected by the President as his own alter ego in what the President himself declared to be one of the most important transactions in the world.

It is to be hoped that the President will pause in his swinging round the circle sufficiently to listen and to reply not to "voices in the air" but to a very distinct, explicit and emphatic voice in the committee room of the Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate of the United States.

"This Treaty or No Treaty!"

"IT is this treaty or no treaty!" declaimed the President to his first Montana audience; meaning the treaty just as it stands, Covenant and all, without amendment or reservation. "It is this treaty or no treaty!"

Many years ago, though not, we should say, so long ago as to be beyond the reach of the President's recollection, an ambitious and self-willed man aspired to be United States Senator from the State of Delaware. He could not muster enough votes in the Legislature to elect himself, but he could control enough to prevent the election of anybody else. So, under the slogan of "Addicks or nobody!" he sought to coerce or to constrain the State to consent to his election, under penalty of being unrepresented in the Senate. The State accepted for a time what it esteemed the lesser evil, and let the Senatorial chair stand vacant. But presently it took heart of grace and elected a Senator who was not Addicks. Instead of "Addicks or nobody!" it was "Somebody but not Addicks!"

It was not well for even a very rich man to try to dictate to a sovereign State. It is not well for even a President to try to dictate to a sovereign nation.

We concede that it is possible for the President to fulfil for a time his implied threat. He can make it "This treaty or no treaty," by the simple expedient of refusing to ratify and promulgate, or to transmit to the other signatories for their acceptance, the treaty as it will be amended or have reservations added by the Senate. Such a course is within the limits of his constitutional prerogatives; though we do not think that it would be judicious.

In that case, if he saw fit to carry the parallel with the Delaware Senatorial contest so far, we have little doubt as to the result. The American nation, doubtless with regret but with unfaltering resolution, would carry the same parallel to its legitimate conclusion. They would for a time endure the unpleasant but neither fatal nor even disastrous fate of having no treaty. But that would be for only a time, and a short time. In the end they would have a treaty to their own liking; and it would not be this treaty.

Superstate or Lyceum

THE trouble with the League of Nations is that it is either a superstate or it is nothing. Either it denationalizes us or it is an international sewing society, another Hague convention, a source of advice, the author of many good resolutions and no action.

The French with that inevitable logic of theirs which permits of no self deception saw this at once. Their quarrel with the President at Paris was that they insisted upon seeing it and would not take words for facts. They said "Give us the superstate; give us something that has a force on the Rhine; that has a general staff; that can order American troops across the Atlantic and English troops across the channel to guard our frontier, and we shall forget the menace that has hung over us for half a century and still, in spite of all your words, hangs over us. Give us the superstate and you can write the rest of the peace. We shall be content. If you don't give us the superstate then we shall write the peace and you must give us an alliance, an old fashioned alliance. A superstate or an alliance!" They got the alliance, from England, and probably will soon from the U. S. with the approval of the Senate.

President Wilson will not or can not look at this alternative with the unfaltering logic of the French. He is either confused or he is not frank. Sometimes what he sees in his League of Nations is a superstate. Sometimes it is a debating society. It depends or seems to depend upon his auditors.

For example, writing to the Senate transmitting the French treaty on July 29 his League of Nations was a debating society. He wrote: "The covenant of the League of Nations provides for military action for the protection of its members only upon the *advice* of the Council of the League, *advice* given, it is to be presumed, only upon deliberation and *acted upon by each of the governments of the member states* ONLY IF ITS OWN JUDGMENT JUSTIFIES SUCH ACTION."

No superstate there, only an advisory body of dubious efficiency, for it required to be supplemented for the protection of France by an alliance.

But hear him Thursday in Columbus, Ohio:

The League of Nations is not merely to serve notice on Governments which would contemplate the same thing which Germany contemplated, that they will do so at their peril, but also concerning the combination of power which will prove to them that they will do it at their peril. It is idle to say the world will combine against you because it may not, but it is persuasive to say the world is combined against you and will remain combined against any who attempt the same things that you attempted.

That is the Superstate. "The world is combined against you," not WILL combine against you after due taking of advice, when the judgment of the member-states "justifies action." Not the machinery for improving a military combination is created in the League but an actual ever present combination, a different conception.

Moreover, he continues:

I did not meet a single public man who did not admit these things—that Germany would not have gone into this war if she had thought Great Britain was going into it.

The superstate again. Only a superstate could give more

assurance of Great Britain's going in in the future than existed in 1914. Britain was then a guarantor of the neutrality of Belgium; to translate it into the language of this year of grace, a guarantor of the territorial integrity of Belgium. Germany took the treaty for a mere advisory act, a piece of counsel about as binding as the advice of the League of Nations would be if the League is what the President represented it to be in the French treaty letter.

Either there is room for doubt whether states will act in the future when an aggression is committed or there is not. If there is no room for doubt then a superstate exists and the logic of the President's Columbus speech is correct.

If there is room for doubt we are, in spite of the League, exactly where we were in 1914, when Germany doubted whether Britain would act and took the chances that brought on the universal catastrophe.

Either there is a superstate or there is not. Mr. Wilson cannot have one and not have one in the same language.

It has been stated by a serious and usually very well informed British authority that the British government "has for many years been making weekly propaganda on the League of Nations question via the American press." We should be interested to know what American press mediums have thus been employed, and on what subsidy, and also whether the United States government has been aware of the fact.

An Italian Parliamentary Commission reports against criminal prosecution of William Hohenzollern, saying: "Crimes attributed to the former Emperor were not contemplated in any penal code." The then Emperor himself said, in writing, in August, 1914, concerning the invasion of France: "Everything must be put to fire and sword. Men, women, children and old men must be slaughtered, and not a tree or house be left standing." Are we to understand that such crimes, thus self-confessed, are not dealt with in any penal code?

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Misrepresentation

OF all the unfortunate utterances in his diatribes against the Senate of the United States into which the President has permitted some infirmity of temper to betray him, the most serious was probably the first of all, and one which may to some have appeared so mild as to be of negligible significance. "Don't let them misrepresent it!" he cried; referring directly and confessedly to the majority Senators and the Treaty of Peace. It was, of course, as it was intended to be, an intimation that the Senators were misrepresenting the Treaty, and that purport of it has been confirmed by numerous further utterances.

That is a very serious thing, both subjectively and objectively. It is a serious thing to charge the foremost members of the Senate of the United States with deliberate untruthfulness. Some of the men thus aspersed were honored leaders of American statesmanship many years before Mr. Wilson emerged from the college class room into the political arena. They are trusted and honored by the American people, for their wisdom and their integrity, no whit less than the President himself. To impugn their honesty would in any case be a grave action. It becomes unspeakably grave—unless we decide to regard it as the exact contrary—when the charge is made without the slightest effort to substantiate it.

Still more serious is it, however, from the subjective point of view. He who demands equity must practice equity. The President cannot now complain if question is raised concerning the correctness of his own representations. He himself has challenged such inquiry.

When the President went abroad and told his European hearers that he had a mandate from the American people for the League of Nations, which he dared not disobey, some warning voice might well have cried, Don't let him misrepresent it!

When the President came back to this country and told Americans that all the rest of the world wanted the League of Nations and that the heart of the world would be broken if we did not accept the Covenant, the snickers and guffaws of sneering mirth which arose in the British House of Commons were by no means the only "voices in the air" which said to us, Don't let him misrepresent it!

When the President pretended that our resumption of trade with Germany was awaiting and would have to await ratification of the treaty, when in fact it had then already been resumed on a very extensive scale; when the President either personally or through one of his mouthpieces pretended that we should have to solicit Germany's approval of any change in the Covenant of the League, when by his own proposal Germany is not at first to be a member of the League; when the President pretended that the boycott provisions of the Covenant would "automatically" go into effect the instant a nation gave offence, when he knew that the Covenant itself provided for a protracted procedure the reverse of automatic; when the President tries to persuade the people that the settlement of our great domestic questions depend upon and await our acceptance of the Covenant, when he himself protests that the Covenant has absolutely nothing to do with domestic matters, and when he himself is refusing to take steps for the settlement of those questions until the Covenant

is accepted; when the President makes the infamous insinuation of pro-Germanism against the opponents of the League Covenant, when he knows that Germany has all along been of all European nations the most eager to have the Covenant adopted and the League formed, and when he knows that more than one or two of his own close associates in the early stages of the war were regarded and not without cause as pro-Germans, and most of the confessed pro-Germans in the country were rallying to his support—

In these circumstances, the President can have nobody but himself to blame if the answer to his gross aspersion upon the Senate comes back upon himself with redoubled force and pertinence: Don't let him misrepresent things!

The Great Betrayal

THE President began, in his original draft of a League Covenant, by offering to sacrifice the Monroe Doctrine and the domestic independence of the United States, as the price which he was willing to pay for an arrangement which would enable him to pose and preen as "President of the World."

Now he objects to reservations or amendments of the Treaty, not because other nations would reject them, but because they would so impair his personal prestige as to destroy his chances of being chosen "President of the World."

Therefore he utters his sullen and stodgy boast, "This Treaty or no treaty!" and threatens to burke the Treaty and balk the making of peace, unless he can be made "President of the World." For the gratification of his insatiable ambition and over-weening egotism he would first sacrifice the vital interests and integrity of his own country, and then would menace with defeat the peace-making efforts and desires of all the world.

Was there ever a more execrable exhibition of moral treason to the nation and to humanity?

A correspondent of the *Sun* calls attention to the interesting circumstance that President Wilson said at Columbus that he was "proud to have been bred in the old Revolutionary stock which set this Government up," while his biographies say that both his paternal grandparents came hither as immigrants from Ulster and that his mother was born of Scottish parentage at Carlisle, England. Surely the correspondent must be "pygmy minded" to suggest such a problem in genealogy. To the gibbet with him!

The Senate without the formality of a roll call declined to make jail sentences mandatory for hardened wretches convicted of trafficking in buttermilk and other beverages containing more than half of one per cent of alcohol. There is now hope that depraved purveyors of root beer may escape the infliction of capital punishment.

As the King and Queen of Belgium are not to sail for this country until September 22, there is still time for bands and the general public to learn the Belgian national anthem. They ought to do so generally, partly in honor of our heroic visitors and partly because "La Brabanconne" is one of the national anthems that are really worth while.

The Senate "Puts Up"

THE issue is joined. The Senate has "put up." The "pygmy minds" and "contemptible quitters" who are doomed to be "gibbeted" have promptly met the President's insolent challenge. "Put up or shut up!" he shrilly screamed, at a safe distance from that seat of government confinement which was so irksome to him. The majority leaders of the Senate could not answer him in kind. The spiteful vituperation which the President seems to think will please the ears of the multitude can have no place in reports or resolutions of the Senate. But the measured and courteous words, the citations of irrefutable facts, and the marshalling of cogent and convincing logic which make up the majority report on the Treaty of Peace will be far more effective to the masses of the American people as well as to the selected company of their representatives at Washington.

The peevish and petulant demand for the critics of the Treaty and especially of the Covenant to "put up or shut up" is the more shameless because of the notorious untruthfulness of its insinuation. What grills and infuriates the President is not that his critics have failed to "put up" but rather that they have from the very first "put up" so frankly and effectively. There can probably not be recalled in all our history a controversy of comparable importance in which criticism of a proposition has so largely mingled constructive suggestion with destructive attack. The Covenant has deserved destructive attack, God knows, and it has received it. But its most implacable opponents have never been backward in suggestion of practical substitutes for its objectionable features.

The very fact that it is now called a "Covenant" instead of as at first a "Constitution" is an indelible reminder of the way in which "pygmy minded" Senators and ex-Senators "put up" at its very first appearance. Remember, too, that the President was scarcely less insistent upon the adoption of that first version, letter perfect, than he is now concerning the present form of the thing. But when a nation-wide storm arose against it, and thoughtful and patriotic men who did not wish to see the peace negotiations discredited in advance by such egregious folly were ready with unselfish suggestions for its improvement, even the President was constrained to recognize and profit from their constructive proffers. So in all these later investigations and discussions in the Foreign Affairs committee, the aim has been not mere destruction of that which was evil but at least equally the strengthening and perfecting of that which was good, and the substitution of good for evil. And that, in fine, is the dominant feature of the superb report which Senator Lodge last week laid before the plenary Senate and the nation. It was the completion of an unsurpassed process of "putting up."

The minority report which followed has at least one salient virtue. It is a faithful echo of "his master's voice." It contains—indeed, consists of—the same tergiversations, inconsistencies and attempted deceptions as those which mark the President's harangues in his "swinging round the circle," and it conspicuously exploits that essential sordidness which so unfortunately characterizes him and which differentiates the opportunist doctrinaire which he is from the idealist as

which he affects to pose. The President who insists that no man can worship God on an empty stomach or be a patriot when he is hungry finds a fitting echo in those who would have us betray our independence and abrogate our nationality for the sake of commercial "concessions."

Between the two reports the Senate and the nation will not find it difficult to choose.

As to "Domestic Affairs"

"NOTHING," says the President, referring to the Council and Assembly of the League of Nations, as set forth in his Smuts-sired Covenant, "nothing can be discussed there that concerns our domestic affairs, the domestic affairs of any people, unless something is occurring in some nation which is likely to disturb the peace of the world."

Let us take that statement at its face value, and see what it amounts to; or what it might amount to in practical application.

Some years ago a monstrous piece of mob violence in New Orleans resulted in the murder of a number of Italians. For a time relations between the United States and Italy were strained; but ultimately, through those old fashioned diplomatic processes which the Covenanters now seek to discredit amends were made and cordiality was restored. But if this Covenant had then been in force, Italy could have represented that America's treatment of aliens was likely to disturb the peace of the world, and therefore on the President's own showing our whole system of domestic administration of justice could have been dragged before the Council of the League for international revision.

Not so many years ago American newspapers and speeches of American statesmen frequently referred to the attitude of some Western states toward Japanese immigration as likely if not indeed certain, to lead to war. Under the Covenant Japan would have had a *prima facie* case of the strongest kind for bringing our immigration laws before the Council of the League of Nations, for review and for recommendation of amendments.

One of the most famous of British statesmen devoted his life largely to advocacy of the proposition that most war arose from commercial rivalries and animosities which had their origin or their strength in protective tariffs, and that therefore the surest way to universal peace was through universal free trade. It would be entirely logical for some disciple of Cobden to memorialize the Council of the League to the effect that something was occurring in some nation, to wit, the adoption of a protective tariff in the United States which was likely to disturb the peace of the world, and for the Council thereupon to regard our tariff system as subject to its at least advisory jurisdiction.

The question is not whether the domestic affairs of a nation are to be subject to the meddling of the League, but rather who is to determine what affairs are and what are not domestic. The exemption of domestic affairs from international dictation is satisfactory so far as it goes. But *quis ipse custodes custodiet?* Who is to define domestic affairs? And that the Senate asks, all that the American people ask, is the right of self-determination.

The Meaning of Boston

THE police troubles in Boston are epochal. They are no mere local dispute, temporary ruction, or limited wrangle over the right of men to form or to join unions. They are a struggle over a fundamental principle in American government. They confront this country with the question whether this is to remain a democracy or to become an oligarchy; whether Republicanism or Sovietism shall prevail; whether this shall be a "government of the people, by the people, for the people," or a government of the people by a class for a class. We need not stop to inquire whether that was the conscious purpose of the leaders and promoters of the great desertion, or whether they fully realized the logical consequences of their act. The fact is now obvious and incontrovertible.

The success of the Boston police desertion—euphemistically called a strike—would establish a precedent for the abolition of republican government in America. It would mean that government officials and employes of all kinds, while still retaining their places with their influence and emoluments, were to be free to refuse to perform their duties, to obstruct the operations of government, and to conspire against the efficiency and authority of the government itself. It would mean that every law and function of government was to be dependent upon the approval of a limited class which had arrogated to itself that power. It would mean, for example, that the postal clerks and carriers all over the country might decree suspension of the mail service, unless some shoe factory at Lynn would grant its workmen higher wages and shorter hours; or that the army and navy of the United States might haul down the flag and refuse to serve, unless Congress would enact a "tariff for revenue only" law.

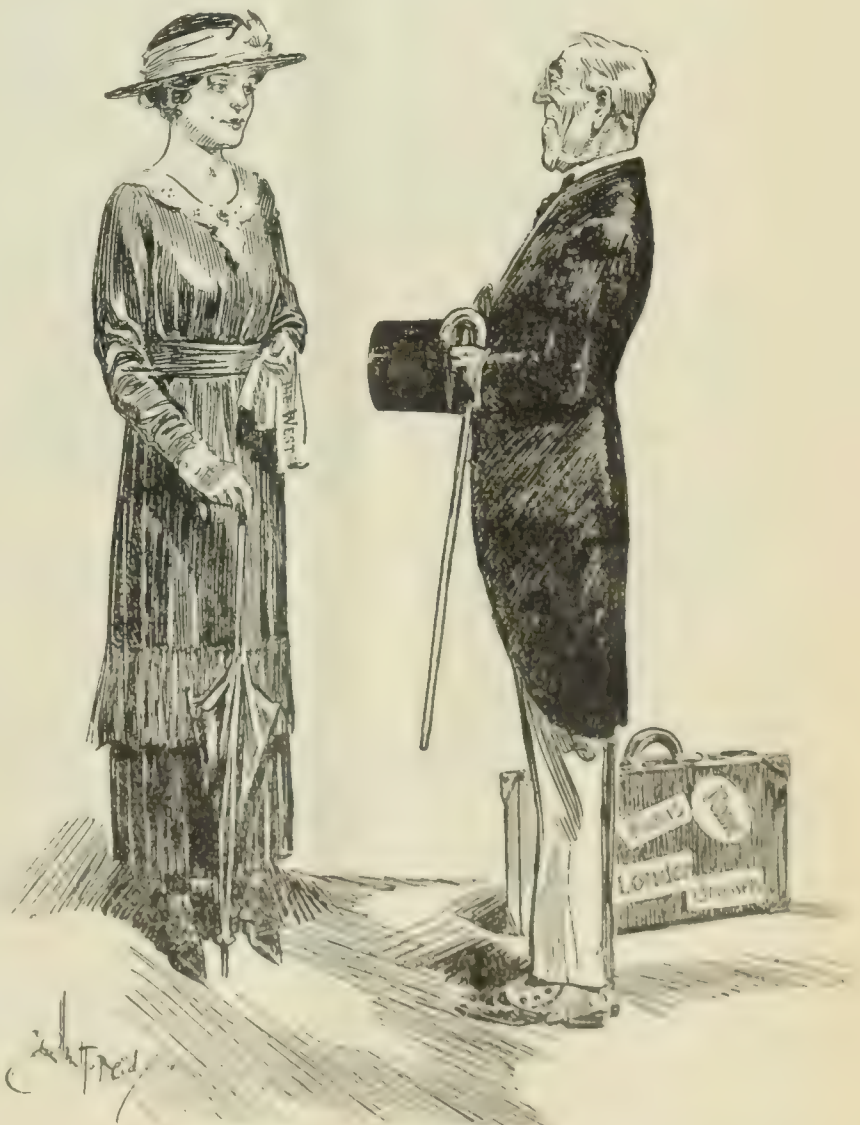
The amazing and the discouraging thing about it is that so many men of intelligence fail to see that this is the meaning of the movement. Mr. Gompers has made a splendid fight against Bolshevism and Sovietism, for which we cannot be too grateful to him. Yet apparently blinded by his zeal for police affiliation with the American Federation of Labor, he has in this case been working for the baldest kind of Soviet rule. He and other well-meaning men seem unable to distinguish the difference in status between industrial employes of private establishments and oath-bound officers of the government. They seem unable to understand that a policeman, as much as a judge or a President, is the impartial public servant of all, and that for him to ally himself with some special organization or class or part of the community, which may come into conflict with some other class or part, is to destroy the fundamental reason for his existence. The policeman is a policeman in order that he may serve employer and employe, capitalist and workingman, precisely alike as the law may require. To ally himself with the one is to align himself against the other and to make him no more the servant of all but the retainer of a class.

It is not convincing to say that as members of the American Federation of Labor policemen would not go on strike and especially would not go on sympathetic strikes. If they did not, what would be the use in their belonging to the Federation? If in every one of its strikes or other controversies they did not show partiality for the Federation, they

would be disloyal to it and their membership in it would be a farce. The Federation has been talking of a general strike in support of the deserting policemen. Is it conceivable that in return the policemen would never be expected to strike in support of the rest of the Federation?

These are the considerations which would make it betrayal of American democracy for the Boston—or any other municipal—authorities to countenance police affiliation with labor unions, or to restore to their places men who had been false to their oaths and had deserted their duties. There is no objection to policemen forming unions of their own, for mutual benefit. There will always be sympathy with their just demands for fair pay and conditions of service. The public is a generous and an easy master. But there must and will always be an inflexible requirement that public servants of all kinds shall give the public undivided service and allegiance. The United States will have no hyphenated service any more than it will have hyphenated citizenship. It will not endure the despotic dictation of a Pretorian Guard of its own employes.

The suggestion of impeachment of the Secretary of War is a dangerous approach to lese majesty. Does not Senator Chamberlain know that Mr. Baker is one of the ablest public officials President Wilson has ever known?



W. W. TO THE WEST: "Give me my League and I will keep you out of war."

THE WEST: "What again!"—*Detroit Free Press.*



"THE LEAGUE D

Dame Columbia: "Oh, Samuel, do make Vo



NE PASSIONS"

stop; he almost made me drop a stitch."

The Week

WASHINGTON, September 18, 1919.

THE Scold's Progress continues, but is not by any means monopolizing attention. It was his genial purpose to kindle a series of back-fires against his Senatorial critics which would set them to scurrying to the defensive. In that he of course failed. The process began as a farce, laughed at by those against whom it was directed. Now it has become a tragedy of parts through the kindling of a counter-fire against the President himself which not even the most brazen cynicism can affect to ignore or to minimize. It would be impossible to exaggerate the significance of Mr. Bullitt's disclosures; a fact which the Democratic members of the Foreign Relations Committee tacitly confessed when they so unanimously absented themselves from the session at which those disclosures were made. They knew that the witness could not be confronted nor answered, and that for any of them to be present and not in some way confound him would be disastrous. So they dodged the session.

The President has been shrilly clamoring for somebody to "put up" something. Well, one of his own favored and trusted proteges has "put up" to the President himself, to the American Secretary of State, and to the British Prime Minister something which will not easily be answered.

Special attention is due to the President's proposal, which Mr. Bullitt reports from the written record, that the peace of the world shall always be regarded as superior to any question of political jurisdiction or boundary. That means, of course, that France was not justified in fighting for Alsace-Lorraine, and that no nation would be warranted in resisting by force the invasion and occupation of its territory by another. Not justice nor right, but non-resistance, is the supreme virtue. Never, we think, has "peace at any price" ever been more offensively advocated.

There could be no offence in Colonel House's declaration that the President had a "single track mind," since "he himself has said it."

"Little Orphant Annie" is telling the women and children of the Far West that "the Gobble-uns 'll git you ef you don't watch out"; but somehow they don't get scared a bit.

The proposal for "equality of treatment of labor" in a pending convention appears to mean that workmen going to another country shall be assured there the same wages and other treatment as the workmen of that country. Then a horde of alien workmen, coming hither from Europe or Asia or Africa, would have to receive the same wages that native or naturalized American workmen received, with their savings of which they could presently flock back to the old country. It would be interesting to know what intelligent American workingmen would think of such a system.

When I advocated the things in this League of Nations, I had the full and proud consciousness I was only expressing the best thought and the best conscience of my beloved fellow-citizens.—*The President, at Tacoma.*

And now what a job he is having to make them realize it!

The great conflict in the British Trades Union Congress was really a drawn battle, which is bound soon or late to be renewed. The supreme issue was whether the great unions should band together to employ universal strikes as political weapons to coerce the Government in all sorts of matters quite unrelated to labor. That revolutionary policy was not adopted. But neither was it rejected. It was merely laid aside for a time, and that by the narrowest of margins. Meantime the same policy is being increasingly advocated here.

Bye-elections in Great Britain are notoriously untrustworthy as indices of political currents, yet that of last week at Widnes cannot be overlooked. At the general election of a few months ago the labor leaders were generally badly beaten, Mr. Arthur Henderson one of the worst of all, he being at the bottom of the poll at East Ham, with the candidate of the Democratic National Party at the top. Last week Mr. Henderson won at Widnes—a constituency which had been consistently Conservative for thirty years—by a majority of about 1,000 where Mr. Lloyd George's candidate had won by over 3,600 in January. As that was the fifth bye-election which the Government had lost, it is not surprising that men are asking whether Mr. Lloyd George is losing his hold upon the British electorate.

General Pershing has said a number of good things since his famous epigram at Petit Picpus, but none better than that in his little speech to the American Legion, in which he warned that body against "becoming a political tool in the hands of political aspirants" and urged instead that the Legion should become "a school of patriotism, by fostering those things which are near and dear to us as having come down to us from our forefathers." There are, happily, still those who remember the divine prohibition against the removal of landmarks.

With Washington threatened with a catastrophe similar to that of Boston, the President practically sided with the mutineers rather than with the responsible authorities. He did not, of course, favor a strike by the police. But he did deprecate any exercise of discipline over them by the officials whose rules they had flouted. The police were joining a labor union in defiance of their superior officers, and in defiance, too, we may add, of every principle of common sense and common justice; for which, as in Boston, they should have been disciplined or dismissed from the service to which they were no longer loyal. But the President sent a message to the authorities, asking them to take no action until he could return and hold his economic conference. We have not heard of his asking the policemen to withdraw from or to refrain from joining the labor union until that time, though that would have been the obvious and proper thing to do. Then there would have been a perfectly legitimate and logical *status quo ante*. As it was, he asked one side to do nothing while the other side was free to do as it pleased.

While some are demanding entire suspension of immigration, and others are as vehemently demanding that there shall be no restriction of it, while the President wants his power over passports to be kept undiminished and Secretary Lane urges that a nation-wide campaign against illiteracy be started at once and vigorously pushed, it is interesting to recall an act of the New York State government of a hundred and thirty-odd years ago. The Legislature passed a bill for the incorporation of a "German Society for encouraging immigration from Germany," and the Council of Revision vetoed it; because, it said,

It will be productive of the most fatal evils to the State to introduce into it a great number of foreigners differing from the old citizens in language and manners, ignorant of our Constitution, and totally unacquainted with the principles of civil liberty, under such circumstances as will naturally tend to keep them a distinct people and prevent their blending with the general mass of citizens, with one name and common interests.

Entirely apart from the interesting circumstance that Germans were thus the first to seek to maintain unassimilated foreign colonies in this country, those prudent and statesman-like remarks are no less applicable to 1919 than they were to 1785; especially if instead of "ignorant of our Constitution and totally unacquainted with the principles of civil liberty" we read "hostile to our Constitution and totally unsympathetic with the principles of civil liberty."

The President earnestly appeals for a postponement of the threatened steel workers' strike until after his national industrial and economic conference, which he cannot hold before October 6 on account of his "swinging round the circle." The steel workers reply by ordering the strike on September 22, a fortnight ahead of the Presidential conclave. So little influence has the request of a time-server with the very men to whom he was not long ago almost obsequiously catering.

Governor Coolidge of Massachusetts has enunciated a principle which other Executives, of both superior and inferior rank, will do well to inscribe upon the tablets of their minds. "We cannot think," he said, "of arbitrating the government or the form of law." Striking employes of government departments, and workingmen who want their industries made government departments, will do well to ponder upon that principle; which is a principle not merely of the Governor of Massachusetts but of the American nation.

The ex-Politicalmaster-General's desperate efforts to exculpate himself—and therefore his chief—from the charge of trying to debauch the Civil Service, recall an interesting bit of history, of the last Presidential campaign. In 1916 Mr. John L. McIlhenny was President of the Federal Civil Service Commission, as an appointee of President Wilson's. Charges were made by reputable citizens that under the influence of the then Politicalmaster-General examinations for fourth-class postmasters had been improperly manipulated, and Mr. Richard H. Dana, President of the National Civil Service Reform League, asked permission to inspect the records of those examinations. That was, of course, a proper and not unusual request. Invariably thitherto, under all

former administrations, such inspection had been welcomed, and even solicited. Mr. McIlhenny, however, refused it, on the ground—we quote his own exact words—that such inspection of the records "might lead to such criticism of the administration as would seriously embarrass it." It is almost superfluous to add that President Wilson, on being appealed to by Mr. Dana, supported Mr. McIlhenny in that refusal, on that ground. And now Mr. Burleson, accused of debauching the Civil Service, quotes in defence of himself a "good character" which was once given to him by this same Mr. McIlhenny; and President Wilson keeps Mr. Burleson in office as Postmaster-General. *Causa finita est.*

With all possible appreciation of the great patriotic service which Senator Norris performed in pillorying the Shantung infamy, we must take exception to his remark that "During his trip abroad the President spent money like a drunken sailor." Nebraska being an inland State, the error may be pardonable. But we would gently remind the Senator that in our Josephused navy there can be no such thing as a "drunken sailor." The phrase is self-contradictory. You might as well say "a drunken Prohibitionist." Let us say "a grape-juiced tar" or "a Loganberried marine." But "a drunken sailor"? Fie, fie, Senator! Pretty soon you'll be saying that somebody "scolds like a fishwife"!

"Is it honest," cries the President's own *Evening Post*, "to omit from the report on the Treaty all mention of Japan's promise to return Shantung to China?" We do not recall that that promise is in the Treaty, and we do not understand that a report on the Treaty should concern itself with things which are not in the Treaty. If the President, or Japan, or the *Evening Post*, wanted that promise mentioned in the report on the Treaty, he or it should have secured its insertion in the Treaty. It is indeed quite pertinent to inquire why so important a matter was not included in the Treaty, seeing that the promise was made long before the Treaty was drafted. If that had been done, it would have saved a world of trouble.

The pretence is made that the great European powers will think it strange that the American people want to amend the Treaty, and will perhaps be offended. Rubbish! Those powers know perfectly well that the American people stand and have all along stood in a very different position with respect to the Treaty from that of the peoples of Europe. M. Clemenceau, Mr. Lloyd George and Signor Orlando were constantly in direct touch with the Parliamentary representatives of their nations, and daily felt the popular pulse; so that those nations practically passed upon the Treaty day by day as the Conference proceeded. But President Wilson was not in touch with Congress or with the American people, but on the contrary took the utmost pains to keep himself aloof from them and to keep them in ignorance of what he was doing. The American Senate and people are therefore now doing merely something which corresponds with what the Parliaments and people of the European countries did during all the months of the Conference at Paris.

Pettifogging Investigations

THESE seems to be no limit to the stupidity of the Committee on Expenditures of the War of which Representative William J. Graham of Illinois is Chairman. We have already directed attention to its general ineptitude, but two recent examples seem to call for special mention.

The first relates to the proceedings of the sub-committee sent to Paris on what seems to be a wholly needless junketing trip. Wishing apparently to make a brave show of activities, the committee summoned General Pershing to appear before it on the last day of his stay in France and submit to an examination on "the fixing of responsibility for the mistreatment of American soldiers in prison in France, his views on court-martial laws and regulations pertaining thereto, regulations with reference to the burial of American dead and certain military operations," and the Lord knows what all. The General responded courteously that he could not give the requisite time without breaking appointments already made for farewell calls upon President Poincare, Premier Clemenceau, Marshal Petain and others. His testimony, moreover, could avail little or nothing since all of the documents of the General Staff had been sent aboard the *Leviathan* at Brest. As a matter of expediency, therefore, he did not doubt that the committee would appreciate the advantage of conducting the inquiry, which he frankly welcomed, in Washington.

To the average practical mind the reasons underlying this suggestion would seem convincing. But not so to Representative Bland, who promptly issued the following statement:

All I care to say personally about Gen. Pershing's refusal to testify before the Congressional committee—and I speak for myself alone—is that he and his army are bigger than our deputy sergeant-at-arms of the House of Representatives, and he, of course, can avoid giving us the information we desire. I think it is apparent that the War Department has during the entire war shown its indifference and contempt for the wishes of the people and their representatives, and this is only a clearcut, concrete example of that sentiment.

For the time being we will try to get along in our investigations here without Gen. Pershing's aid.

Comment is quite unnecessary. Obviously anything more uncalled-for or impertinent can hardly be imagined.

The second example is even worse as an instance of positive malignancy. On August 29 the sub-committee charged with investigation of the Spruce Production Division headed by Representative Frear telegraphed a report to Secretary Baker charging that "approximately \$5,000,000" had been "squandered, misapplied and converted to the prospective uses of the Milwaukee railroad interests" and adding significantly that "further investigation *may disclose* conditions upon which a recovery against John D. Ryan and others who are responsible for this wasteful expenditure of public funds."

Why the sub-committee should have made this accusation to the Secretary of War instead of to the full committee and why it should have telegraphed are pertinent questions. They seem, however, to find their answers in the fact that simultaneously it gave out the report for publication. Mr. Frear, like Mr. Bland, apparently is not averse to notoriety. Ultimately he may care less for the kind which he seems likely to obtain.

What further investigation "may disclose" we have no means of discovering. What inquiry has already disclosed, however, is that Mr. Ryan had absolutely nothing to do with the transaction referred to, and the sub-committee must have been aware of that fact when it spread its aspersion broadcast through the Press of the country. Secretary Baker testified to that effect as long ago as August 1, when he pointed out that the contract for spruce production criticised by the sub-committee was made a full month before Mr. Ryan entered the government service. On August 16, moreover, twelve days before the sub-committee published its accusation, General Brice P. Disque, a regular army officer of the highest standing, assumed full responsibility in a communication addressed to Senator Thomas, containing these explicit statements:

I was in charge of spruce-production activities from November, 1917, until the end of the war and personally handled all problems which led to construction activities connected therewith.

It was some time in February, 1918, that I decided that it would be necessary to have a railway finished and ready for operations not later than January, 1919, with a view to obtaining spruce from the Clallam County timber tract. The Milwaukee Railroad approached that stand of timber nearer than any other line, and, with a view to conserving the funds of the War Department, I carried on negotiations with the officials of that company.

Our negotiations were progressing satisfactorily when the Railroad Administration took greater control and it became necessary for me to go to Washington in order to expedite the construction of this line, which had to be completed before November of the same year, because of the heavy rainfall in that section rendering construction impossible after that date. It was about this time, May, 1918, that Mr. Ryan was appointed Director of Aircraft Production. Until he was appointed I had never heard of him that I recall, certainly had never seen or spoken to him, nor had he ever heard of me, I am sure.

I went to Washington shortly after Mr. Ryan's appointment, determined to have this railway and several other important matters in our operations decided promptly or to request my release from duties in connection with spruce production, because I had felt that the difficulty and delay in obtaining authority from Washington were seriously prejudicing the effective results of our operations.

I met Mr. Ryan for the first time in my life on the day I arrived in Washington and had a long conference with him, outlining the activities of the spruce division. When I referred to the extension of the Milwaukee Railroad, Mr. Ryan promptly told me that he was a director of that line and would not discuss any matters pertaining to it. He asked Mr. Stettinius, Assistant Secretary of War, to act for him in every phase of the matter of extending the Milwaukee road, and from that moment on this subject was never mentioned or discussed with Mr. Ryan.

I know positively that Mr. Ryan had absolutely nothing to do with the negotiations leading up to the Siems-Carey contract. I carried them on myself, had a complete contract with them before I left Portland, requiring only the approval of the Director of Aircraft Production to make it legal, and brought it with me to Washington on the trip above mentioned. When I presented this contract to Mr. Ryan he again stated that his interests in the Milwaukee were such that he could not consider it and referred it to Mr. Stettinius, who revised the contract in some minor details, with the assistance of the counsel of the Aircraft Production Board, and submitted the same to the Secretary of War and obtained his approval.

The contract throughout was a fair one to the contractor and the Government, and were I to repeat the operation I would not hesitate to duplicate the contract as it was written and give it to the same contractors.

You will see from the above that the charge that Mr. Ryan influenced our operations in Clallam County or had anything to do with the contract for building of the railroad up there are without the slightest foundation of fact.

In presenting this communication to the Senate, Senator Thomas sharply denounced the insinuations of the sub-committee as "wholly unwarranted" and "cruelly unjust,"—

a judgment in which clearly no fairminded man can fail to concur.

These two most recent episodes, we submit, suffice to justify fully our original assertion that Representative Graham's committee is not only making a fool of itself, but if left free to continue its reckless course is bound to fetch merited discredit upon the House of Representatives in general and upon the Republican majority in particular.

The New Columbus

THE coming Columbus Day observances this year should have an added interest. It seems that we now have two Columbus to honor—Chris. and Woodrow. Judge G. A. Pierson, of Billings, Montana, described, no doubt with entire accuracy, by the New York *World* correspondent as "a Democrat," discovered the new world explorer. Introducing the President to the people of Billings, Judge Pierson referred to Mr. Wilson as "the Columbus who has conquered the timorous and superstitious descendants of 1492."

It was a rather daring description. In view of the fact that the very name of Columbus might well be calculated to chill the Presidential party with reminders of recent depressing experiences, we fear Judge Pierson hovered perilously near to a lack of oratorical tact. But probably news of the worst early September frost ever known in Ohio had not yet reached Billings. Judge Pierson may never have heard of it or of the malignant pygmy influences which precipitated it. But it doesn't matter. No harm was done. At all events the Judge's little excursion on thin ice does not seem to have caused anything more than a passing shiver among the President's large suite of eleemosynary excursionists.

Probably they were all too much occupied in efforts to cipher out just what it was Judge Pierson was trying to get at when he brought out the two Columbus for comparison—Columbus the Explorer and Columbus the Peripatetic Apostle of the League of Fine Passions. The points of resemblance are not exactly striking. To be sure, a roving disposition might be attributed with propriety to both of them. Both led subsidized expeditions into remote lands. But who were these "timorous and superstitious descendants of 1492" whom the Judge says Columbus the Apostle has conquered? Does he mean the Mexicans? Maybe they are descendants of 1492, but they are not conquered. At least our Woodrow Columbus has not conquered them. He has watchfully waited on them. We pay them blackmail tribute. Our citizens are the favorite targets for their small arms practice. Surely it cannot be said that the Apostle Columbus has conquered the Mexicans!

Who, then, are these "timorous and superstitious descendants of 1492" whom Our Wandering Woodrow has conquered? Can it be that the Judge means the people of these United States? But they are not conquered. They distinctly said they were not no longer ago than the election of last November. Loudly and imperiously summoned to surrender and to lash themselves to the Apostolic chariot as servants of the Apostolic will, they refused to do so with a

defiant whoop, the echoes whereof have not yet died away. Even the pygmies in the Senate are not conquered. They have not even "shut up," although ordered in so many words to do so. With the Columbus Apostle off on his travels again, they have been tearing his League of Fine Passions to such tatters in his absence that he will not know it when he sees it.

And then, again, neither the Senate pygmies nor the people of the United States will admit that they are either "timorous or superstitious." Still less will they admit that they are descendants of 1492 any more than they are descendants of 400 B. C. Their national ancestry goes no farther back than 1776, and, incidentally, it is an ancestry of which they are mighty proud. Likewise are they proud of that independence which their 1776 ancestors handed down to them unmortgaged to any foreign super-Government and disentangled from all foreign broils, rows and Passions, fine or otherwise.

At just whom or what was Judge Pierson driving anyway? For the life of us we cannot fit his description of the conquered to anybody, unless possibly it be Colonel House, or, perhaps, Senator John Sharp Williams. But if Judge Pierson wants to tell Senator Williams that he is "a timorous, superstitious, conquered descendant of 1492," let him come on and do it. We wash our hands of the job and want to be away back of the firing line when it is done. But maybe after all the Judge meant nothing at all. Maybe the words were just the ebullitions of the stimulating mountain air. The days of mountain dew, alas, are gone. So, unhappily, we cannot lay the Judge open to general envy by attributing his inspiration to Mountain Dew. But at all events we are under a debt of gratitude to Judge G. A. Pierson, Democrat. The slush that has been flowing over the back car platform of late has been monotonously poor, even for slush. If Judge Pierson's 1492 oratory was slush, at least it was a new kind of slush. And even that, Heaven knows, is a relief.

One of the various parties into which the Socialists at Chicago recently divided themselves adopted resolutions unqualifiedly approving the Soviet system of Russia—including, it is to be assumed, the repudiation of debts and the communization of women—and compared the Bolshevik revolution with our own Revolution of 1776. That might be a little shocking to American patriotic sensibilities if the Secretary of War, who is one of the best public servants President Wilson ever knew, had not already compared Washington's army in the Revolution with Pancho Villa's Mexican brigands. On the whole, the Socialist utterance was a little the less indecent of the two.

The President said the other day at St. Paul—speaking to G. A. R. veterans, too—that he was glad the Union had been saved in 1861-65, because "it was the greatest thing that men had conceived *up to that time*." Since then, of course, men—or a man whom shrinking modesty forbade the speaker to name—had conceived something greater. But *up to that time* Washington and Jefferson and Adams and Franklin and Hamilton had really done quite well. "*Up to that time*!"

General Wood's Sound Sense

AS a contrast to the President's rather hysterical agitation over the mighty armament which is going to be loaded upon us unless we permit his League of Nations super-Government to take charge of us, the cool, refreshing common-sense of General Leonard Wood's testimony before the Senate Military Affairs Committee is as the shadow of a great rock in the desert.

General Wood does not even want as big an army as President Wilson's Secretary Baker wants. Secretary Baker wants an army of 500,000 men. General Wood, who was a soldier and a tried and proved soldier during all the years that Secretary Baker was a vociferous apostle of pacifism and unpreparedness, thinks an army of from 200,000 to 250,000 men would be all sufficient for our needs in time of peace. But, back of this, he would have a second line of war-preparedness stronger and obviously better than that which Secretary Baker advocates. He would have a heavy reserve of guns and munitions, for one thing, constantly on hand in our armories and arsenals. That arms and munitions reserve he would have maintained up to the latest standards of perfection, and he would have it large enough to equip an army of 4,000,000 men. "That would be your insurance premium," he remarked when he was asked if this would not be "a great waste of material." It would have been an insurance premium, indeed, if we had had it just about two years ago when we were wasting hundreds of millions of very material dollars in our feverish, fumbling, helter-skelter scramble to get together and make quickly available the arms and munitions which we ought to have had ready at hand, which General Wood, with all the energy of his exceptionally strong powers of argument, had been for years urging us to have, and which such short-visioned pacifist dreamers as Secretary Baker were doing all that in them lay to prevent our having.

Secretary Baker, like a good many others of us, has learned a good deal since the not remote days when President Wilson, in his best doctrinaire tone of indulgently tolerant superiority, was dismissing preparedness as an "academic question." Mr. Baker now not only wants a standing army but a big standing army, with thirty-two Major Generals and eighty-eight Brigadiers. General Wood thinks we could get along with a standing army of half the size of Secretary Baker's and with a very material reduction in the force of Brigadiers and Major Generals. But, in the matter of enforced military training for our young men of 19 years, General Wood doubles the time designated by Secretary Baker, and by just that much improves upon the Secretary's recommendation. Mr. Baker would have three months' enforced training suffice. General Wood urges that the training should be six months. Sending men to war with only three months' training means sending them to needless slaughter. "Give three months' training only" said General Wood, "and you double the number of your dead." How many of our dead in France are dead because of lack of preliminary training of their own and of the young officers who led them no man knows and no man ever will know. But that enough of them thus needlessly lost their

lives to establish the truth of General Wood's above-quoted statement, we fully believe every competent military observer in the late war will confirm.

General Wood laid no stress on the man-power value of universal enforced military training beyond its purely military scope. He was not questioned along any other line than that. But it does not need even as good an authority on general manhood efficiency as General Wood to tell us the benefit that would flow to the country from having our young men trained in the discipline of the army and developed physically as only an army training can develop men. Reduced to the mere dollars and cents standard, the value from increased efficiency which would inevitably follow an army training, would probably in the long run vastly exceed all cost of the training mechanism itself as well as all cost of loss of time from productive employment which the six months' service would entail. And this is to say nothing of the higher patriotic and civic morale among the young men of America which it cannot be doubted would come from a few months' stern and intelligent inculcation of the duties and responsibilities of a soldier of the American Army.

Why Did We Fight?

SAID President Wilson to an audience at Billings, Montana, on September 11, 1919, concerning the reasons for America's participation in the war:

"America was not directly attacked. . . . America was not immediately in danger."

Said this same President Wilson to the Congress of the United States on April 2, 1917, in his address advising a declaration of war:

"American ships have been sunk, American lives have been taken. . . . I advise that the Congress declare the recent course of the Imperial German Government to be in fact nothing less than war against the Government and people of the United States."

Said this same President Wilson to the nation and the world, in signing and approving the Act of Congress of April 6, 1917:

"The Imperial German Government has committed repeated acts of war against the Government and people of the United States."

Was President Wilson in April, 1917, trying to deceive the Congress and people of the United States, or is he now, in September, 1919, trying to deceive them?

"Repeated acts of war" were committed against the Government and people of the United States. American ships were sunk. American lives were taken. On that account he advised and Congress made a declaration of war. And yet he has the cynical effrontery to stand up before an assemblage of American citizens and say that "America was not directly attacked. America was not immediately in danger!"

The late Eugene Field once wrote to a friend: "I may be a fool; yes, and I *may* be a damfool; but I protest that I am *not* a Goddam fool!"

What kind of fools does President Wilson take the American people to be when he talks like that?

Letters From Our Readers

FROM AN OLD SOLDIER.

SIR,—I am proud to be able to say that I voted for the "rail-splitter" in 1864, while I was wearing the uniform of a union soldier and marching under a flag that never yet knew defeat.

Never in the history of our country was there more need for brave men like you—and your paper—than right now. Men who have the courage of their convictions and unafraid to speak them; for I firmly believe that whoever holds his tongue in perilous times like these, when the country—for which our brave boys gave their lives—is in danger, a silent tongue becomes criminal cowardice; and the man who will not speak, is false to his country and to his citizenship.

We laymen are denied the privilege of expressing our views in the papers which we are asked to subscribe and pay for, unless our views agree with those of the editor or publisher of said paper; but if we were given a chance at the ballot box right now, the west would register such a protest against the League of Nations—as drafted—that would make Wilson and his administration incense-burners howl with rage.

The disgusting stuff the Wilson worshippers are dishing up for the reading public and expecting us to pay for it, is enough to give a tomcat the gravel.

Marysville, Wash.

F. J. MATTS.

SECRET TREATIES AND THE LEAGUE.

SIR,—Why have you not pointed out how fully the Versailles treaty realizes and the League of Nations would be expected to perpetuate the secret compacts between England, France and Japan?

The dismemberment of Germany, the division of her colonies, the spoliation of China and all the major annexations provided by the Versailles treaty were in those secret bargains. Of course, Russia has obtained nothing that was promised, and Italy only a little, but in the main the Versailles treaty has done no more than ratify what the English, Japanese, French and Italian map-makers had already bound themselves to do in 1915, 1916 and 1917.

If you were to present in parallel columns the engagements of those secret treaties and the provisions of the Versailles treaty—so far as either affects territories and sovereignties in Europe, Asia and Africa—it would be plain to the American people that all that Mr. Wilson has done and all he proposes to do contemplates only the underwriting of those fraudulent titles—the giving of a warranty deed for a conveyance of doubtful validity.

This would show that the "Cligue of Nations," having parceled the world among themselves, would now have the League of Nations guarantee the safe and sempiternal possession of their spoils. It would demonstrate that Mr. Wilson simply concurred in an arrangement that was made long before he had abandoned the belief that "commercial rivalries and dynastic jealousies" and not love of democracy had caused the Great War.

Washington, D. C.

J. NELSON WHITE.

THE SENATE EPISODE.

SIR,—Permit one who was in the Senate Chamber during Senator Lodge's masterly address and the attempted reply by Senator Williams to correct the statement in HARVEY'S WEEKLY of August 23 that "never before (and let us hope, never again) was or will there be a Senate audience so moved beyond all restraint of decorum as to hiss and howl down Senators who rose to speak in reply."

You are entirely in the wrong when you say that the occupants of the galleries hissed and howled down "Senators who rose to speak in reply." What they did was most emphatically to show their disapproval of Senator Williams when he deliberately insulted Senator Lodge and the honorable body of which unfortunately Senator Williams is a member. For the "disgraceful episode" you mention Senator Williams and the Vice-President are alone responsible; the former because, unable to reply to an unanswerable argument, he lost his temper and indulged in personalities, and the latter because he permitted Senator Williams to make a show of himself.

The episode and others like it plainly prove that the League proponents have no case at all and are fully aware of their position. Instead of debating the question they resort to abuse of those whose concern is for America and not for the world, or they deliberately distort the plain facts; or, again, they carefully evade the issue as does the President and his two servile organs, the New York Times and the World.

I am not alone in the opinion that our friends the enemy must certainly have a hopeless case when they resort to such despicable and childish methods.

Buffalo, N. Y.

S. SALOMAN.

"SPLENDID AMERICANISM"

SIR,—Regarding the League, I think your position is perfect, but it seems too little has been said about the English predominance at the polls. Give us all you can on the Mexican question. Assuring you that your sound and splendid Americanism is appreciated in my crowd and wishing you every success in your Herculean efforts to save this land of the free.

Pittsburg, Pa.

W. K. STEINER.

"UBI CAESAR, IBI ROMA."

SIR,—Allow me to ask through the intermediary of your excellent and esteemed WEEKLY: Is it fair to object to Mr. Wilson's absence from the seat of Government? May a man of Mr. Wilson's transcendent gifts and attainments be measured by the standards of common mortals like his comparatively insignificant predecessors in office? Impersonating in his wonderful sublimity the flower, the very essence of American government, does not he, figuratively speaking, take with him its capital wherever he goes—its spirit, its very soul?

Let us be thankful for such a leader and keep in mind the classic dictum: *Ubi Caesar, ibi Roma.*

New Haven, Conn.

ETHEL MAC S.

MEANINGLESS RESERVATIONS

SIR,—Reservations to the Treaty of Peace might be as worthless and ineffectual as the like reservations of the alleged right of Virginia, New York and Rhode Island to secede from the Federal Union contained in the respective ratifications of the United States Constitution by those States, was held to be during the Civil War. By the sword of war and later by a decision of the Federal Supreme Court, it was decided that notwithstanding express reservations in their ratifications of the Constitution of the right of those States to secede, the Federal Union was perpetual and indissoluble.

Virginia's ratification of the Federal Constitution does "declare and make known that the powers granted under the Constitution being derived from the people of the United States may be resumed by them whensoever the same shall be perverted to their injury or oppression."—2 Documentary History of the Constitution, p. 145.

New York's ratification of the Constitution declares "That the powers of the Government may be reassumed by the People, whensoever it shall become necessary to their happiness."—2 Documentary History of the Constitution, pp. 190, 191.

Rhode Island's ratification contains the same reservation as that of New York.

New York.

HENRY A. FORSTER.

[The above examples have an added significance in view of the fact that the advocates of the League of Nations pretend to perceive a pronounced similarity between that organization and the Union of the States.—Editor.]

THE LEAGUE AND POSTERITY.

SIR,—The President says: "There was absolutely no doubt as to the meaning of any one of the covenants in the minds of those who participated in drafting them." And further, "Most of the interpretations, which have been suggested to me, embody what seems to be the plain meaning of the instrument itself."

So the majority of the American people do not know how to read and understand the English language. The President cannot live fifty or a hundred years longer and, therefore, he cannot be here to explain any controversies which may come up; so please let's amend the Covenant so that our children and our children's children, 100 per cent. Americans, one hundred years from now can understand what the various articles bind them to.

It is to be hoped that the Senate will promptly make reservations, pass them up to the Administration, and stand firm.

Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

FRED C. CLARKE.

APPRECIATIONS.

SIR,—I read your WEEKLY, get my friends to read it, and wish you all success.

New York.

HENRY SAMUEL MERTON

SIR,—Keep up the good work and you'll smoke them all out.

Evanston, Ill.

T. E. QUISENBERRY.

SIR,—I congratulate you upon HARVEY'S WEEKLY and its fearless course.

Washington, D. C.

G. M. BRUMBAUGH.

Letters From Our Readers

THE WAY THEY LOVE US.

SIR,—In a recent issue of the WEEKLY there was a letter written by G. Creighton Webb, in which he stated that the United States was the most hated nation in the world. Travelling through Canada, I have repeatedly heard our country referred to in the most contemptuous terms. This opinion is very generally held, I believe, in varying degrees, by the majority of the peoples of the British Empire. We may say, as many do, that their opinion is of no importance to us. But isn't it? If the League of Nations becomes a reality and some question of vital import arises, what Powers of the world will vote with the United States? Do we suppose for one moment that the delegates of Great Britain's overseas dominions will side with us and oppose the Mother Country, feeling as they do towards us? Will Italy's delegate, bearing in mind the Fiume incident, vote with us? Will Japan use its efforts to strengthen any position taken by the United States? Not a bit of it! These nations hate us because of our size, our strength and our great wealth, and they despise us because, as Theodore Roosevelt said, "We backed into the war stern first," after they had gone through three years of suffering, while we fattened on peace and prosperity. Friend Lorimer in the *Saturday Evening Post* seems to realize this, as he sets forth the most bizarre argument in favor of the adoption of the League Covenant, namely, that the European Nations have ideas and ideals at direct variance with our own—they are greedy, desirous of material gain as their spoils of victory, and are ready at a moment to fly at each other's throats. Hence the conclusion is that the only means of averting another world catastrophe is to adopt the League plan, seemingly based upon mutual distrust, greed and direct conflict of ideas between the United States and the other world Powers. Are we to be the spoils?

Under the able leadership of Mr. Wilson we heard so clearly the call of Justice, humanity, and the rights of small nations that we were directed to be "neutral even in thought," and when dreadful militaristic reactionaries (i. e., Americans who love the United States more than humanity) suggested preparedness we were told that we were "hysterical," so we prayed for the wicked warring nations and sold them munitions. Do we believe that the Allies will forget these things? Come to Canada!

The good modern Boswell, the *New York World*, mouthing the utterances of our wandering Doctor Johnson, pictures for us the millennium, but if the feelings of Canadians towards us are the feelings of peoples of other nations, and the League becomes a reality, then God help us!

Banff, Alta, Canada.

PURSER ELDER ADAMS.

WILSON AND BISMARCK

SIR,—The insistence of President Wilson on the immediate ratification of the German treaty, without amendment, and the arguments which he used to the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, make a close parallel to the methods of Bismarck in 1867. Having drawn up a new Constitution for North Germany, substantially identical with the later imperial constitution of 1871, Bismarck obtained the ratification of his text, by the various Governments of the different German states, through their plenipotentiaries. Robertson, in his recent book *Bismarck*, describes what followed thus:

The constituent Reichstag was thus confronted with an agreed scheme, amendment of which in any fundamental sense was exceedingly difficult, for it must be made the occasion for re-reference to the governments behind the Reichstag. The Constitution passed by the Reichstag was finally submitted to all the legislatures, with the warning that amendment would involve a re-submission to every state and the Reichstag as a whole for its concurrence. Its final acceptance *en bloc* was thus secured.

This evil Constitution, which Bismarck thus forced upon Germany, rejected everything that would have established parliamentary government in the new confederation. Robertson says that it conferred a superb democratic glamour on a truly anti-democratic system. July 1, 1867, when the Constitution was promulgated, was "the *Koeniggratz* of Liberalism in Germany."

The rejection in the Constitution of every vital element and principle of the Liberal programme, coupled with the equally decisive failure to modify the Prussian Constitution, provides a critical date in the history of Germany and Europe.—(*Bismarck*, page 243).

Is President Wilson conscious that he is copying Bismarckian methods, in his efforts to secure ratification of an unamended treaty, or rather an unamended world constitution?

Creighton, Mo.

R. H. ROSS.

"LABOUR" IN THE TREATY

SIR,—Realizing your distaste for controversy with the Administration, it is with some hesitancy that I ask you to consider the contents of the enclosed matter on the League of Nations.

While great ado is making about the Monroe Doctrine, and in provisions of Article 10, very little attention is being paid to Article 23, as expounded in Part XIII, in regard to labor—or, as the Treaty has it, "Labour." Great pressure is being brought by the British Labour Party to have this provision retained, and thus far with success. For in none of the speeches that I have read concerning the League has any reference been made to this provision. If the industrial forces of the world, management and employee alike, combining to protect their interest, the other productive factors of society will pay tribute, especially those engaged in food production. Labour proposes to nationalize mines and transportation in England for the benefit of the employees. Its control of the mines is now in process of paralyzing the industries of Great Britain and those dependent upon her for coal. The international trainman's union can hold up American or other competitive coal supply—and even the manufactured products by the method which is now tying up our foreign trade. Our public men are either so blind as not to see this, or so cowardly as not to oppose it.

As I am a stranger to you, you may well inquire who it is that addresses you. After 36 years active service in the Navy, I have been since 1911 actively engaged in the management of a manufacturing business in Lowell, Mass., and am a member of the Board of Directors of the National Association of Manufacturers. Imbued with the idea that our success as a nation must ultimately be determined by economic laws, not theories. I realize that man can only progress through education. May I count upon your consideration and assistance in endeavoring to defeat the effort to shackle the wage earner and the juggernaut of organized labour?

New York.

WM. P. WHITE,
(Captain U. S. A. Retired.)

THE EIGHTEENTH HOLE

SIR,—Apropos of the article in the WEEKLY of July 20 upon the refusal of the "Drys" in the House to allow the alcoholic contents of patent medicines to appear on the wrappers of the containers, I want to extend my felicitations to the WEEKLY for its courageous stand against the assault upon the liberties of the people made by the enactment of this iniquitous 18th Amendment to the Constitution. Like the cowardly representatives of the people in the State and National Legislatures, the great majority of the papers and journals in the country weakly gave in to the bludgeons held over them by this aggregation of very commonplace people, the Anti-Saloon League, the former not having intelligence enough to realize they were stuffed with wind, and the latter, being influenced by the fear of the loss of a few subscribers.

The journals and the Representatives did not stop to consider that the majority of the army of attorneys, agents and lobbyists who are fattening upon the credulity of the dear unsophisticated old maids, male and female, who supply the cash for their propaganda, would have worked just as hard for the "Wets" if the latter had been willing to pay them more money.

I hope, among other investigations in Washington, that one will be made of the moneys spent to get this Amendment upon the Statute Books. I am glad indeed that a few high-class journals like the WEEKLY, the *San Francisco Argonaut* and the *New York World*, have the courage to voice the real sentiment of the good worth-while citizens of the country against this violation of our natural rights, for which our forefathers fought in '76 and '12.

It is impossible to give too much publicity to the fraud that has been worked upon us and upon our brave army while it was abroad by this league.

Philadelphia, Pa.

E. G. HAMERSLY.

DR. HILL'S ARTICLE.

SIR,—The article written by David Jayne Hill and appearing in the August number of THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW under the heading, "Americanizing The Treaty," is perhaps the most instructive communication yet published relating to the League of Nations. This masterful analysis of the provisions of The League as they affect the policy of the American Government and the ideals of the American People, should be placed in the hands of every American Citizen.

Indianapolis, Indiana.

AUGUSTUS LYNCH MASON.

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"1 + 1 + 1 ÷ 1 + 1 + 1 = 1"

—*The Sun*

FIRST among the obviously "prepared" questions submitted to the President by his own precious League in California was the following:

1. Will you state the underlying consideration which dictated an awarding of six votes to the British Empire in the Assembly, and is it true that Great Britain will outvote us in the League of Nations and thereby control the league's action?

Answer: The consideration which led to assigning six votes to the self-governing portions of the British Empire was that they have in effect, in all but foreign policies, become autonomous self-governing States, their policy in all but foreign affairs being independent of the control of the British Government and in many respects dissimilar from it; but it is not true that the British Empire can outvote us in the League of Nations and therefore control the action of the league, because in every matter except the admission of new members to the league no action can be taken without the concurrence of a unanimous vote of the representatives of the States which are members of the council, so that in all matters of action the affirmative vote of the United States is necessary and equivalent to the united vote of the representatives of the several parts of the British Empire. The united votes of the several parts of the British Empire cannot offset or overcome the vote of the United States.

The "consideration" which impelled the giving of six votes to Great Britain to one for the United States, whether "underlying" or simply lying, as thus set forth, may be dismissed in a few words. Having declared over and over again that the League has nothing whatever to do with purely domestic questions, Mr. Wilson now has the audacity to ascribe the inclusion of

the dominions with full voting power to their lack of independence in foreign affairs. Anything more ridiculous upon its face cannot be imagined. The fact, of course, as everybody knows, is that the dependencies of Great Britain were admitted at their own insistence backed up by the mother country.

"It is not true that the British Empire can outvote us in the League of Nations." It is a sweeping assertion. Is it the fact? Not as to the Assembly assuredly; even Mr. Wilson would not have the hardihood to assert that.

Nor is there a thing in the Covenant to prevent the British Empire from having five votes to the United States one in the Council itself. There are now five members of that body. Four places, now occupied temporarily by Belgium, Brazil, Spain and Greece, remain to be filled by the Assembly. Canada, Australia, New Zealand and India are as eligible as any other members of the League, and only a majority vote of the Assembly, in which Great Britain ballots six times to our one, is required to elect any one or all of them.

Wherefore Mr. Wilson falls back upon the declaration that "no action can be taken without the concurrence of a unanimous vote" and that consequently "the united votes of the several parts of the British Empire cannot offset or overcome the vote of the United States." He utterly ignores the provision that in any controversy directly involving itself the United

States would have no vote at all in either the Council or the Assembly and would be wholly subject to the decrees of a body of foreigners virtually dominated by Great Britain.

"Let all in doubt hearken to these luminous words of our President, and meditate upon what he says," adjures the leading cuckoo of New England.

We comply readily. We hearken and we meditate upon what he says. And the only complaint we have to make is that what he says is not so,—as the most casual reader cannot fail, with rising gorge, to realize.

You cannot make $1 + 1 + 1 + 1 + 1 + 1 = 1$.

The President is exactly right in declaring that "any association of the police force . . . whose object is to bring pressure upon the public or the community such as will endanger the public peace or embarrass the maintenance of order should in no case be countenanced or permitted." It should not have been countenanced in Washington until he could get back and hold his labor conference; though he wanted it to be.

Constitution Day

IT was a most commendable idea to provide for a national commemoration of "Constitution Day." There was need of it. Not before in our time has the need been so great and pressing for an increase of both popular and official acquaintance with both the letter and the spirit of the fundamental law of the land. It would have been well if more thought had been given to it a little while ago, and if the public and their representative legislators had considered how serious an act it was to make what was practically an irrevocable change in that law. Had that been done, the nation would have avoided the humiliation, the embarrassment and the positive harm of adopting an amendment which it does not really want, which cannot command general respect, and which is insusceptible of honest enforcement.

Reproach for that error is profitable only as admonition against further lapses of the same kind. If an ill-considered amendment is evil, so is any evasion or violation of the Constitution by indirection. Thus in the pending Treaty the incurring of certain obligations is proposed. They are not, we are assured, legal obligations, since the Constitution would not permit them to be, but are "merely moral." And at the same time we are reminded that a moral obligation has greater binding force than one that is merely legal. What is the inevitable implication? This: That we are asked to incur a moral obligation which is confessedly contrary to the Constitution. We could not incur it legally, because it would be unconstitutional. But we are asked to incur that unconstitutional obligation in a still more binding form, though one which would not subject it to the technical objection of unconstitutionality. The result would be that we should be confronted with the detestable alternative of repudiating a moral obligation or of violating the Constitution.

Mr. Brand Whitlock made on Labor Day a suggestion which was not strikingly novel, if indeed it was not trite—as trite as the Decalogue or the multiplication table—and yet which was of singular pertinence and value at the present time. "We hear," he said, "much talk about our rights. It is well that we should think of our rights some of the time; but it is also well that we should think of our duties." Those were golden words, and they may well serve as a text in the consideration which we so greatly need to give to the Constitution of the United States. There is perhaps no more impressive or valuable feature of that great instrument than its fine balancing of rights and duties, of powers and responsibilities. That is indeed its dominant spirit, which we shall do well to appreciate and to understand.

There are those who too much forget the words of the preamble, that this is a Constitution "for the United States of America." Not lightly nor thoughtlessly was that phrase formed. Doubtless, the Constitution gives us power to do, as the Declaration of Independence before it said, "all things which free and independent states may of right do." But just as certainly it imposes upon us, concurrently with that power and right, the duty of doing only those things which are for the welfare of the United States, which indeed is the sole object of the Constitution's existence. "Duty," said Robert E. Lee in one of his most memorable utterances, "duty is the noblest word in our language." We shall not fear the imputation of sordid selfishness if we insist that as the first duty of a man is to his own household so the first duty of a nation is to its own citizens, its own principles, its own integrity. That, we say, is not a selfish view. It is equally altruistic. For if, as we are told, America is to-day "the hope of the world," it is obvious that it has become such by pursuing the policies which have thus far been invariable and unbroken for nearly a century and a half. If the hope of the world is to be realized, it must be through our maintenance of those policies which have inspired that hope. To abandon them would indeed be to destroy that hope and to "break the heart of the world."

Perhaps the best of the many good things which Mr. Lloyd George said in his address to the House of Commons on his return from Paris with the completed Treaty was that "We must not demobilize the spirit of patriotism." It is as apt to the United States as to the United Kingdom. We must not demobilize the spirit of patriotism. And the spirit of patriotism means not merely hurrahing for the Flag and applauding the gallant boys in khaki and giving freely of our substance for the prosecution of the war and the establishment of peace—all of which we should do ungrudgingly and to the full—but it equally means the resolute maintenance of American independence and nationality and integrity, and of those wise principles on which the Fathers of the Republic based our civic structure and which ever since in both war and peace have been the sources of our strength and prosperity at home and of our power to be a beneficent force among the nations of the world. That is the spirit of patriotism which we must not demobilize, but which we shall do well to mobilize into still greater activity and efficiency as a result of our commemoration of Constitution Day.

Striking for Revolution

THE steel strike aims at revolution. That is the prime fact of the case, which it will be profitable, and will be just to both sides, frankly to recognize. The precise circumstances of the origin of the controversy are now of no consequence. Whatever pretexts were offered, the real issue was the familiar one of "open shop or closed shop," with the demand for the latter made not by organized labor as a whole but by a minority faction of it, and made in a manner and on conditions which predicated for its granting a certainly social and economic and potentially political revolution.

The primary basis for judgment of the strike is, obviously, to be found in the demands of the strikers; or of their leaders, not always the same thing. In this case these are twelve in number. Some of them are obviously camouflage, inserted in the schedule, at its beginning, partly to deceive the public, partly to deceive the strikers themselves. No rational man supposes a nation-wide strike to be necessary to compel employers to consider the question of an eight-hour day, or a six-day week, or even collective bargaining. To put such demands at the head of the list is simply to try to suggest to the public that some inhuman monster of an employer will not even discuss with his own faithful employees questions so reasonable and so vital to their welfare, and to suggest the same to the employees themselves.

The increase of wages may or may not be practicable, but it is at least a legitimate subject of discussion; though at the present time it should always be associated with the reduction of the abnormal cost of living. The question of extra rates of pay for overtime work, also, is properly debatable. So may be that of reinstatement of men who have been dismissed, provided there is *prima facie* evidence that they were dismissed unjustly.

Those items are not, however, the real pith and gist of this revolutionary decalogue. There are others, later in the category, which disclose the actual purpose of the strike fomenters, and they are such as are tantamount to demands for revolution, to enter into discussion of which would be to recognize the propriety of a complete overturn of the existing system. Thus there is a demand for the abolition of "company unions." That means that employers shall not permit their employees to form mutual benefit organizations of their own, but shall require them to join the outside organization prescribed by these outside agitators. These men are demanding in one breath that the employers shall reinstate men who, they say, were dropped simply because they belonged to a union, and in the next breath are demanding that the employers shall forbid men to belong to a union of their own choice. It is impossible to conceive anything more illogical, unjust and despotic.

An appropriate corollary to this outrageous demand is that there shall be a "check-off" system for the collection of union dues and assessments. That would make the employers the fiscal agents of the union. It would require them to withhold from their employees each week or month a certain percentage of their wages, and to turn that percentage over not to the men who had earned it but to an alien body. It

would make the employers, also, the aids and abettors of the union in any controversy it might have with any of its members. Thus if a member demurred for any cause to the payment of any dues or assessments, he would have no recourse of protest or appeal to the union, but would be arbitrarily compelled to pay by the brutal expedient of having the charge withheld from his wages.

A third demand is for the abolition of physical examinations of candidates for employment. That is a flat reversal of one of the most enlightened and beneficent principles of modern sociology and economics, which is more and more requiring that for their own sakes the fitness of workers for their work shall be ascertained. Here is an occupation peculiarly exacting in its physical requirements, and it is demanded that no man shall be questioned as to his ability to meet those requirements. Here is an occupation fraught with dangers of injury, particularly to the physically unfit, and in which the employer is expected to indemnify those who suffer injury; and yet it is demanded that the employer shall exercise no means of ascertaining whether prospective employees are so physically fit as to be reasonably able to avoid injury to themselves and to avoid inflicting it upon others. That is scarcely less unreasonable than it would be to demand abolition of tests for color blindness in railroad engineers who have constantly to be distinguishing between different colored signal lights.

Such demands are simply intolerable. They cannot be considered proper subjects of discussion. It is unreasonable to ask anyone to enter into conference upon them. They are deliberately and with malicious cunning inseparably interwoven with other demands which are reasonable, so that when, because of them, the whole category is rejected, the employers can be accused of having refused to consider the other and reasonable demands.

The purpose of such trickery is obvious. It is to provoke revolution. That is not only apparent in the thing itself. It is confirmed by antecedent testimony, furnished by the agitators themselves. The foremost maker of these demands prefaced them with denunciations of those upon whom they were to be made as "thieves," who should be "stripped of their booty"; with denunciations of the industrial system which he is pretending to be trying to reform as "the most brazen and gigantic robbery ever perpetrated"; and with demands for a "social reorganization" which "will be a revolution"; adding that that revolution must dispose of capital by means of "confiscation without remuneration."

The controversy is thus not primarily between the steel companies and their employees. It is a controversy between the companies and a large proportion of their employees—including the mass of those who are native American citizens—on the one side, and on the other side certain professional agitators and propagandists of a radical type who are confessedly intent upon social and political revolution, and a certain proportion of employees largely composed of unnaturalized aliens. It is not a controversy between capital and the American Federation of Labor, since that Federation, through its authentic leaders and representatives, has declined to sanction the strike. It is a strike for revolution only, and there is only one way in which such a strike is to be met.

The Open Debate

THE Senate takes the President at his word. He himself flagrantly repudiated his own First Commandment. The "pigmy minds" of the Senate, before they go to the gibbet to which he has amiably consigned them, insist upon fulfilling it. "Open covenants of peace," said the President, "openly arrived at." He himself did his part of the covenant-making in secret, embodied in the covenant the results of other treaties which were not only made in secret but were also kept secret with wilful deceit, and then urged the approval of the whole thing before full publicity of it could be possible. But he is not able to impose his craze for furtiveness upon the Senate of the United States. That body purposes to do its part of the work openly and above-board. Therefore for the first time in its history it debates a treaty not in executive but in open sessions.

It is well. Generally, the desirability of such a course might well be doubted. We are sufficiently old-fashioned to think that delicate and confidential international negotiations are often best conducted in private, and that Senatorial review and disposition of their results are also more fittingly to be held behind closed doors; the final result of course necessarily being made public. Despite, moreover, the chronic disposition of some to carp at everything the Senate or the Congress does, we believe that the nation generally has approved that course. Americans trust their chosen representatives, and trust them behind closed doors as well as in the open; and results for a century and a third have vindicated that trust.

In the present case, however, with its unique circumstances, there is hearty approval of the Senate's decision to reverse for the time its practice. That is not merely because the President demanded it as the very first of his principles of peacemaking, though that alone should be sufficient reason. It is still more because there has already been too much in the business that was secret, furtive, deceitful. Let us speak very plainly. Some of the politicians of the Allied powers—for whose strange conduct we do not for a moment hold those gallant countries as a whole responsible—were guilty of gross deceit not in making secret treaties among themselves but in keeping those treaties secret from this country or its government after it had entered into substantial alliance with them and had thus underwritten their engagements. Some of our own politicians, too, most conspicuously concerned in the treaty-making at Paris, have not only practised secrecy but also been misleading in their representations, through *suppressio veri* if not *suggestio falsi*.

In brief, the entire public aspect of the Treaty of Peace has been enmeshed in a tangle of misapprehensions, misrepresentations and deceit. In such circumstances, any settlement of it that could possibly be made, by any body of men, in secret, would inevitably be subject to grave suspicion. Questions would remain unanswered which the nation has a right to have answered. Circumstances would remain unexplained of which the nation is entitled to explanation. The natural and legitimate interest of the people of the United States can now be satisfied in no other way than that

which the Senate has happily adopted. The whole dark, furtive, tortuous business must be fully opened to the light of day. And if any unpleasant impressions are thus produced, the blame must rest upon those who, false to their own professions, made such a procedure necessary. The man, at any rate, who demanded "open covenants, openly arrived at," and then furtively sought to make or to confirm secret treaties, is debarred from protesting against the fulfilment of his earlier and better dictum.

Mr. Fess is wiser than his colleagues. He took a brave and righteous stand last week against the granting of special privileges and class exemptions, and persuaded a scanty Committee of the Whole to agree with him, and to "stand by the fundamentals of American government and not be dictated to by any group of men, whatever their names." So the committee voted to strike out of an appropriation bill the clauses exempting certain classes of combinations and trusts from prosecution under the anti-trust laws. It is regrettable to say that the House next day reversed that action, and put labor unions and farmers' organizations in a specially favored category, free to violate the anti-trust laws all they please without fear of prosecution. Such exemptions are a pet hobby of the President's, and it was through his influence that some of the most flagrant of them were placed upon the statute book. Yet the matter now seems to be devoid of partisanship, for representative leaders of both parties were recorded on both sides in last week's divisions. Mr. Fess expresses a resolute determination to continue the fight against such special class privileges, and we hope that he will and that he will succeed. Second only to maintenance of American independence and nationality is the need of keeping this a government of the people, by the people, for the people, meaning all the people without distinction of classes, and not prostituting it into Sovietism, which means government of the people by favored classes for favored classes.

Announcement is made that at the demand of the Peace Conference the German Government has annulled the article of its constitution providing for the annexation of Austria. There is no record that anybody had to go to Berlin, hat in hand, to beg the Huns to do it. Wherefore we venture to think that we should not have to grovel very abjectly to implore Germany to assent to a change in the Covenant of a League of which she is not a member.

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Mendacious Covenanting

HERE was a deeper depth. We had thought that the very nadir of baseness was disclosed when Senator Norris forced into view the Shantung infamy, in which in the name of "open covenants" we were asked to approve secret treaties, in the name of friendship we were asked to betray and despoil an ally whose alliance we ourselves had solicited, and as the result of a war against German criminality we were asked to condone and ratify one of the most wantonly criminal acts that Germany ever committed. But there was a deeper depth, which remained to be disclosed by the same fearless and unsparing searcher after truth.

The President has been seeking to justify those secret treaties on the ground that they were made, and were necessary to be made, to induce Japan to enter the war on the Allies' side. The Allies, he has been telling the people, promised Japan that if she would help them against Germany, they would give her Germany's stolen goods in China. So the secret treaties were made, and then Japan entered the war and drove the Germans out of China.

That would have been very disgraceful, if it had been true. It would have been disgraceful for the Allies thus to bribe Japan with the offer of stolen goods as her reward; and it would have been disgraceful for Japan to enter the war for only such considerations. But it was not true. Those powers were not guilty of such turpitude. No such bargain was made as an antecedent condition to Japan's entering the war. The secret treaties between the European Allies and Japan were not made until more than two years after Japan had entered the war and expelled the German power from China. Japan declared war against Germany on August 23, 1914, and captured Kiao Chao on November 10 following, while it was not until February and March, 1917, or after the United States had severed relations with Germany, and was on the point of entering the war, that the secret treaties were made.

Now, it would be an insult to intelligence to pretend that the President did not know these dates when he started "swinging round the circle." He must have known them. He did know them. Yet he deliberately told his audiences the contrary. He told them that the treaties were made to induce Japan to enter the war, and sought to justify them on that ground of necessity. He apparently counted upon the people being ignorant of the dates, and thought that thus he could deceive them, and mislead them into countenancing the secret treaties of spoliation. It is difficult to describe such conduct, in parliamentary language.

And then, when Senator Norris called his attention to this gross misrepresentation, and asked him to substantiate his assertions, if he could, in his next address to the American people, what did the President do? He privately admitted to Senator Norris that his statements had been untrue, but made no public retraction of them whatever. We have said that it is difficult to describe such conduct in parliamentary language. It is more. It is impossible.

We may respect the man who differs from our views. We may respect the man who unwittingly propagates error, and

retracts it when he learns the truth. But when the man who above all others should be the leader of the nation deliberately and knowingly deceives the nation, and privately acknowledges his deceit, but has not the courage or the manliness to make the correction as public as the falsehood, the only fitting words to use are such as for very shame we would not apply to one who after all is President of the United States.

The Money Cost of the League

WE have never been of those who rank the purse above the nation. We have ever agreed with Webster, in deprecating the disfigurement of the Flag with "the miserable interrogatory, 'What is all this worth?'" There are some things the value of which is not to be expressed in terms of dollars and cents. But when the pecuniary challenge is flung in our faces, we have no fear of answering it.

Senator Hitchcock the other day based his advocacy of the League of Nations upon its pecuniary economy. The adoption of the Covenant would save us money, he said. If we did not adopt it, if we did not enter the League, we should have to go on spending vast sums of money for army and navy. The part of pecuniary wisdom would be to ratify the Covenant, so that we could run things on the cheap.

We dissent, on principle. The question concerning the League is not whether it will save us money, but whether it will save us our national integrity and independence. The men who established this nation did not pledge themselves to do so "if they could afford it." They pledged their fortunes, pecuniary and otherwise, as well as their lives and their honor. Never before in our history has money been weighed against the Constitution. Never have Americans hesitated to maintain their independence because it would be expensive. Pinckney put "Millions for defence" before "not one cent for tribute."

But we dissent, too, on the Covenanters' own practical policy. At the very moment when they are clamoring for the League to keep us out of war, they are clamoring for a big army and a big navy with which to wage war. Bear in mind that the President, with his presumptuous declaration that under the Covenant no man in khaki would ever again cross the seas, is at the same time demanding just twice as many men in khaki as the opponents of his League deem necessary. The propagandists of this League which is to save us so much money are themselves demanding that we spend for army and navy a great deal more money than the wicked militarists who oppose the League consider quite sufficient.

The American people, despite all the burdens which have been imposed upon them, are quite willing to spend every cent that may be necessary for the security, for the integrity, for the independence and for the honor of their country. They are not willing to sacrifice these things for the sake of saving any amount of money, great or small. They certainly revolt against the proposal that they shall spend more money in sacrificing these priceless possessions than it would cost them to maintain them unimpaired.

Timing The Shantung Deal

THE President and his servile echoes have been pretending that the secret treaties regarding Shantung were made by the Allies in order to induce Japan to join them in the war; some even going so far as to intimate that otherwise there was danger of Japan joining Germany. With the German hosts rushing irresistibly upon Paris and upon the Channel ports, they have said, the Allies, in their desperation, were justified in taking even such an extreme measure as the secret treaties, in order to gain the aid so sorely needed.

But that pretence is false; as the President must have known when he made it. Japan entered the war against Germany without any special urging by the Allies within a month after the beginning of the war, long before the first Battle of the Marne; and she captured Kiao Chao and drove the last Hun out of China exactly two months after that battle. And it was not until about two and a half years afterward that the secret treaties for the disposition of Germany's stolen goods in China were made. Those treaties had no more to do with Japan's entry into the war than the Pope's Bull against the comet.

Why, then, were those treaties made? There are two conceivable explanations, one of which has already been suggested. That is, that it was to keep Japan from withdrawing from the war and perhaps actually going over to the German side. That must be rejected, however, as insulting alike to Japan's honor and discretion. We cannot for a moment admit the possibility of such treachery. But if it had been possible, Japan was shrewd enough to choose a better time than that, a time when her change of alliance might have been successful instead of one when it would have been doomed to failure.

For note the time when those secret treaties were made. It was in February and March, 1917. That was after the United States had severed diplomatic relations with Germany and before she had actually declared war, but when everybody realized that our declaring war was certain to occur in the immediate future, and when everybody also realized that that would mean the defeat of Germany. Obviously, that was not a time for Japan to cast in her lot with Germany and thus court certain disaster; any more than it was a time when the Allies were driven by despair to purchase help at any price.

We come, then, to the remaining hypothesis. That is that Japan and the Allies realized, as soon as the United States broke diplomatic relations with Germany, that we were certain to enter the war; that after we had entered the war we should be entitled to a voice in the making of peace; that we should never consent to any such outrage as the handing over to Japan of the goods that Germany had stolen from China; and that if they wanted to consummate that job and perhaps to provide for a general partitioning of China into "spheres of influence," they must do so before we got into the war. So in the interval between our breaking with Germany and our actual declaration of war they rushed those secret treaties through, complacently assuming that we would have to acquiesce in them as an accomplished fact.

That is not a pleasant theory to adopt. We are reluctant to accept it. But at present, neither in "voices in the air"

nor in "visions on the horizon" can we perceive any other that is at once equally plausible and more creditable.

Hang up the lethal lemon-squeezer and banish the demoniac fruit-press. The Assistant Attorney-General makes known that the pressing out of grape-juice for home consumption is specifically prohibited by the war act which is not to be withdrawn until the Government of the League is adopted. It's a dry world, my masters!

The Man Who Saved His Soul

THERE was a cartoon in London *Punch* early in the war, than which none more truthful or impressive has been produced during all the great struggle. It pictured the King of the Belgians standing amid his ravished and desolated country, confronted by the insolent and triumphant German Kaiser, who reproached him for his folly in not breaking his faith and letting the Huns use his land as a base of attack upon France and England:

"So, you see, you've lost everything!"

"BUT NOT MY SOUL!"

It was only the fancy of a facile artist; but it was the very truth of everlasting history. By his refusal of the German demand, King Albert brought upon himself and upon his country such woe and tragedy as no other sovereign and nation have ever known. But he saved his integrity, his self-respect, his honor; in a word, his soul. Saving his own soul, he saved the soul of Belgium. Saving the soul of Belgium, he saved the soul of Europe, of the world. It is an old story, though because of its truth it must never grow outworn, that through the stubborn self-sacrifice of Liege the Huns were checked just long enough to give France time to meet them; that the first levies of France and England's "contemptible little army" in turn checked them just long enough to give both those countries time to rally all their strength; and that finally those countries at awful cost held the line of civilization against barbarism just long enough to give slothful and dilatory America time to awake to her duty and to hurl her determining weight into the scale. But it all began with Belgium. And it is commensurately true that the ineffable moral and spiritual uplift which roused humanity against the Beast, had its initial impulse in King Albert's heroic decision to save his soul, though he should lose all the world.

We have welcomed home our own returning heroes and their gallant chief. We have welcomed the princely priest who proved to the world that the spirit of Elijah at Carmel and of Paul at Ephesus still lived and triumphed. And they were worthy of all that an appreciative people could offer them. But no warmth of welcome, no splendor of pageantry, no blaze of banners and blaring of massed bands, no noisy acclaim of multitudinous tongues nor silent tribute of grateful hearts, can be too great for the desserts of this later guest who now revisits these shores. Not only a King but also a Man, the sternest democrat will honor himself by honoring him; and the Red, White and Blue of America will win new lustre through being entwined with the Brabanters' Black, Gold and Red.

"Too Much Johnson"

TOO much of him in spots, and yet apparently not enough to go around according to recent efforts at distribution. They want a lot of him out West. In Washington the Hitchcocks and other Court Senators are singing, "we need thee every hour." His whirlwind sweep across the country in the wake of the luxuriously equipped Presidential caravan, for which the taxpayers are footing the bill, has stirred up a dust that sadly dims the splendor of the regal pageant that is leading the way. Senator Johnson's crowds came to hear Senator Johnson and not to see a President of the United States. They came to hear him for his cause, and not to see him for the splash he had made among the royalties of Europe. He had no exhibits of Paris fashions to offer. He was notoriously short on "visions." His sufferings over potential world heart-breakings were negligible. He had no Admirals as court physicians to look after his health. He had no Pullmans packed with press-agents attached to a special train carrying him at public expense wherever his sweet will dictated. He left his press-agency work solely to the uninspired efforts of volunteer local talent. He slept in plain ordinary Pullman lower berths, when he could get them. He had no private dining car; no corps of skilled chefs. He ate McAdoodled meals in McAdoodled dining cars.

And yet, without even a trace of the glittering accessories of the eleemosynary circus that preceded him on the road, he drew as great crowds and evoked vastly more spontaneous enthusiasm than did the roving caravan with its trumpets and its banners that was going on ahead. The enthusiasm that marked his progress was a constantly mounting wave. In Chicago his meeting, in point of numbers and vigor of approving demonstration, made a record for even the Windy City, ever notable for public ebullitions. At Indianapolis, at St. Louis, at Kansas City, at Senator Hitchcock's own city of Omaha—everywhere he went it was the same. His presence and the ringing, straight-from-the-shoulder Americanism of his words set in motion a latent, pent-up wave of anti-League revolt which threatened to overwhelm and utterly obliterate the shallower, frothier tumult kicked up by the brass band show he was trailing.

The impression created in Washington Court Circles was painful. This was especially the case among the Court Senators. As for the pygmies, they were not in the least disturbed. In their puny little pygmy way, the Lodges and the Knoxes and the Borahs, Reeds and Spencers were quite calm—contented even. Not so the statuesque Senatorial giants—the Hitchcocks, the Williamses and others lifted to overshadowing eminence by the august approval—tempered by occasional kicks and snubs royal—of an Exalted Personage. They were ponderously but visibly agitated. They felt that the country was afflicted with too much Johnson. It was plain that Johnson should be called in. They did not want him so much diffused. They wanted him concentrated in Washington.

So they tried to build a home fire back of him, and keep it burning. They tried to stampede a vote on the Johnson amendment to cancel Great Britain's 6 to 1 advantage over us in the League Council. Their press agencies proclaimed

that they had done so. It was proclaimed that the panic-stricken pygmies had called Johnson back. Pygmy Lodge, they asserted, had been wiring rush messages to Hiram to come home.

Pygmy Lodge, it is true, had not sent any such messages to Hiram. Messages sent from the pygmies to Hiram had egged him on to keep up the good work. It was the Senatorial Colossuses, not the pygmies, who were worried about the geographical distribution of a surplusage of Johnson. And the measure of their worriment was the stentorian proclamation of a pygmy panic which did not exist. It was measured also by their frantic efforts to jam through a vote on the Johnson 6 to 1 amendment. They pined for Hiram's return. "He cometh not," they moaned. "He still keeps going. And wherever he goes he raises—well, he raises it."

And the pygmies kept the telegraph wires hot with messages to Hiram to keep on going and keep on raising it.

Ex-Senator Jimham, who wanted Congress to endorse, approve and ratify in advance anything that the President might do, now tells us that the President will soon announce the doctrine of socializing the coal, oil and national road and water highways, that these may be taken control of by the whole people for themselves as the people's property. Mebbe. We shouldn't greatly wonder. But was this one of the Presidential contraptions which the flamboyant Jimham wanted Congress to approve in advance? Shouldn't be a bit surprised at that, either.

If Americans would familiarize themselves with the words and music of the Belgian national anthem, so as to be able to make them audible to King Albert wherever he goes during his visit to this country, they could pay a graceful compliment to a man whom all must delight to honor, and would increase their repertory with a piece that is thoroughly worth while. A fairly literal and singable translation of the song was made for the Boston *Transcript* early in the war by Dr. Willis Fletcher Johnson, and is herewith reprinted to facilitate popular acquaintance with it.

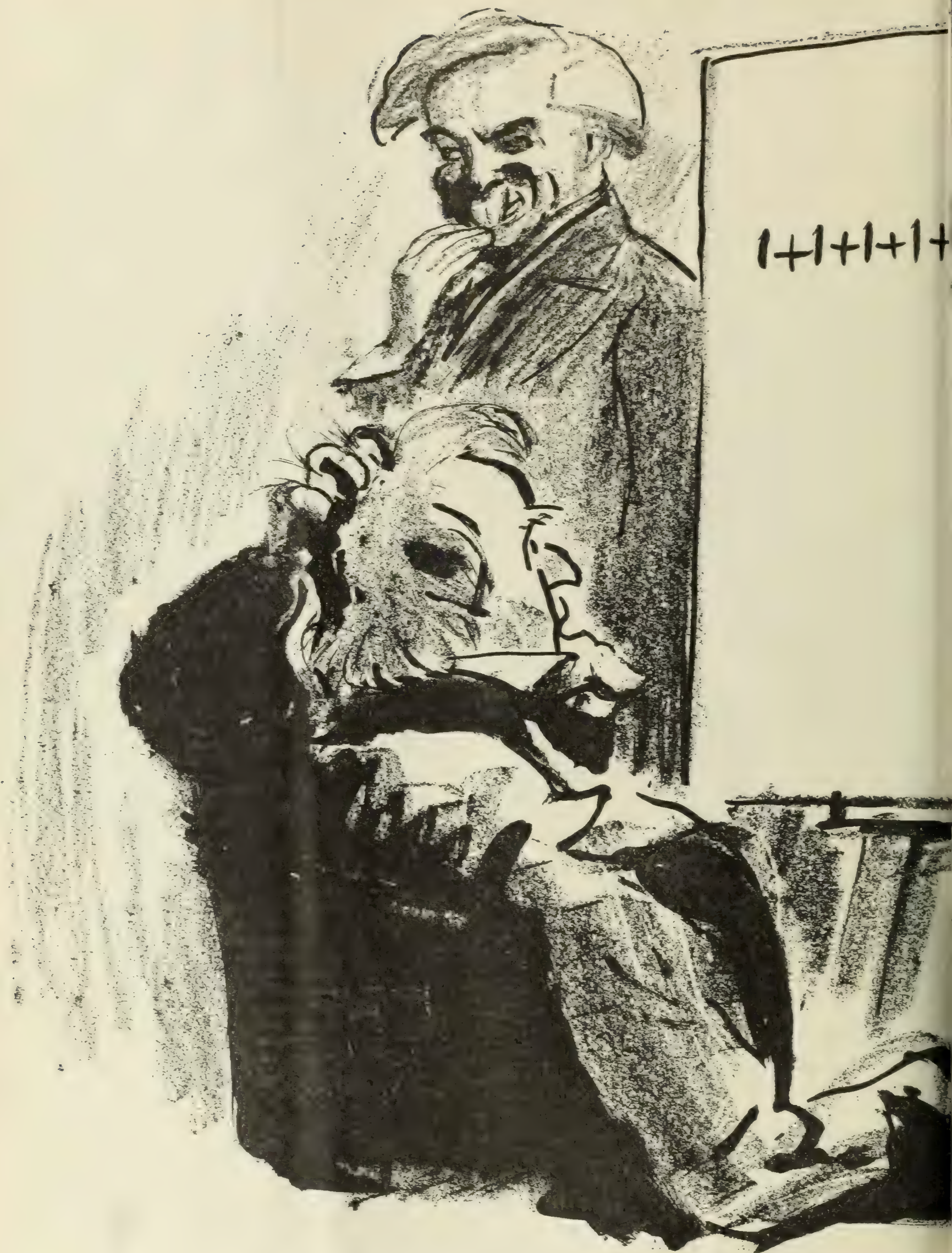
LA BRABANCONNE.

I

The years of weary bondage all are ended,
And our Belgium now breathes freedom's air;
By her valor triumphantly defended
Her proud name, her rights, her banner fair.
And with hand every foeman braving,
Her people shall raise for all to see
The good old banner proudly waving,
For King, for Law, for Liberty!
The good old banner proudly waving,
For King, for Law, for Liberty!
For King, for Law, for Liberty!
For King, for Law, for Liberty!

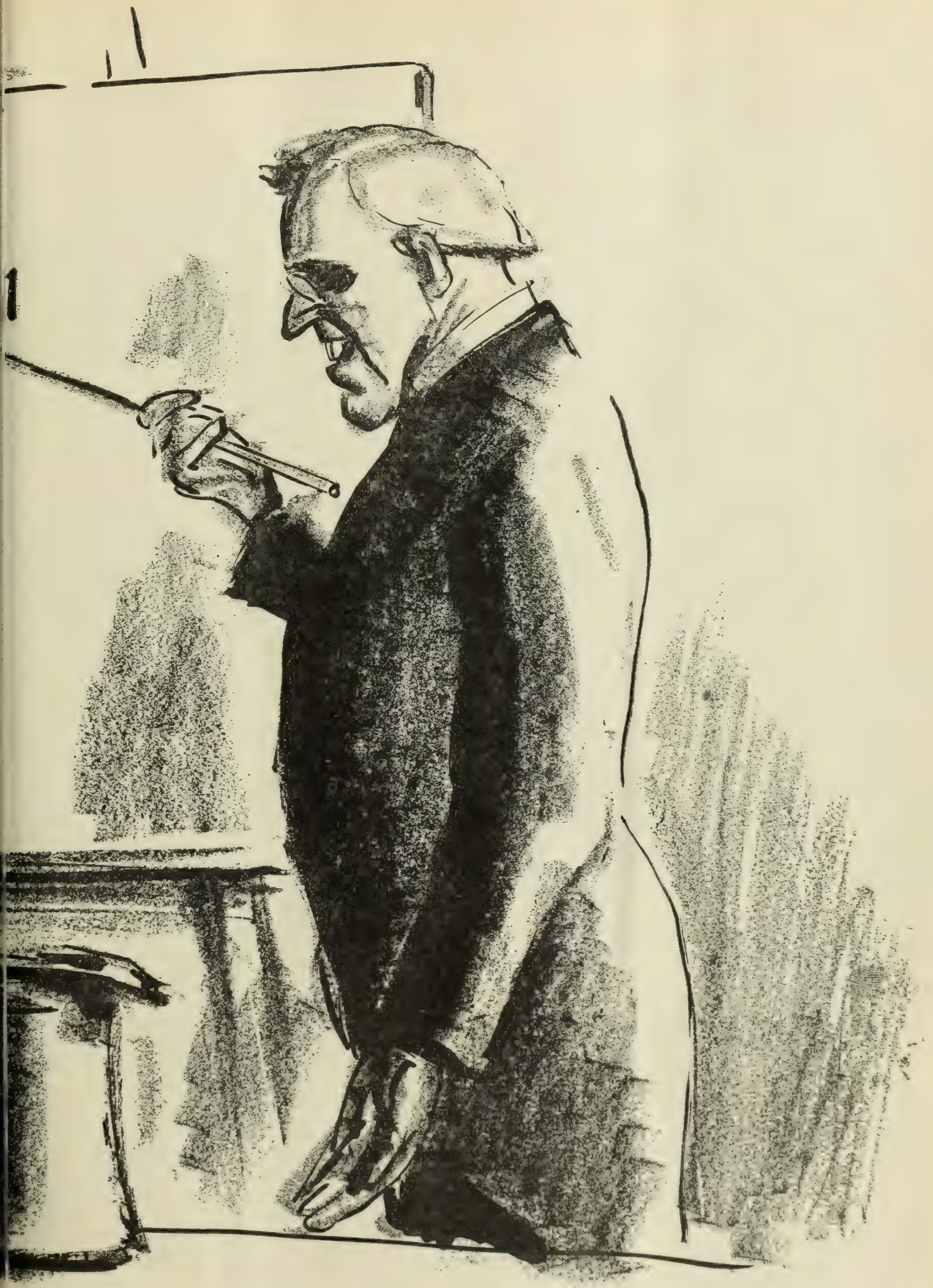
II

Beloved Belgium, the Fatherland that bore us,
Unto thee heart and hand now we give;
And we swear by the heaven that arches o'er us,
We would die, that thou, our land should live,
Thou shalt live, thou shalt live in glory,
Through thy children's unconquered unity;
And waiting ages tell thy story,
For King, for Law, for Liberty!
And waiting ages tell thy story,
For King, for Law, for Liberty!
For King, for Law, for Liberty!
For King, for Law, for Liberty!



1+1+1+1+

THE LATEST LES



N MATHEMATICS

The Week

WASHINGTON, September 25.

HAVING played the common scold, the President plays the ghoul. Speaking at San Diego the other day he had the incredible indecency—we can employ no milder term—to quote Theodore Roosevelt in favor of his League of Nations; employing, we are told, a series of electric megaphones for the wider dissemination of this brutality. And it was only a little while ago that one of his congenial spirits was unctuously giving thanks that “the Power called God” had taken Theodore Roosevelt out of the world and thus had removed the most formidable opponent of that League! Of course the very quotation which he had the effrontery to make from Colonel Roosevelt’s writings of years ago gave him the lie, for it made perfectly clear that the “agreement among the great powers for peace and righteousness” which he then advocated—and which everybody ought to favor—was something radically different from the present Smuts-sired scheme. One thing is quite certain: If that gallant champion of American Nationality had been still living in the flesh last week, this specious special pleader for un-American denationalization would never have dared to say what he did at San Diego; for fear that the “voices in the air” would have been vibrant with a “short and ugly word.”

General Pershing may be the next to be quoted in favor of the Covenant. Why not? He spoke, in replying to the addresses of Congress, of the war as having been a “fight for our treasured ideals,” as having given the people “a deeper sense of nationality,” and as having demonstrated “the solidity of the Republic and its institutions.” That, of course, according to the workings of the President’s “intellectual apparatus,” was a plea for the repudiation of our old ideals, for playing ducks and drakes with our institutions, and for throwing our independence and nationality into the melting-pot.

There was really no need of so much question as to whether Senator Johnson should continue his tour or return to Washington. He could speak his manly and patriotic words to the whole country in either place, and it will be in either case gratifying to have him complete the work in which he so generously and public-spiritedly engaged. Meanwhile, the President is welcome to go on cavorting and gallivanting about the country at will; at the expense of the taxpayers. He is doing no harm, save to himself and that precious “cause” of his which he ranks above the government which he is sworn to sustain. People flock to see and to hear him, of course; because with all his vagarious rantings and coarse diatribes he is still President of the United States. They applaud him, too; as some people would applaud a declamation of the binomial theorem or a proposal to repeal the Decalogue. That he is swaying the nation in favor of his Covenant, or starting a back-fire that will stampede the Senate, not even Jimham or Creel would venture to pretend. Senator Johnson in his few speeches, without any of the Presidential touting and stage-setting, created a far deeper impression and demonstrated conclusively that the masses of the

American people, West as well as East, are in favor of maintaining American independence, American nationality and American policies, and are quite content to have a President of the United States without hankering after a “President of the World.”

The Fiume embroilment arose because President Wilson refused to sanction a compromise arrangement under which that city in accordance with its own wish would have been assigned to Italy, while being kept open as a free port for the Jugo-Slavic territory adjacent and inland. He does not deny the Italian character of the place, but cannot reconcile Italian possession of it with the economic interests of the inland Jugo-Slavs. We cannot see that that accords with his much-vaunted rule of self-determination. Apparently he thinks it better to force a people under an alien yoke than to make a people dependent upon an alien port for their most convenient access to the sea. People who sincerely believe in the right of self-determination will not agree with him.

British economists are urging an increase of agricultural production in the United Kingdom, and are pointing out the discreditable contrast between that country and Germany, before the war, in the amount of staples produced in proportion to the total area under cultivation. The contrast between those countries and the United States is still more striking and more discreditable. Thus to each 100 acres of cultivated land Germany produced 33 tons of wheat, Great Britain 15 tons, and the United States 4½ tons. To each 100 acres Germany produced 55 tons of potatoes, Great Britain 11 tons, and the United States 21½ tons. To each 100 acres Germany produced 28 tons of milk, Great Britain 17½ tons, and the United States 5 tons. It is doubtless true that those countries devote a larger proportion of their land to these crops than does the United States, where vast areas are planted in cotton, corn, and other crops not grown in Europe. Nevertheless the contrast is also due largely to the difference in methods of cultivation, and the consequently much smaller production from each acre here than there. We shall be great gainers if intensive cultivation is promoted as a result of necessary war-thrift.

That is a noble offer of Dr. Reinsch, who has just resigned as Minister to China, to give all possible aid to the efforts to prevent the shipment of morphia to the Flowery Kingdom, and there can be little doubt that his and all available aid is needed for the suppression of a great evil. But there is in the circumstance a pertinent warning to our own prohibitionists, of the task that lies before them. The use of crude opium was prohibited in China, whereupon arose not only a renewed thirst for alcohol, but also a widespread demand for opium’s more deadly derivative, morphia. We dare not doubt that prohibition will be followed by comparable results in America, involving problems of the most difficult character.

According to the President, the Cause of the Covenant is “greater than the government.” Also, “It is a basis for something better than peace.” Gosh! It must be the Fourth Dimension!

While Germany is clamoring for ships and credit and aid in rehabilitation, and some sentimental pacifists are favoring a world-wide "first aid to the injured" movement in her behalf, Mr. Morgenthau, formerly Ambassador at Constantinople and later head of the Commission of Investigation in Poland, pertinently reminds us that "Germany came through the war a perfect dynamo of strength," that "her human military power is practically as great as ever," and that at the end of the war "she withdrew in good order to a place of safety, where the war had not ruined her factories and where everything was ready for resumption of the industries of peace." That is quite true. Germany is to-day economically and industrially far better off than either France or Great Britain, in some respects even than America. All her whining and pulling a poor face is camouflage intended to make sentimental fools imagine that she is unable to pay the indemnity which has been assessed against her. The Blond Beast has been scotched, but is still formidable, and is entitled to no sympathy.

Conspicuous in the flood of "Made in Germany" goods that is now being poured into this country is a large consignment of dolls' eyes. Doubtless these are intended as pleasant returns for the innumerable eyes of babes and children which Hunnish soldiers blinded for sport. It is to be hoped that every American child who plays with a doll with German eyes will be reminded of the blinded and martyred babes of France and Belgium; and will appreciate the pretty toy accordingly.

The desperation of the Covenanters is betrayed in the frantic appeal which has been sent out by the Finance Committee of the League to Enforce Peace, for a hundred thousand dollar fund, "for immediate use in arousing the country." The stupidity and self-stultification—or shall we say mendacity?—of the movement is also self-betrayed. The President months ago told Europe that he had been sent thither with a mandate from the American people for a League of Nations, a mandate so unanimous and imperative that he would be afraid to face this nation if he came back without fulfilling it. Since then he and his echoes and underlings have never wearied in declaring that the American people are overwhelmingly in favor of the Covenant, just as it stands, and that nobody stands in the way but a little company of pygmy-minded insects called Senators, whom humanity has already doomed to the gallows. Yet now in addition to the President spending goodness knows how much of the people's money in his Covenanting campaign, there must be another hundred thousand raised, for George Wickrham and Vance McCormick to spend in "arousing the country." Arousing the country in behalf of its own imperative mandate? Arousing the country in favor of something or which the country has for the last six months been passionately clamoring? Arousing the country for something which the country wants and is demanding above all things else in the world, so that its heart will be broken if it doesn't get it? Really, men and brethren, the thing doesn't hang together.

We had always supposed Siberia to be a part of the Russian Empire; but apparently we were mistaken. Word

comes from authoritative sources that the Allies and Associates have decided to withdraw all their troops from Russia and to permit that country to stew in its own juice, or simmer in its own samovar. Yet word also comes of the purpose to retain if not to reenforce American troops in Siberia. Now if Siberia is a part of Russia, we are keeping troops in one part of that country while withdrawing them from another on the pretence that they have no business there. If it is not a part of Russia, but is a separate country, it certainly is at war with Russia, and we are sending troops to one country to help it in its war with another, while we are nominally at peace with both. Such is one of the salient features of that unnamable what-is-it which passes for our Russian policy.

Comparable with his notorious "not legal, merely moral" pronouncement is the President's defence of Great Britain's plural voting in the League. She has, he explains, six votes to our one not in the Council but only in the Assembly. What, then, does the Assembly amount to? If it is a valid, potent, authoritative body, her plurality of votes in it would give Britain an advantage over us. If it is not such a body, but a mere piece of camouflage, it is a fraud upon other nations which are to be represented in it but not in the Council.

The Bulgarian peace treaty resembles the famous last chapter of "Rasselas"—the conclusion, in which nothing was concluded. It purports to be a settlement of the issues of the war, and yet it leaves unsettled, and for future controversy and conflict, some of the most vital questions concerning the future of that country and its relations with its neighbors. Apparently nobody is even approximately satisfied with the arrangement. The most unpleasant reflection, to Americans, is that this unsatisfactory result was dictated by President Wilson, although properly he should have had no voice in the matter, this country not having been at war with Bulgaria. Thus we are confronted with the anomaly of a neutral power intervening between belligerents and dictating to them terms of peace satisfactory to neither side. A surer way to involve ourselves in unpleasant relations and to incur the ill-will of foreign countries could scarcely be imagined. There can be no question of the propriety of our intervention in European affairs in which our rights and interests are involved. There can be none of the impropriety of meddling in matters in which they are not involved.

The deportation of the alien Anarchists, Goldman and Berkman, if effected as is now promised, will set a salutary example. There should be no possible room for question of either the power of the government to do it, or the propriety of doing it. The right of the government to exclude Anarchists, or to ship them back immediately upon discovery of their character, is undisputed. We cannot concede that that right is impaired by lapse of time. There are some crimes not covered by any statute of limitations. As for the propriety of it, nothing could be more proper than for a government, as for an individual, to protect itself against its enemies.

The Lump Sum Spree Over

THE House Appropriations Committee has very properly refused President Wilson's request for an appropriation of \$825,000 to meet outstanding bills and expenses of the American Peace Mission up to Dec. 31, 1919. The war epoch of shoveling out vast lump sums of the taxpayers' money with but superficial inquiry as to how it was to be spent, has passed. The season of accounting and specification is on. Granted that during the war we spent money like a drunken sailor, pitched millions and tens of millions right and left, with the war over the spree is over. Not only is the House Appropriations Committee settling down to a close scrutiny of the itemized destination and specific purposes of sums demanded, but it is also insistent that there shall be similar itemization and specification as to vast sums already disbursed.

The little bill made of lump sum generalizations and amounting to a total of over \$1,500,000 which Mr. Tumulty, by direction of the President, turned in as the estimated cost of the Peace Mission, exclusive of the \$825,000 now demanded, does not meet the Appropriation Committee's views as to what taxpayers should know as to the way their money has been spent. Such round sum items, for instance, as that of \$150,000 paid to Mr. Bernard Baruch, are certainly legitimately open to inquiry. Without for a moment questioning Mr. Baruch's self-sacrificing patriotism, or, still less, his financial acumen acquired through years of speculative operations in Wall Street, the Committee none the less wants to know for just what services and disbursements this handsome fortune of \$150,000 was paid to Mr. Baruch.

But that, of course, is only a detail of the line of inquiry which the committees propose to open up. As its Chairman, Mr. Good, said, it will insist on having the names of every one of the Commission, the exact itemized expenses of each, together with specification of the services by each one of them rendered. In addition to this, the committee proposes to open up another and by no means uninteresting line of inquiry. The families of the small army of Commission members, attachés and supernumeraries, enjoyed war-time privileges of travel denied to less favored ones here at home who were vigorously restricted in their movements by oppressively heavy railroad fares and even by paternal Government injunctions to stay at home, pull in belts and save money to give to the Government. All of which, of course, was eminently proper. But these same favored exceptions aside from the patriarchal distribution of free passes good over all the railroads and in all the Pullman cars in the United States which the Railroad Administration supplied so bountifully even unto those of the second and third generation of those who could establish claim or kinship to the dispensing authorities—in addition to these, the families of many of the favored ones were enabled to follow the Presidential example of travel in foreign lands at Government expense. The Appropriations Committee wishes some detailed information on this subject. It wishes to know and will demand to know to just what extent the taxpayers of the United States have been, and will be, called

upon to pay the expenses of these families to and from Europe and of their journeyings in foreign lands while thus abroad.

Until the Appropriation Committee's scrutiny and thorough investigation of the accounts called for discloses otherwise, the technical assumption is that all of these various staggering lump-sum generalizations cover only expenses that are entirely legitimate. Beyond that benevolent assumption, we at present know nothing at all. Inquiry may reveal that they are all legitimate or it may reveal that many of them are grossly illegitimate. The sum the taxpayers are called upon to pay is enormous. They count upon their representatives in Congress to see to it that no portion of this sum has been or will be misapplied. They expect a detailed and itemized specification of the amount and purpose of each disbursement, and, in the case of personal payments, whether in salaries or for specific services, they expect a full and detailed explanation of just what the services rendered by the salaried and special employes were.

In response to a request addressed by Chairman Good, of the House Appropriations Committee, to the Secretary of State, in the absence from his post of duty of the President himself, for details as to the purposes for which the \$1,500,000 had been paid and for specific details of the requirements involving a further appropriation of \$825,000, the State Department replied that the books and accounts of the Peace Mission had not yet been returned to the United States. The House Committee, in respect to this much needed Peace Mission information, is at a disadvantage as compared with the Senate. When the President refused to give the Senate information essential to a proper study of the Peace Treaty the obstacle was surmounted through the courtesy of the French Chamber of Deputies and the British Parliament, both of which bodies promptly furnished the desired data. Of course no foreign body, parliamentary or otherwise, has access to our American expense accounts. The Appropriations Committee can only wait until our Government is sufficiently removed from its late seat of authority in France to enable it to produce the desired documents. But the Committee will wait. And while it is waiting the President's latest lump-sum demand of nearly a million dollars to meet pending and future expenses of administration from a foreign base will be, very properly, held up.

I think we are under a certain moral compulsion to accept this treaty.

In the first place it was laid down according to American specifications. The initial suggestions upon which this treaty is based emanated from America.—President Wilson.

Meaning the Fourteen Commandments? Every sacrosanct one of them emanated from Great Britain, and was simply conveyed, adapted and adopted by the President.

If we rely on the provisions of the covenant to preserve peace we shall be living in a fool's paradise.—Lord Robert Cecil.

And Lord Robert Cecil has all along been the British king-pin of the Covenant combination. We await the President's denunciation of him as a pygmy-minded and contemptible quitter, doomed to the gibbet.

Civil Service Salaries

WITH the requests of policemen for higher salaries it is easy to sympathize. We might indeed say that it would be difficult not to sympathize with them. "A fellow-feeling," said Garrick, "makes one wondrous kind." There are few who in these days of "H. C. L." do not wish that their incomes were larger, if they do not in fact urgently need such increase. We are quite ready to concede, moreover, that the salaries of policemen have not in recent years been advanced commensurately with the wages of most employes in industrial pursuits, and that therefore they are comparatively low. The same is to be said, perhaps even more strongly, of the pay of other classes of civil and municipal servants. Under the Burleson regime the pay of postoffice clerks and letter carriers has been kept at a minimum, in many cases actually below the government's own estimate of necessity. As for school teachers, their salaries often rank below those of street sweepers and scrub women.

That is all wrong. The employes of the public should be paid as well as those of private employers. That is desirable for the credit and honor of the state. It is desirable, in order that the state may command and retain the services of the most competent men and women and not be compelled to put up with the inefficient work of weaklings and wastrels. It is desirable, in order that the best service may be secured from those who are employed, since few men can be expected to do their best under a sense of underpay and grievance. Dissatisfaction never promotes efficiency. To what extent salaries should be increased is a question which can be answered only after careful consideration. That it deserves such consideration, promptly, is not we think to be denied.

One point, too often ignored, is, however, to be taken into account. That is, the fixity of tenure of place which public employes now generally enjoy. In that respect there is a radical difference between them and private employes. The latter are very largely subject to dismissal at any time, at the caprice of their employers, or through the vicissitudes of business. In dull seasons men are laid off. In times of retrenchment they are dropped. When a concern goes out of business, or is absorbed or reorganized, employes lose their places. In view of such contingencies, men naturally demand wages sufficient to enable them to save something to fall back upon in such emergencies.

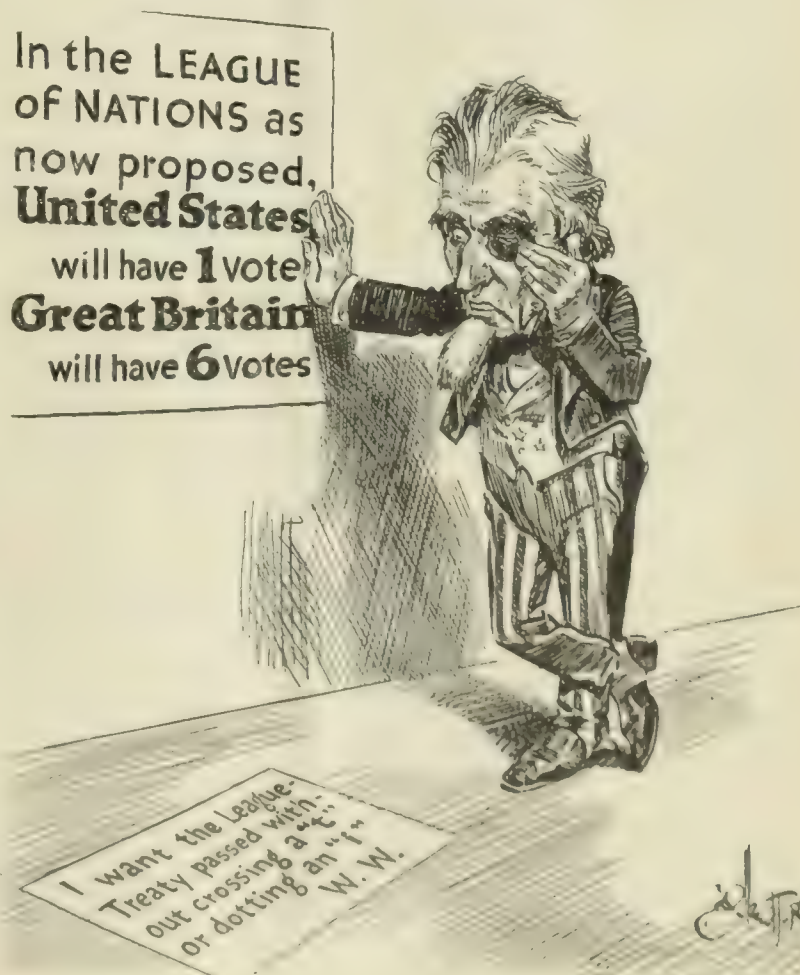
In the public service, however, national, state and municipal, such things do not occur. The civil service law protects men from dismissal except for adequate and proved cause, while the very nature of the employment protects them from being laid off for other reasons. There is no dull season in the public service. The police department and the postoffice do not go out of business. Men and women who do their work faithfully are sure of permanent employment. Moreover, they are more and more coming to be assured of some sort of pension upon retirement when they become superannuated or invalid. Obviously, these circumstances should be taken into account in comparing their salaries with those who in private employment do not enjoy

them. They make it possible and prudent for men and women to serve the public at a little lower pay than they should have in private employment of comparable rank.

Perhaps the most important point for present enforcement, however, is that in no case can civil employes be justified in impeding the processes of government, or even in neglect of duty, as a means of securing increase of pay or more favorable conditions of service. In private employment the right to cease work is indisputable, though even there it is esteemed disgraceful to desert imperative duty in such a way as would endanger life or entail destruction of property; while more and more forcible interference with the conduct of the business which has been deserted is recognized as unwarrantable. Certainly if these principles prevail in private employment, they must much more prevail in public service. For firemen to abandon duty and leave the city to conflagration, for policemen to desert their posts and surrender the city to a reign of crime, may not be punishable under the law, but it assuredly is a moral lapse branding the perpetrators with utter unfitness ever again to be entrusted with such public duties; while to attempt by any measure of coercion to prevent others from filling the deserted places and thus to prevent the exercise of the essential functions of government, is a crime of the first magnitude.

The President insists that Bulgaria shall renounce the treaties of Brest-Litovsk and Bucharest, although they were "open covenants, openly arrived at," but also insists upon maintaining as quite too holy for profane hands to touch the secret treaties for passing stolen goods on from Germany to Japan. There is sometimes quite a difference between insistency and consistency.

In the LEAGUE
of NATIONS as
now proposed,
United States
will have **1** vote
Great Britain
will have **6** votes



THE DOTTED EYE

—Detroit Free Press

Joy Among the Pygmies

OUR neighbor, the *New York Times*, editorially informs us that the Republicans in the Senate are "cheered, encouraged and spurred to action." That is all right enough. Probably it is true. If the *Times* stopped right there, its information perhaps would lack the element of surprise. But our neighbor does not stop there. He goes on and uncovers his real surprise, and a whale of a surprise it is.

The *Times*, it appears, has some astounding exclusive information. It has found out that the reason the Republicans in the Senate are "cheered, encouraged and spurred to action" is because they see a chance to make Woodrow Wilson President of the World. If they can only rush through a ratification of the Treaty without any i dottings or t crossings they see the way clear to Mr. Wilson becoming, automatically, President of the League of Nations. Once make him President of the World and the pygmies will have him. If he is President of the League of Nations he can not be President of the United States. The two jobs are incongruous. The big world Presidency cancels the littler United States Presidency. But while it is true that Presidency of the League super-Government would naturally involve in actual practice Presidency of the United States as one of the subject countries under the super-Government, technically and nominally the United States would still have a separate President of their own. Mr. Wilson will hardly see his way clear to accepting both Presidencies. That of the United States would be only a superfluous, decorative distinction at best. Mr. Wilson, beyond much doubt, would shrink from grasping at both offices. It might make him appear as though he were afflicted with a conceited, arrogant, selfish greed for power. It might lay him open to the accusation of being a mere rhetorical wind-bag, a sort of international demagogue who had seized the opportunity opened by the war and by the accident of his official position to shoulder himself to the front where he could appropriate all the praise, the power and the glory—and, incidentally, the emoluments—of a professional Redeemer of Mankind.

Mr. Wilson probably would see obstacles in the way of aspiring to such pre-eminence as that. He would hardly accept the Presidency of the World and a nomination for a third term Presidency of the United States at the same time. Even though Mr. Wilson felt that conferring the two Presidencies upon him would be only a proper and fitting testimonial to his own transcendent merits, modesty, naturally, would deter him from giving expression to the fact by appearance as a candidate for the dual office. It would be another case, perhaps, of the United States and the world suffering from the exigencies of politics, but clearly the sacrifice would be politically advisable.

And that, according to the *Times*, is precisely the opening the Senate Republicans see and are jumping at. The pygmies, it appears, are scared green over the veiled threat of Mr. Wilson, made at Kansas City, to become a third-term candidate for the Presidency in 1920. Now they see their way out. If they can only rush through an unamended ratification of the League Treaty, they will head him off.

They will shelve him on the League of Nations Presidency. He will be effectively disposed of.

So that is why the pygmies are now "spurred to action," why they are "cheered and encouraged." We get the impression from our neighbor's surprising fund of exclusive information, that the pygmies are in a state of hilarious joy; that they are roused to feverish action in rushing the unamended ratification through and that they are "cheered and encouraged" at the prospect of doing so. Their dark plot promises success. They will cheat the gibbet for themselves and they will cheat Woodrow out the third term nomination by hustling him into the Presidency of the World! It is pretty low-down politics, but pygmies will be pygmies.

Boston Police Won't Appeal to Courts.—*Evening Post*.

Meaning, of course, the ex-police; and indicating their partial return to reason.

Soldiers and Peacemakers

THE veterans of the Grand Army of the Republic are generally opposed to the League of Nations scheme. They value too highly the nation for the union and integrity of which they fought, to be willing to see it made the tool of alien powers.

General Pershing does not believe that the League of Nations would prevent war. He has been face to face with the great war, and knows the temper of those who waged it. We should greatly doubt if any doctrinaire civilian who remained three thousand miles from the war, and who was unwilling even to inspect the ravages of the war after it was over lest his feelings be moved, could be a better judge of the matter than he.

Returning soldiers of the American Expeditionary Forces are very largely opposed to the League of Nations, or at least skeptical of its efficiency for preventing war. We cannot suppose that they are so enamored of war, as they have seen it, that they wish to discourage peacemaking and to encourage renewal of strife. It is impossible to doubt that they are sincere in their distrust of the League and their opposition to it.

The judgment of these soldiers and former soldiers is the more to be respected because American soldiers have traditionally been haters of war and advocates of peace. More than a few times when politicians have clamored for war or threats of war, soldiers who knew by experience what war means have interposed to hush their incendiary folly and to keep the peace.

It may be, too, that soldiers, whose business it is to risk their lives for the safety and honor of the country, have at times a keener appreciation of the value of national integrity than some civilian politicians who make use of national interests as means of self-preferment. We have not heard of soldiers saying that anything else was greater or dearer to them than the government and the Fatherland for which they fought.

We are inclined to think that if the great soldiers who led the Allied and Associated armies to victory had been entrusted with the task of conserving the triumph they had won, their dictated peace would have been preferable to the negotiated peace which politicians are foisting upon us.

Letters From Our Readers

GEORGE III AGAIN

SIR,—Mr. Lockwood is not content that the American Revolution should be traced to the strongheadedness of George III. He quotes a paragraph to show that the Legislature was at fault too. But does he forget that by a system of bribery and corruption the Legislature was packed with "the King's friends?" And even had it been fairly elected on the basis of the franchise of that day, it would not even then have represented the people of England. It was the legislature of the aristocracy. The real people of England had little to do with its proceedings.

"Destiny" would no doubt have made the United States in course of time, revolution or no revolution, as autonomous as Canada. But if it was "destiny," it was a very evil destiny that alienated the descendants of the Puritans and Cavaliers from their brethren across the sea and kept them from understanding one another for nearly a hundred years. A better "destiny" would have made them the one controlling and invincible power in the world, and who knows but that the continuance of their union might have saved the world from its recent deluge of blood as their moral re-union may do for the future.

Hubbards, N. S.

B. RUSSELL.

AS SOME OTHERS SEE US

SIR,—You are the bitterest enemy Mr. Wilson has. I will give you the "blue ribbon." Of course you are not opposed to the League of Nations. The explanation is, Mr. Wilson is for it—in fact he is the principal factor in it—and so you would be for everything Mr. Wilson is for if he were otherwise. It is surpassingly strange how narrow men can become when prejudice takes possession of their souls. Isn't it possible for you to grow a little?

I am sure Mr. Wilson has made mistakes. He has made the fewest, though, of any man that has lived since Mr. Lincoln, to have had as great job as he has had.

Warrenton, Ga.

REV. J. O. BRAND.

WE SHUDDER AT THE THOUGHT

SIR,—A horrible thought has just entered my mind, and I hasten to unload it on your broad shoulders. It is this:

Suppose the League of Denationalization is ratified (of course after having been amended), then suppose the first grand meeting in session, and then suppose—(here comes that horror of horrors)—that Woodrow should *not* be elected President! Can you imagine anything more horrifying to his thick and thin supporters?

England has six votes to our one, and in view of his doubtful and waning popularity over there, is it not at least possible that she might muster enough strength to elect one of her own men? Or, even the others might do it without her coercion. At any rate the possibility is sufficiently alarming that the "Giants" (as distinguished from the "pygmies") Swanson, Williams, Hitchcock, et al., may find ample food for reflection.

Santa Monica, Cal.

H. H. HUGHES.

[It is generally understood abroad that Premiers Lloyd George and Clemenceau have pledged their support to Mr. Wilson for Presidency of the League.—EDITOR.]

PRESENTS AND THE CONSTITUTION

SIR,—Many of us are much interested in a statement made by Senator Reed, in a speech a few days ago, wherein he said that President Wilson returned from Paris bringing with him hundreds of thousands of dollars' worth of presents, "given by foreign powers," etc. Can you tell us in your paper what the facts are about these presents? Who gave them? What they are, and their probable value? Also on what theory the President received them, in view of the constitutional prohibition against such an act.

Chicago, Ill.

WILLIAM N. GRENNILL.

[The value of the presents accepted by the President is very great—probably more than a million dollars. They came from many sources including crowned heads. The President violated the Constitution in accepting them and Congress should order their return.—EDITOR.]

WHAT'S IN A NAME?

SIR,—I hope that M. N. Hendrickson's suggestion that you ease to use such designations as Politicalmaster General will not influence you to change your methods. Your very clever

and apt names for many of our public officials have aided as much in placing them before the public in their true light as your clear and striking accounts of the various doings and happenings of our should be greatest leaders.

Jefferson, N. H.

D. L. G.

FROM LECTURER CROWL

SIR,—I have enjoyed the privilege of being one of those that had sent to them the WEEKLY as first-class matter during the summer while enroute.

In ninety-six towns this summer I have been assisted in carrying the gospel of real Americanism as expounded in the WEEKLY. In the beginning of the summer the people were all in favor of the League, in fact there were places when it appeared it would have been proper for the writer to have secured a room on the ground floor in his hotel. However, as we waged the campaign and the weeks rolled by the sentiment has changed to such an extent that there now awaits me a rousing welcome when I speak of the preservation of America. We should all feel much better now to think that our efforts will be crowned with possible success. That, however, will depend on whether the American people will be able to secure two months more time for its consideration. The duty is plain. The loyal men in the Senate under the able leadership of Senator Lodge must not be stampeded into undue haste in the consideration of this matter.

The WEEKLY missed me a few times because, some of the postmasters could not read the words "First Class Matter" which you placed at the top of the envelope. Many times I would have to insist they look around in the Newspaper department hole in order to really secure it. But I am glad to have had it because it kept up my courage with its faith and example.

DENTON C. CROWL.

HIGHER MATHEMATICS

SIR,—Following is a translation of a clipping from a Swiss newspaper received from Zurich:

In a Swedish paper the suggestion is made to grant President Wilson the Nobel Prize for mathematics, as he has undoubtedly shown himself to be the greatest mathematician, having proved conclusively that fourteen points equal zero.

New York City.

C. R. CORNING

[And that $1 + 1 + 1 + 1 + 1 + 1 = 1$.—EDITOR.]

MR. LODGE NEED NOT HURRY

SIR,—Let us not hurry the Foreign Relations Committee. Let them investigate as long as anything can be learned as to the surrounding circumstances connected with the signing of the proposed Treaty of Peace, which includes the League of Nations.

The Committee is all right. They are doing a great work, and there is no particular hurry to rush the matter before they get full information. A great deal has been concealed from them, and the only persons who ought to get nervous over the delay, are the friends of secret treaties and those who hope to saddle this monster upon the American people.

Let them give us all the light they can.

San Antonio, Texas.

T. J. MURRAY.

ABOUT IMPEACHMENT

SIR,—Will you kindly state whether Mr. Wilson, in deserting his post as President, absenting himself for six months from his sworn duty at Washington, falsely representing himself as "spokesman" for the American people, establishing an unwarranted censorship over trans-Atlantic cables, and autocratically refusing to either advise with the Senate or extend information regarding his acts as a member of the Peace Conference, has rendered himself liable to impeachment?

The question is certainly most pertinent at this time, and uppermost in many thinking minds. Undoubtedly a large number of your readers, besides myself, would greatly appreciate an answer from so excellent an authority as HARVEY'S WEEKLY.

East Orange, N. J.

FLOYD F. CRABBE.

[Technically no; and obviously Mr. Wilson does not regard these particular "moral" obligations as "compelling."—EDITOR.]

Letters From Our Readers

WATTERSON ET AL

SIR,—I attach my check to pay for Harvey's Weekly and the North American Review—renewal—one year's subscription—to both.

Obviously Colonel Harvey is in a class by himself, and his editorials are a blessing to all Americans. I wish the Colonel could be duplicated in every State in the Union. It is said the prayers of the wicked availeth naught, but I do not fail to ask the Almighty at least once a week to bless Colonels Harvey and Watterson, not forgetting the loyal crowd at Washington who are standing by the Republic and supporting the Constitution.

Ocean Springs, Miss.

F. M. WEED.

1783—1919

SIR,—In 1783 there was signed at Versailles a treaty by which we obtained recognition as a nation from our enemy and mother country. That date we can possibly set as the beginning of the American power, then very puny, indeed, but promising. This hopefulness Washington saw in his wisdom, in his perspicuity seeing as well that the new United States could not take part in the intrigues of Europe and survive. If anyone doubts the truth of Washington's understanding I would refer him to Guglielmo Ferrero's Problems of Peace, which is a flowing narrative of the politics of Europe since 1815. If the United States had not isolated herself it is easily seen that she would have become subject to the partitioning proclivities of the European powers, serving as another Poland to satiate the ravenous appetites they had developed for territory.

And this brings us to the League of 1815, the Holy Alliance, which it is true to speak of as being founded on the subjugation of Poland. Is the League of 1919 to be based on the dismemberment of China at the identical time with the restoration of Poland? What a spectacle!

So these are the dates: 1783, America begins her career as an independent power with the policy of non-interference in Europe; 1919, she accepts her share in the affairs of Europe, about which she knows nothing, is traditionally ignorant of, and which seems, as Mr. Lodge says, particularly dangerous in view of our mixed population whose sympathies and sentiments may be aroused to the exclusion of thought of the adopted America—and all at the time when Americanism is most needed and has most to offer the world. Is not this care on our part to play hands off in Europe one of the causes of our success in naturalizing our immigrants?

Let us think carefully of this fateful step, and let us as well not delude ourselves with the idea that Europe is going to be perfectly willing to let American affairs alone if we assume the right to mix in hers. It would be logical for Europe to deny us the privilege of voting on her policies, as we wish to keep ours to ourselves.

In the face of these seemingly impossible contradictions let us, however, thank the Senate for applying the American principle of justice to the treaty in cutting out the wild growth of feudalism encumbering the structure.

Guinea Mills, Virginia.

WILLIAM GAMALIEL SHEPARD.

AN "INSULT TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE"

SIR,—In his speech of September 10th, at St. Paul, Mr. Wilson says:

"That hyphen which looked to us like a snake, the hyphen between German and American, has reared its head again. You hear the hiss of its purpose. And what is that purpose? It is to keep America out of the concert of nations in order that America and Germany being out of that concert may sometime in their *mistaken dream* unite to dominate the world, or at any rate the one to assist the other in holding the nations of the world off while its ambitions are realized."

How does Mr. Wilson dare to say that we are ambitious to dominate the world; that to gain our purpose we will unite with a nation of unrepentant brutes?

This outrageous falsehood, this insult to the American people, should be answered by strong resentment and widespread publicity.

I hope you will have something to say about it.

Pittsburgh, Pa.

N. R. PATTESON.

THE GERMAN COLORS

SIR,—In your issue No. 36, there is a letter stating that the black, red and gold flag was adopted as the German National colors in connection with the Revolution of 1848. Your correspondent has said that these are the facts. On May 27th, 1832, a mass meeting, organized by the Press Union, held a German

May Festival at the castle of Hambach. At this meeting, to which reformers of all parties came, assisted by the Poles and Frenchmen, there was displayed from the tower of the castle, "the Burschenschaft flag" of red, black, and gold, used afterwards as a symbol of unity for the German People. Whether the flag was used prior to this date, I do not know, but it was not the product of the Revolution of 1848. On August 25th, 1830, the Opera of "La Muette" was being played at Brussels; its appeals to Liberty excited the audience, which pouring into the streets commenced crying "Let us do as the French have done!" The towns-folk joined the audience and as excitement grew, commenced to demolish the police offices, then those of the ministerial organ, during which some of the citizens raised the old Brabanconne flag. Following their old flag of red, yellow, and black, the whole Duchy rose in revolt. The Duchy of Brabant in 959 was called Lower Lorraine, and passed through Philip II of Burgundy to Charles V, it was held in the 17th century by Austria and Holland, but given in 1830 to the Belgians. The heir to the Belgian throne is the Duke of Brabant.

Washington, D. C.

W. B. CARPENTER.

POLICING EUROPE

SIR,—I wish to express my thanks to Mr. T. W. Rainey of Newport, Ky., for expressing my idea of our "Debt to France", in a letter to the WEEKLY of September 6. I feel with him that we have "paid in full," and there is no further obligation to be met.

I was particularly interested in his statement regarding the conscription of our boys to return to Europe on police duty, "They positively will not go, nor will their mothers and fathers consent to have them go."

It is the mothers and the wives who will have something to say on this score, and I know that for myself I would stand in front of my son with a shotgun if need be, rather than have him go to police Europe. The wives and mothers will make themselves heard, and very loudly through the franchise wherever it has been granted to them. It is lucky for us, the real Americans—not in Mr. Wilson's class of Americans—that we have such statesmen in the Senate as Messrs. Lodge, Borah, Brandegee and others like them. I feel that Mr. Wilson is in office through misrepresentation to the people, these same people to whom he seems now so anxious to "report" over the heads of our Government, but it will avail him naught.

New York City.

E. D'H. CARLETON.

POGROMS IN POLAND.

SIR,—My attention has been called to a recent number of your publication in which you quote me as saying that I had heard of no pogroms whatever in Poland. I never made such a declaration. On the contrary, as a result of the most careful investigation and basing every statement that I made on official documents, I had not only showed that pogroms had occurred but also that Mr. Paderewski, General Pilsudski, General Haller and the Polish Diet admitted that the Jews of Poland had been persecuted and urged that such persecution should cease. At the time of my return from Europe I did say that I had heard of no pogroms subsequent to June 28, 1919, when the treaty with Poland was signed. A garbled version of that statement may have led you to misquote me. Since that time the occurrence at Minsk, witnessed by General Jadwin, shows that persecution still continues.

New York City.

LOUIS MARSHALL.

(We gladly print Mr. Marshall's correction of what, as he suggests, was a current misrepresentation of his statement—Editor.)

HYPHENATED AMERICANS

SIR,—Writing in your issue of August 30, Elliott Durand, of Chicago, alleges that he is the originator or author of the phrase "Hyphenated Americans," at the same time claiming that some one (not named) is trying to steal his thunder. He also asserts that the origin of the words has been attributed to the late Theodore Roosevelt, though as a matter of fact that it was he (Durand) who handed them to Roosevelt.

Long before Roosevelt or Durand was heard of in public affairs, the phrase "Hyphenated Americans" had been in vogue and was first used by John Boyle O'Reilly, who for many years was editor of the Boston Pilot. The occasion was the Centennial Year—1876—when a remnant of the old Tory order was attempting to decry or belittle the nation-wide celebration of that year. They were pro-British, and because of their attitude and actions, O'Reilly caustically referred to them as "Hyphenated Americans," which in recent years has taken on a wide meaning.

Muncie, Ind.

FRANCIS J. O'BRIEN.

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Profit and Loss on the Circuit

THE "swinging round the circle" is completed. Its programme was interrupted and abbreviated by a few days, by circumstances which must command universal sympathy and regret, but did not in the least degree affect the general purport and results of the President's excursion. Before his unfortunate indisposition, happily, we trust, to be of briefest duration, the real work of the enterprise had been done. He had said all that even with his extraordinary versatility and fluency could well be said, he had with sufficient amplitude sounded the temper of public sentiment, and the net results of the undertaking had been irrevocably determined. There really remained, as there now remains, nothing to do but to compute the balance of profit and loss.

The President set out with the proclaimed conviction that the people of the country were almost unanimously in favor of his League of Nations. They wanted it. They were clamoring for it. Their hearts would be broken if they could not have it. They had given him a mandate for it which he did not dare to ignore. Yet it was necessary for him to take many days of time, and make many speeches, and travel thousands of miles, and expend tens of thousands of dollars of other people's money, in order to persuade them of that act. Strange! People do not generally need to have their own passionate desires so laboriously brought to their attention.

Now he comes back, to cast up his account of profit and loss. He will scarcely find it well-balanced. Or perhaps we should say that the nation will not, which is more to the purpose; for in his unapproachable egotism he is quite capable of believing anything that he wishes to believe; even that his tour has been a triumphal march. After all, it is what the people think of it that counts.

He has gained the immense gratification of holding the centre of the stage for a time, in full glare of the lime-light. He has had a chance, improved to the full, of railing at his critics as he could not have done in an address to Congress or even in a letter to some constituent or an authorized statement from the White House. He has received a considerable measure of the adulation which is ever so dear to his heart. We have not heard that he was hailed as the "god of peace" as he was in Italy—before they found him out—or that he had occasion to "throw kisses with both hands" to the assembled multitude. But undoubtedly he had the time of his life, "slangwhanging" the United States Senate and insulting every American citizen who ventured to disagree with him, in circumstances where he was safe from direct reply. It is conceivable, since we have known him, that there are men to whom such things seem great profits.

He has lost the respect of the nation and of the world to a degree which must cause a feeling of humiliation to every thoughtful American citi-

zen. Poor "Andy" Johnson, uncultured and infirm of habits, once railed and ranted in somewhat similar fashion; but the nation shrugged its shoulders and forgot it. Nothing much better was to be expected of him. But Woodrow Wilson is assumed to be a man of academic and social culture, of reserve and self-control, of courtesy and dignified distinction. He was for many years the intellectual preceptor and spiritual exemplar of youth. He purports to be representative of American civilization and culture at its best estate. Yet he rushed about the country like a howling dervish, shrieking "Put up or shut up, you contemptible quitters, before you are hanged on a gibbet!"

He lost more than the respect which was forfeited by his bad manners. He lost the confidence of multitudes who had supposed him to be at least sincere and truthful. For he uttered again and again that which he knew was untrue. He tried to deceive the people about the date of the Shantung secret treaties, pretending that they were made before Japan entered the war when he knew that they were made two years afterward. He tried to deceive them about the six British votes to our one in the League, telling them that the six British representatives were in the Assembly "and the Assembly does not vote," when he knew that the Assembly does vote on one of the most important of all matters, namely, the election of four members of the all-important Council, and that by his own admission it was possible under his Covenant for there to be five British votes to America's one in the Council of nine.

These things may not seem to him to be a loss. We do not attempt to read his mind. To the American nation it is a real and heavy loss to find the President a man who can not be respected for his manners nor be trusted for his veracity.

There are other losses, however, which he will surely feel. He has been losing influence at Washington every day. He has been losing votes in the Senate. More than once on his hippodroming excursion he was overtaken by those "voices in the air" of which he is so fond of prating, voices from some faithful but dismayed retainer at the Capital, telling him of new defections from the dwindling band of his supporters. At first the question was whether he could command a two-thirds vote to assure ratification of the Treaty without change. That hope was long ago abandoned. When he left Washington on his Tour of Torment, the question was whether he could count on a bare majority, with the chances even then that he could not. He returns to calculate whether he can escape hav-

ing a two-thirds majority against him, to ratify the treaty with whatever reservations or amendments the interests and integrity of the country require.

Nor have the losses been those of mere votes. He, of course, automatically sets down every Senator who deserts him as a "contemptible quitter" and a "pygmy mind." Such are his courteous controversial manners. But the nation knows better. It knows that such men as Senator Shields and Senator Thomas are among the very ablest members of the National Legislature. To regard them with affected contempt or indifference is mere self-stultification. The loss of their support is far more than the loss of two votes, though that in itself may well be disastrous. It is the loss of intellectual and moral influence, the loss of that which is best not only in the Democratic party but in the nation. They stand preeminent upon their side of the Senate. Their voting power may be no greater than that of any two of their colleagues. The moral influence of their example is greater than would be that of a dozen mere rubber stamps and sycophants, such as the President has too often sought to have elected to the Senate.

He has not merely lost some of the best men among his own party followers. He has lost the quasi-support of those Republicans who were recently called "mild reservationists" and who were supposed to be willing to save his face by adopting reservations which would be mere expressions of Senatorial opinion. These men have been alienated by the boorish violence of his diatribes, and have lost faith in him because of his obvious insincerity and intent to deceive. So, led by Senator Lenroot, one of the most conciliatory of men but staunchly patriotic, they have come squarely out for effective reservations as a *sine qua non* to ratification. Speaking of Article X, and of the President's declaration that he would accept from the Senate no reservation impairing its present purport, this once "mild reservationist" now says: "Unless a reservation substantially the same as this one which the President has condemned is adopted, this peace treaty is not going to be ratified by this Senate." Does the President realize what loss that means to him?

He has been swaggering and swashbuckling about with his defiant half boast, half threat. "This treaty, or no treaty." Now this calm and self-possessed "mild reservationist" counters upon him with "Very well, Mr. President: This reservation or no treaty!"

We need not dwell upon the loss sustained by the nation in the neglect of business caused by the President's absence. For the greater part

of a year it has been accustomed to that. It will survive it. The grave economic and social disorders which have found their opportunity in his desertion of his post of duty are indeed ominous, but we have faith in this nation to believe that it will overcome them. The loss sustained by the President himself is irreparable. He went away from Washington with the edifice of his ambition quaking and trembling about him. He returns to find it in utter ruins.

He has had his say. He has shot his bolt. He has done his worst. He is no more to be considered. Now let the Senate act.

Facts and Fiction

SENATOR REED, in his closely reasoned analysis of Mr. Wilson's League Assembly "debating society," revealed that body, which the President has described as so innocuous in its powers, as being precisely what the League covenant intended it should be—a tribunal of appeal, a court of last resort having jurisdiction over the nominally superior Council's decisions. He disclosed also an agreement, over the signatures of Mr. Wilson, Lloyd-George and Clemenceau, fully establishing that all of the self-governing Dominions of the British Empire may have seats in the Council as well as in the Assembly, with a voting superiority of six to one over the United States. "If there were any doubt," says the document which Mr. Wilson, together with Mr. Lloyd George and Mr. Clemenceau, signed, "it would be entirely removed by the fact that the articles are not subject to a narrow and technical construction."

No doubt about it. The path domination of the League is neither narrow nor obstructed by technical obstacles. Great Britain's voting power of six to our one in decisions of the Wilson League of Nations is as clearly defined as words can make it.

Why Canada should have desired a more specific reiteration of what already was plain as a pikestaff is not apparent. Possibly the denials of the plain fact by the President and his chorus, Senatorial and journalistic, may have inspired the Canadian inquiry. At all events, the inquiry was made and it was answered by Mr. Wilson and his colleagues in this clean-cut, straightforward document:

The question having been raised as to the meaning of Article IV. of the League of Nations covenant, we have been requested by Sir Robert Borden to state whether we concur in his view, that upon the true construction of the first and second paragraphs of the article representatives of the self-governing dominions of the British Empire may be selected or named as members of the Council, we have no hesitation in expressing our entire concurrence in this view. If there were any doubt it would be entirely removed by the fact that the articles are not subject to a narrow or technical construction.

(Signed) G. CLEMENCEAU,
WOODROW WILSON,
D. LLOYD-GEORGE.

This is sufficiently clear. It leaves not the slightest basis in fact for Mr. Wilson's amazing statement in all his pilgrimage speeches that the British self-governing Dominions

are not in reality full members of the League—that their extra five votes may be cast only in the League Assembly, which was nothing but a "debating society" anyway. And yet, among the documents for its enlightenment which the Senate asked for and which Mr. Wilson refused to give, was this plain, unequivocal statement over his own signature, that the membership of Dominion representatives was *not* confined to the Assembly, but *was* extended to the Council.

In the case of a person other than a President of the United States, there would be no loss for a term with which to characterize utterances so glaringly self-conflicting. Even that deplorable vocabulary of abusive and insulting epithets which Mr. Wilson has seen fit to apply to honored and respected American Senators and statesmen who have ventured to hold and express views at variance with his own would hardly be excessive for a subject so calculated to move straightforward looking men to contempt and just indignation.

Not, of course, that Senator Reed's scathing exposure will have the slightest effect in modifying the President's insistence on a plea so grotesquely at variance with the fact. He will go right on affirming and reaffirming what his own signature thus utterly disproves. He will go right on in his own astoundingly self-willed, egotistical way asserting what his own words have denied, just as he will go right on asserting, as he has been doing in nearly all his western speeches, that any amendment of the League covenant will necessitate sending back the entire League of Nations document to Germany for revision and approval. And this notwithstanding the fact that Germany is not a member of the League, may never be a member, and has no manner of voice either one way or the other as to the terms of the League. All of which Mr. Wilson fully and freely admitted when pressed by Senator Fall, making the explanation that it was a fact that he had "overlooked." And yet, no sooner had he started on his transcontinental stump speech tour, than he began reasserting over and over again what in so many words he had admitted to Mr. Fall and to the other Senators at the White House conference was not a fact.

Not even excepting the remarkably brilliant and logical speech of Senator Lodge, the address of Mr. Reed in the Senate last week is clearly destined to remain one of the great outstanding events in this epoch-making struggle to maintain American independence of foreign entanglements, foreign supervision and foreign super-Government. Its revelations either of puerile incapacity or of sheer indifference to the country's welfare, when measured in the balance with bargain-counter opportunities for self-aggrandizement, may perhaps be humiliating to future readers of American history. They may cause such readers to marvel at those standards of present-day sincerity, or even veracity, which seem to hold among the seats of the exalted. But, even so, the greater the honor will they attribute to that Senator from a great western State who had the courage to face the wrath of his own political party and of his own political party's singularly arrogant President, and to expose a deliberate campaign of misrepresentation and snivelling cant, the success of which would be the greatest disaster which has ever befallen the country in all the century and more of its existence.

Values and Volume

TRADE reports for the first eight months of the calendar year are being much commented upon. It is observed that our exports in that period were more than a billion and a quarter dollars greater than in the corresponding period a year before; and that the decline in exports in July was a temporary matter, caused chiefly by foreign dock strikes, our exports in August increasing again to a total never but twice surpassed. It also appears that our increase of exports has been commendably distributed among pretty much all parts of the world.

All that is gratifying, on the face of it; but it is by no means conclusive, for the reason that, as we have hitherto repeatedly pointed out, account is taken of only the value and not of the volume of commerce, though of course in the last analysis the latter is by far the more important consideration. The figures quoted indicate an enormous increase in commerce. But it is solely in the money value of that commerce at current prices, so that it may in fact denote nothing more than a raising of prices while there may have been an actual decrease in the quantity of goods exported. That this has indeed been the case is apparent from analysis of such statistics as are available of the volume as well as the value of our exports.

Let us compare both the values and the quantities of some of the leading exports, in the fiscal years 1917 and 1919. In wheat there was in 1919 over 1917 an increase in value of 42 per cent, but in quantity of only 20 per cent; and in wheat flour there was an increase in value of 188 per cent but in quantity of only 102 per cent. In hogs there was an increase in value of 49 per cent, while in quantity there was an actual decrease of 19 per cent. In bread and biscuit, also, the value increased by 36 per cent while the quantity decreased by 26 per cent.

Turning from food to other commodities we find a similar contrast between values and volume. Of unmanufactured cotton the value increased 59 per cent and the quantity decreased 12 per cent; of cotton cloth unbleached the value increased 44 and the quantity decreased 37 per cent; of bleached cloth the value increased 122 and the quantity decreased 2 per cent; and of colored prints the value increased 83 and the quantity decreased 12 per cent. Of binder twine the value increased 17 and the quantity decreased 39 per cent.

In metals the rule was similar, though much less marked. The value of steel plates increased 100 per cent while the quantity also increased, but only 77 per cent. Of tin and terne plates the value increased 60 and the quantity only one per cent. Of cast iron pipes the value increased only one per cent, but the quantity decreased 47 per cent, and of wire nails the value increased 12 and the quantity decreased 24 per cent.

A few miscellaneous items to the same effect may be cited. The value of bituminous coal increased 33 and the quantity decreased 7 per cent. Hydraulic cement showed increase and decrease respectively of 41 and 17 per cent; window glass of 71 and 3 per cent; and boots and shoes of 51 and 7 per cent. On the other hand, there are a few items in which

quantity increased more than value. Perhaps the most notable of these was that of cattle, which increased in value 120 and in quantity 223 per cent. But these were exceptions. The rule was that values increased while quantities increased much less or else actually decreased.

This contrast between values and volume demands most serious consideration, because in the long run it is much more important to sell a great deal of stuff than to sell at very high prices. The quantity denotes the permanent demand, while the value indicates merely the temporary prices, which may at any time decline, and which will surely have to decline from any extortionate level. There is not a successful merchant in the land who does not prefer large sales at moderate profits to small sales at extortionate prices, because he knows that the former is by far the more stable, trustworthy and enduring basis of business; and the rule which applies to the individual tradesman applies with equal pertinence to the whole nation.

Because of the President's stubborn insistence upon a course in direct violation of some of his own Fourteen Commandments, and contrary to the judgment and wishes of the Allies, Italy has been involved in something unpleasantly resembling both foreign and domestic war, and American troops have been landed on the shore of the Adriatic to coerce forcibly those who a little while ago were our Allies and brothers in arms. And this at the very time when the President was volubly protesting that his policy aimed at keeping us out of European squabbles in which we were not concerned.

Emma Goldman, the Anarchist, seeks release on bail of \$15,000 in United States government bonds. That is she offers securities the value of which it is the aim and object of her life to destroy.

Facing America, Germany pleads poverty, depression of industries and general inability to meet reasonable obligations. Seeking a loan from Argentina she boasts of her strong industrial efficiency and of her resources and plants left quite untouched and uninjured by the war; even of the great reserve funds which she has accumulated, and of her instant readiness to resume exports on a large scale. To which is she lying? Both?

Only hyphenates and pro-Germans, says the President, are opposed to the Covenant of the League. Has Henry Ford, then, gone back on the man who was so eager to make him Senator?

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Pecksniff

AGE cannot wither nor custom stale the infinite variety of an egotistical propagandist who seeks to gain his selfish ends without regard for truth, for honor or for the welfare of the nation. To every new audience he may offer a new pretence; in every new emergency commit a new tergiversation. With unblushing effrontery he may today eat his own words, and tomorrow adopt as his own vindication the unanswerable indictment which his opponents have framed against him.

At the beginning of the war the President, if not actually pro-German as he was commonly regarded, was conspicuously not anti-German. When Germany tore up the Belgian neutrality treaty as a mere scrap of paper, when German incendiaries burned Louvain, when German murderers massacred women and children, when German lechers ravished and deported into enforced prostitution the girls of Belgium, the President's only counsel was that we should not sympathize with Belgium nor feel wrath against Germany, but should be neutral and impartial "in thought as well as in actions." When Germany murdered American citizens, women and babes, on the Lusitania, the President hastened to dwell upon the beauty of being "too proud to fight." All through the early stages of the war, at least until he made his re-election sure on the plea of having "kept us out of war," the President had on his side all the pro-German sympathizers and propagandists in the land. In the very midst of the war, in December, 1916, he declared that the statesmen of Germany and those of France and Great Britain had virtually the same objects in mind. Later, only a few weeks before we entered the war, and when he was contemplating that entry, he told Congress, the same Congress which he was about to ask to declare war against Germany, that when peace was attained "it must be a peace without victory." The moment his League of Nations was proposed, and its Constitution or Covenant was published, there was an all but universal chorus of approval in Germany, with a demand for its prompt adoption and the admission of Germany as a member. And today his Covenant of Denationalization is being touted and supported by most of the former Pacifists and pro-Germans.

Yet he now brazenly declares that "The only popular forces back of the effort to reject this treaty proceed from the same pro-German forces we encountered in the war!"

At the beginning of the peace negotiations the President endeavored to commit this nation to a Constitution of a League of Nations in which the Monroe Doctrine was not so much as mentioned, while it was by direct implication completely nullified. Later, under pressure, he had inserted in that document a gross and mischievous mis-description of that Doctrine which, if accepted, would quite destroy its validity.

Yet now he has the temerity to say that "Nobody doubts that the Covenant gives explicit, unqualified recognition to the Monroe Doctrine."

The President went swinging round the circle telling his hearers that Great Britain and France made the secret

treaties with Japan in order to induce her to enter the war and to drive Germany out of China. He was promptly reminded that those treaties were not made until more than two years after Japan had entered the war and had driven Germany from China, and was asked to verify or to retract his statement as publicly as he had made it. In response he privately admitted his misrepresentation, but did not have the manhood to utter in public so much as a single peep about it.

Yet he charges the critics of his Covenant with cowardice!

And at the climax of the most sordidly selfish and egotistical career in the history of the Presidency of the United States, he unctuously prates: "I don't want to be always thinking about my skin or my pocketbook or my friendships!"

"How long, oh Lord, how long?"

Some Things Not Arbitrable

ARBITRATION is a good thing. It is a distinctively American principle and has been practiced by the United States more than by any other country. We cordially believe in it, for the settlement of disputes between individuals, between nations, between business organizations—which latter includes employers and employes.

But not all things are arbitrable. In that we disagree with an eminent American statesman of super-amiable disposition, who has a hobby for committing nations to the unreserved arbitration of all issues which may arise.

We believe in arbitration by individuals. A man may properly submit to arbitration a dispute over a line fence, or over the non-fulfilment of an agreement. But he cannot submit to arbitration a question involving his wife's virtue.

We believe in arbitration by nations. A nation may well submit to arbitration a claim for material damages or the interpretation of a treaty. But it cannot submit to arbitration a question involving its own independent sovereignty and existence.

So, to come to the present issue, we believe in arbitration between employers and employees. A corporation may properly submit to arbitration a demand for higher wages or for shorter hours or for improved conditions of labor. It could not arbitrate a demand from persons in no way connected with it that it should require all its employes to join, even against their will, an organization prescribed by those outsiders, and should constitute itself a coercing and collecting agency to compel their continued submission to that body.

We may add that we think that in some conceivable case it might be permissible for the Senate of the United States to interest itself in the demands of strikers and labor agitators. We cannot conceive its being interested, save in one certain way, in the demands of those whose leader puts forward as his cardinal principles and as the ultimate aim and object of the strike, the confiscation of all capital and the abolition of all government by means of a forcible revolution in which might is to be right and all considerations of morality are to be disregarded.

Such things cannot be arbitrated.

No Pussyfooting!

THE cry now is for anything to save the President's face. He is quite willing to have reservations made, so long as they don't mean anything in particular. But the Treaty and especially the Covenant must be accepted letter perfect. The Senate may adopt all the resolutions it pleases, telling its understanding and interpretation of the thing. But first it must ratify the thing just as it stands. To do otherwise would be to humiliate the President, and that is a calamity which must be avoided at all hazards. Save his face by approving his work without the dotting of an i or the crossing of a t. Then you may do any old thing you please. But do that first. That is the one thing needful.

That will not do. Its futility is quite too obvious. It is very much as though a man were asked to make out and sign a contract for some specific undertaking, and after it was signed, sealed and recorded was to have the privilege of saying that he didn't really mean to do it. That subsequent expression of intention would not release him from the obligations of the contract. Those who are desperately urging such belated reservations know, the President knows, that such action by the Senate would be utterly idle. It would be worse. It would make us the laughing-stock of the world.

The only reservations that are worth adopting are those which would mean something, which would be effective for the purpose for which they were intended, and the only reservations which could possibly answer to that description would be those which were made before ratification, or as an integral and inseparable part of the act of ratification. That should be convincingly obvious to every intelligence; but perhaps it may be made a little clearer by citation of examples.

On July 29, 1899, five plenipotentiaries of the United States signed at The Hague a Convention for the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes, and not afterward but in the very act of signing they made this reservation, which was unhesitatingly accepted by all the other signatories:

Nothing contained in this Convention shall be so construed as to require the United States of America to depart from its traditional policy of not intruding upon, interfering with, or entangling itself in the political questions of policy or internal administration of any foreign state; nor shall anything in the said Convention be construed to imply a relinquishment by the United States of America of its traditional attitude toward purely American questions.

On April 7, 1906, two plenipotentiaries of the United States signed at Algeciras a general international convention for the better regulation of Moroccan affairs. They did so under certain specific reservations to which they had already secured the assent of the Conference. Then, on December 12 following, as an integral and inseparable part of its act advising and consenting to the ratification of that treaty, the Senate of the United States made an additional reservation declaring that it was not its purpose "to depart from the traditional American foreign policy, which forbids participation by the United States in the settlement of political questions which are entirely European in their scope."

Again, on October 18, 1907, six American plenipotentiaries signed at The Hague another Convention for the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes, declaring in the very act of doing so that they signed "under reserve of the declaration

made in the plenary sitting of the Conference of October 16"—two days before. That declaration was identical with that made at the former Hague Conference, which we have already quoted. And when on April 2, 1908, the United States Senate advised and consented to the ratification of that Convention, as an integral part of that act it quoted and reaffirmed that declaration of the plenipotentiaries.

It must be a matter of profound regret—and it should have been cause for surprise—that the American plenipotentiaries at the Paris Conference last spring did not follow the wise, prudent and patriotic example which their predecessors had set at The Hague and at Algeciras, and in and as a part of the very act of signing the Treaty make the reservations which the integrity of American interests and the consistency of American principles required. But because they were guilty of that astounding and most culpable neglect is no reason why the Senate of the United States should follow them in their gross dereliction of duty. Rather is it all the more reason why that duty should now be so explicitly and inexorably performed as to atone, if possible, for their neglect.

We want no reservations that will be mere "voices in the air" or "visions on the horizon," or that will savor of that *ex post facto* legislation which the Constitution bans. They must be reservations which mean something definite, and which are internationally valid for their full face value. And if anyone complains that it will be awkward and embarrassing to have them adopted at this time, it should not be the man who above all others was responsible for the neglect to make them at the time when they should have been first made, at the Quai d'Orsay and in the Hall of Mirrors.

In the friendly rivalry between the *New York Times* and the *Evening Post* as faithful apologists, advocates and apostles of the President through thick and thin, the former seems to be at least a huckleberry and a half ahead. Discussing the Bulgarian treaty, and the granting of an Aegean port to that country, the *Times* observes that "what she has done to deserve it no man can say;" yet "President Wilson was doubtless right when he insisted on this provision." As Pope didn't write:

"And spite of Lodge, in erring Borah's spite,
One truth is clear, What Wilson is is right."

The fearsomeness of the times is set forth by Messrs. Glenn Plumb, Dudley Field Malone, David Starr Jordan, Amos Pinchot and others in their "Call to Action," which summons liberal and independent voters to a four-days' nation-saving convention at St. Louis in December. They assure us, honor bright, 'cross my heart, that—

The dominating groups of the two principal political organizations do not desire, and do not even understand, that free citizens should determine their own political and economic life. . . . They have turned over the actual government of the land to reactionary and predatory interests. . . . They have connived at the wrecking and looting of the transportation systems of the country and now jointly determine to return the railroads, rebuilt at the public charges, to those very interests who so demoralized them that their condition menaced the safety of the republic in a time of national peril. . . . They have challenged our right to free speech and free assembly, and ignored our right to a decent living for a day's work. . . .

As was said on a former momentous occasion, This may be important if true.

Two Advertising Circuses

THE New York *Herald* hits the nail squarely on the head when, in language that is as picturesque as it is illuminating, it says:

The management of the League to Enforce Peace explains that it wants the money for publicity purposes! What more do these amiable gentlemen want in the way of publicity for the cause than it is receiving? Here is the President touring the country at the expense of the people of the United States and receiving "free gratis and for nothing" an amount of publicity that no money could buy.

Out of respect for the high office he holds, his every utterance is printed in every newspaper of any size in the land, while Senators and other critics of vital provisions of the league contract obtain here and there only a modest stickful of space.

Well but very conservatively put. Why not say at once what is the fact, that never before in the history of the country was there known such an elaborately organized propaganda campaign as that which the President of the United States has been conducting up and down and across the country and back from one ocean to the other and uninterruptedly for a full month's time. The fleets of the United States Navy and the soldiers of the United States Army have been conscripted and compelled to become decorative accessories to the grand advertising pageant. It is estimated, and probably conservatively estimated, that the cost to the taxpayers of the country of this stately progress across the continent and back will be not less than \$100,000. Merely chicken feed, to be sure, in these days of splendid squandering of the free-as-water money which the taxpayers have to dig up somehow in spite of the sky-high cost of everything to eat and wear. But still, just for one advertising splurge, rather a tidy, sizable sum.

And yet here comes another Great Advertising Aggregation, with the best-natured and fattest ex-President of the United States ever known at its head, passing the hat for more contributions to a Wilson League of Nations Exploitation Fund! We are coming, Father Woodrow, a hundred thousand dollars more, is the Taft-Wickersham slogan. That is the demnition total demanded—another \$100,000 pinch of free chicken-feed. And how many hundreds of thousands more the Taft-Wickersham propaganda sideshow has plastered over the country in Wilson League advertising, deponent sayeth not.

What kind of a cause is it anyway which needs such tremendous press-agent boosting? Marse Henry tells us. His language does not pussyfoot, but it gets there. In a communication to the *Herald*, he says:

The scoundrelism—for no other word fits the case—pursued by the Administration and its janissaries to blackjack the President's pro-British treaty through the Senate of the United States carries with its autocratic shamelessness its own condemnation, and, except that the organization once known and honored as the Democratic Party has become the merest Wilson appanage, would carry its own defeat.

The move to raise from one hundred rich Americans subscribing a thousand dollars apiece a corruption fund of \$100,000 to press and expedite this nefarious scheme sufficiently illustrates its character and exposes the character of its backers.

And with this spirited communication, Marse Henry encloses and the *Herald* prints the vigorous answer of William Heyburn, of Louisville, Ky., to the Taft-Wickersham begging letter, Mr. Heyburn being one of the "one hundred rich Americans" appealed to. Among a great many other things Mr. Heyburn says:

I believe a large majority of level-headed, patriotic Americans

are justly indignant that such a treaty should be presented to the Senate for consent, showing, as I believe it does clearly, that our representative at the conference was outraded, outgeneraled and bamboozled by experts to an extent that brings humiliation to us all.

More candidates for the gibbet; more "Contemptible Quitters;" more "Cowards;" more "Pygmies;" more "Bolsheviks;" more "Little Americans;" more "Pro-Germans." And both of them stalwart Democrats at that! And the heart of the world liable to break at almost any moment!

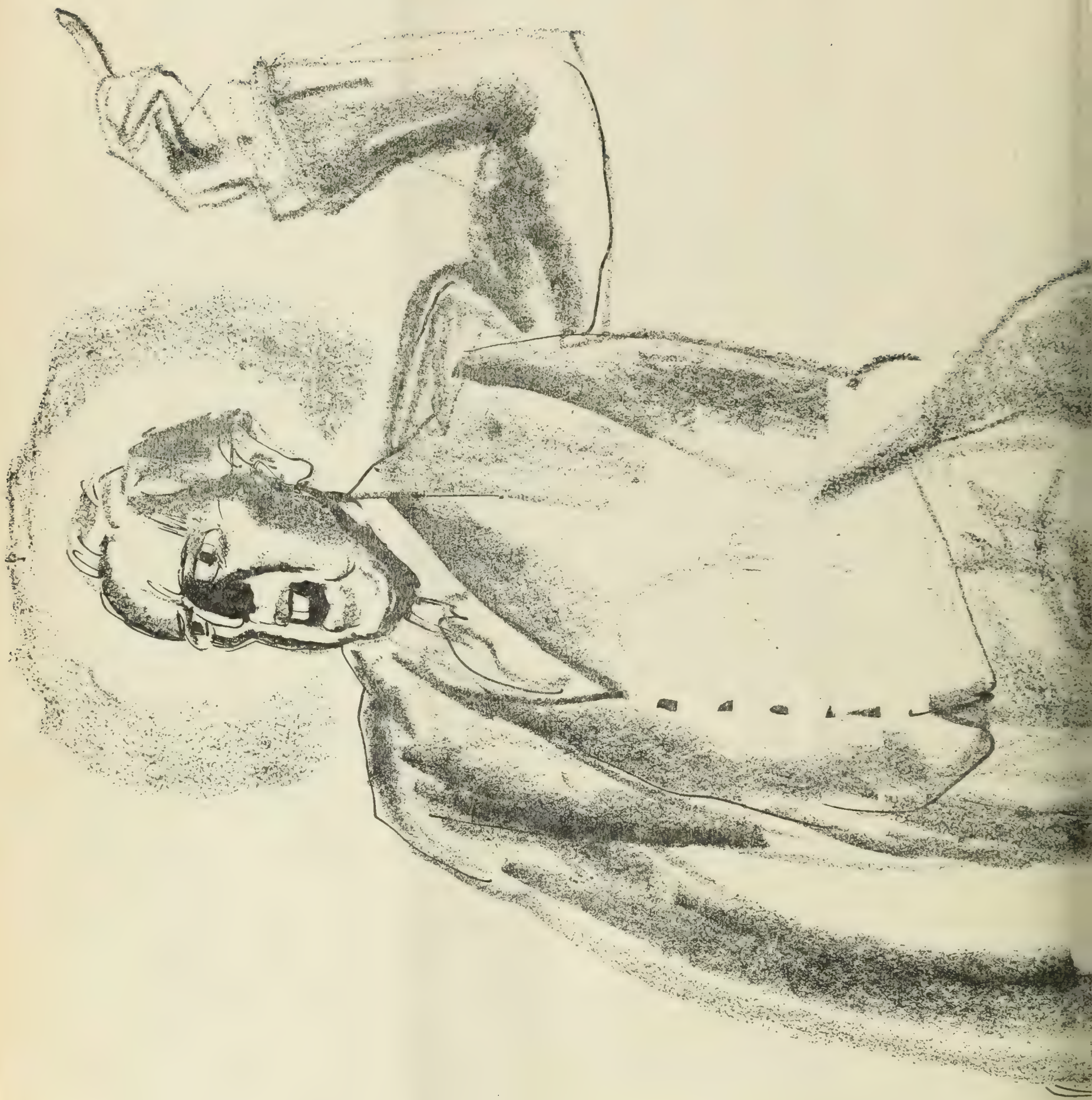
Another Scapegoat

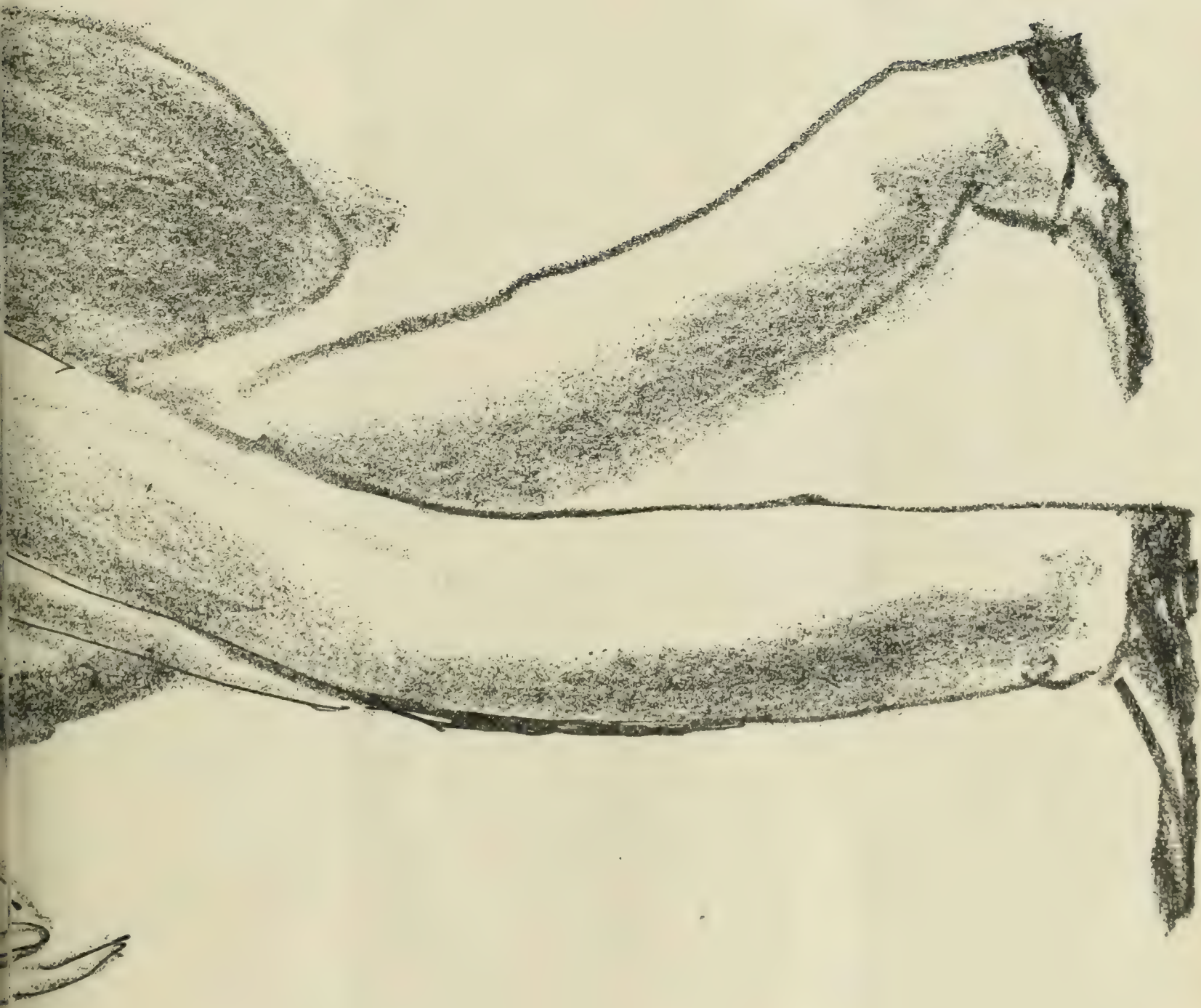
COUNT BERCHTOLD is the latest scapegoat. Austro-Hungarian archives now disclosed indicate his direct responsibility for the war. Early in July, 1914, he was very much afraid that through the benevolent influence of Great Britain, France and Russia there would be a peaceful settlement of the Austrian quarrel with Serbia. He told the Austrian Emperor of his fear, and urged that to forestall such a calamity as a peaceful settlement war be declared at once. Francis Joseph was reluctant to do this, whereupon Berchtold got the Privy Council to adopt an ultimatum to Serbia, making demands purposely so extreme that it would be impossible for her to accede to them; and finally, to force the old Emperor's hand, Berchtold invented the deliberate lie that Serbian troops had already attacked the Austrian army. The Austro-Hungarian declaration of war thereupon followed.

All that is quite plausible. Berchtold was doubtless quite capable of acting in that manner. But we have not yet got back to "original sources." It is not for a moment conceivable that this Berchtold person was the real author of the damnable scheme and was thus planning to involve all Europe in war entirely "off his own bat." The voice was the voice of Berchtold. But whose was the mind that inspired the words, and whose was the hand that was already itching for the act?

The answer is obvious and convincing. Note, as a single detail, the somewhat more than suspicious similarity between Berchtold's lie about Serbian hostilities and the German government's lie about French invasions of Germany, which served as the pretext for the German declaration of war against France. Note the German Emperor's studied absence from accessibility at a certain critical conjuncture of affairs. Note the secret consultations which were in progress between Berlin and Vienna both before and after the Archduke's fatal visit to Sarajevo. Note the admitted German supervision and editing of the Austro-Hungarian ultimatum to Serbia.

There is scarcely a feature or a detail of the whole chronicle of tortuous turpitude which does not hark back directly to Berlin, and to the oestrus-goaded criminal who occupied the Hohenzollern throne. Austria was then, as she had long been, merely Prussia's appanage and puppet, and Berchtold at Vienna, as Dumba at Washington, was in the last analysis an agent of the German Kaiser. No doubt Berchtold was criminal enough to deserve damnation, on his own account. But he must not be made the scapegoat for his real master's sins.





THE PRESIDENT

The Week

WASHINGTON, September 30, 1919.

ONE of the President's wishes will be gratified. He wants the Senate to take a definite and unmistakable stand concerning the treaty, in one way or another. It will. There can be no doubt of that. He himself is much affected with what has felicitously been called "sub-junctivitis." The Senate is more given to the indicative mode. It does not begin its resolutions with "May we not?" There will be no mistaking nor misinterpreting its action on the treaty. But it will not take the action which the President seeks to dictate. He arrogantly bids it "Take it or leave it. Ratify the treaty as it stands, letter perfect, or reject it outright." The Senate will be confined to no such unwarranted choice. It has an ancient precedent for doing otherwise. One hundred and twenty-five years ago the first treaty was made by the United States under the Constitution. The Senate did not "take it or leave it." On the contrary, it exercised its constitutional right of amending it. It amended it by striking out one whole section. George Washington was President. He did not refuse to receive back from the Senate the treaty thus amended. He accepted it, acquiesced in the amendment, secured the acquiescence of the other signatory power, and promulgated it. The Senate of today will follow that precedent of its predecessor. The President will do well similarly to follow the example of his predecessor.

Meantime the President continues to run true to his egotistic form. "When the Senate has acted," he declaims, "it will be for ME to determine whether its action constitutes an adoption or a rejection. . . . I must know whether it means that we have ratified or rejected it." Literally and technically, of course, that is quite correct. The President will have power to scrap the treaty if in the slightest jot or tittle it does not accord with his personal wishes. Indeed, he might do so in any case, even though it were ratified without change. But the responsibility thus assumed would be such as from which even he might prudently shrink.

M. Clemenceau's utterances last week called attention very directly and very forcibly to two circumstances which are not new but which it is not well to ignore or to neglect. One is, that France, the "outpost of civilization against the Hun," is looking for future aid in case of need not so much to the League of Nations as to the special treaties which she has negotiated with Great Britain and the United States; in which she is wise. The other, of urgent pertinence, is that the special treaty between France and the United States, which every true American heartily approves, has not yet been ratified. It ought to be ratified at once. It ought to have been ratified long ago. But its ratification depends upon one of two things. One is the previous ratification of the Peace Treaty with the League Covenant included. The other is, the amendment of the French treaty before ratification, by the striking out of its stupid and unconstitutional reference to the League of Nations. The latter course is the one which should be taken, without a moment's delay. It is

shameful that we should hesitate to give gallant France this pledge of our aid in case of need. It would be intolerable for the United States to make a treaty—under the Constitution, "the supreme law of the land"—which should be dependent for its validity and continuance upon some alien authority. The insertion of that fool provision in it was a part of the President's Smart Aleck attempt to interweave his League of Nations with everything from the Ten Commandments to the baseball score. The Senate should strike it out and then ratify the treaty. We should see then whether he would dare to consider that a rejection and thereupon scrap the treaty.

The great steel strike has two leaders. One is a man who never worked in the steel industry outside of a horseshoer's shop and does not know its conditions of labor or scale of prices, save by hearsay, but who prates glibly about the men being downtrodden and oppressed to a degree that never existed even in Darkest Russia. The other is a professed revolutionist, who demands the confiscation of property and the abolition of government; who declares that he "sees no need for any general supervising governmental body" and that he "allows no consideration of legality, religion, patriotism, honor, duty, etc., to stand in the way of his adoption of effective tactics." Such is the leadership which is endeavoring to impose itself upon free, loyal and intelligent American labor and citizenship.

One of the really ominous features of the controversy over prohibition and the means of enforcing it is the inclination of many men to turn our whole system of law and justice topsy-turvy for the facilitation of this fad. It was announced the other day that the sole point remaining at issue in Congress over the enforcement bill was the question whether in prosecutions for violation of the law the burden of proof should rest upon the prosecution or the defence, with an apparent preponderance of opinion in favor of the latter. Now it has long been a fundamental principle of American and indeed of all Anglo-Saxon jurisprudence that the burden of proof should rest with the prosecution, and that the defendant should be considered innocent until he was proved guilty. It would be a serious and a most detrimental thing to reverse that rule and to compel every man who may be charged with a crime to prove his innocence or else stand convicted and be condemned without any proof of his guilt. Everybody, we fancy, would protest against that in all other cases; and it would only aggravate the evil to make an exception of it in this class of cases. The man whom some prying or malicious neighbor accuses of drinking elderberry wine or buttermilk is surely no more a legal pariah and no less entitled to the benefit of the doubt than he who is indicted for murder.

The ex-Governor of Colorado introduced the President as "the Twentieth Century Paul." That is something of a come-down from three years ago, when the President's adulators were likening him to Jesus of Nazareth.

The Mayor of Milwaukee, refusing to invite the King and Queen of the Belgians to visit that city, and declaring "I should go to my grave in everlasting shame if I were to boost one iota the stock of any King," sounds for all the world like the President berating United States Senators. Thus do evil communications corrupt good manners.

The French government reports that as a result of the decree fixing normal prices the upward movement of the cost of living has been generally checked, and that the cost of foodstuffs of prime necessity has been diminished throughout the country. It may be open to question whether like action could have produced like results in the United States. There is no question that the American people would be better satisfied if their Chief Executive had remained "on the job" and had given constant attention to the domestic needs of the nation, as the French Prime Minister has done, instead of dwelling in foreign parts and hippodroming his own country in a desperate attempt to implicate us in everybody's business but our own.

That is a strange rumor which arises here, that because so few nations have ratified the Peace Treaty the international labor conference for which the treaty provides may be postponed. The President was saying only the other day that, ratification or no ratification, the conference would be held all the same. Can it be that he himself is becoming a contemptible quitter?

"They have six votes in the Assembly, and the Assembly doesn't vote, so that bubble is exploded. There are several matters in which the vote of the Assembly must co-operate with the vote of the Council."—*The President*.

How can a vote of the Assembly co-operate with the vote of the Council when the Assembly doesn't vote? Can non-existence co-operate with anything?

"I did not carry any purpose of my own to Paris. I did not carry any purpose that I did not know was the purpose of the United States. It was a purpose subscribed to by American public opinion."—*The President*.

It would be highly interesting to know how he knew that it was the purpose of the United States, and how and when it was subscribed to by American public opinion. Surely it couldn't have been in the November election of last year, when his plea for a rubber stamp Congress was ruthlessly rejected and denied by the American people and a hostile majority was returned to each House. Was he merely hearing "voices in the air" or seeing "visions on the horizon?"

Representative Rodenberg, of Illinois, has done the President a fine and much-needed service in calling for official data concerning the presents which the President has been reported to have received from various European sovereigns, governments or states. It is of course quite impossible that he should have accepted any such things, seeing that the Constitution explicitly forbids it without the special permission of Congress, and there is no record of Congress having granted any such permission. Perhaps permission was meant to be implied in Senator Jimham's famous blank check reso-

lution approving in advance anything that the President might do; but that resolution was not adopted. Presumably the truth is that "there ain't no sich animile," that no such presents were accepted or offered, but that the whole story was invented by some pygmy-minded Senator with malicious intent to break the heart of the world. It will be gratifying to have this indubitably demonstrated under Mr. Rodenberg's resolution; after which the miscreant who started the libel should be sent to the gibbet.

The frequency with which boys in their teens or thereabouts have been absconding with large amounts of Liberty bonds which had been entrusted to them suggests the possible desirability of employing as messengers and other custodians of large sums of money and securities persons of maturer years and a better developed sense of responsibility. To send a roller-skating schoolboy around town with hundreds of thousands of dollars of negotiable securities in his pocket is something worse than folly. It subjects the employer to excessive risk of loss, and it subjects an immature and thoughtless mind to unwarrantable temptation.

The President told his audience at Denver that "Out of the Legislative halls there is no organized opposition to this treaty except among the people who tried to defeat the purposes of this Government in the war." On the very day, at almost the very moment, when he uttered that scandalous misrepresentation, the Westchester (N. Y.) Convention of the American Legion, composed of veterans of the great war, adopted resolutions condemning the League of Nations as wicked idealism, threatening us with national calamity and disaster, and declaring that the Legion stood opposed to it except with the effective reservations which are proposed in the Senate. Apparently, then, the men who fought at Chateau Thierry, Belleau Wood, and the Argonne, and who broke the German line, were all the time trying to defeat the purpose of the Government in the war. That is a fine reflection for the Commander in Chief to make upon the returning heroes of the A. E. F.

With the incessant slaughter of pedestrians and others by reckless drivers of motor cars, which is now going on, it is gratifying to hear now and then such words as those of Judge Rosalsky, of New York, the other day. "The time has arrived," he said, "when those operating motor vehicles must be taught the lesson that life and limb should not be valued too cheaply, and it is only through the rigorous enforcement of the law that chauffeurs and others will learn to respect the rights of pedestrians." That is sound doctrine, which every judge in the land will do well to put into efficient practice.

The chief organizer of the steel strikers says that on the basis of arbitration by the President "the men who have the strike in charge would be willing to send the men back to the mills." Are the workmen, then, mere puppets, to be called out and sent back not at their own volition but at the will of some self-appointed masters outside of their own shops?

The Ideal State

EVOLUTION, political, as well as physical, is invariably accompanied by such painful disturbances and distracting tremors, that it remains for future generations to record its blessings while the vision of the objects of its immediate processes is so blinded that the inevitable scourge of progress alone is evidenced to them.

Can it be that we, even now, are blinded to the political blessings which are evolving about us and that historians will record this generation as that which most nearly approached the ideal state pronounced by Thomas Jefferson to be that wherein the government governed the least? Consider the attendant circumstances. The President has scarcely interfered in domestic affairs for almost ten months, thereby affording the people an excellent opportunity of practicing self-reliance, the basic essential of the Jeffersonian ideal. As a constant reminder of the desirability of getting along without an executive he has established his residence far from his official abode and has carefully concealed all but fleeting evidences of his interest in strictly American affairs.

But occasionally, when his attention has been diverted from those engrossing errands which have taken him from us, he has invariably showed a readiness to help us out by wise and disinterested counsel. The Boston police strike presented a happy opportunity for an exhibition of his kindly interest. The Police Union, it will be remembered, was organized by the American Federation of Labor, of which Mr. Samuel Gompers, the President's close friend and adviser, is the directing genius. It represents something new in American life—the closest approach to the Soviet we have yet had an opportunity of experiencing. Of course the President found himself in an unpleasant position after the city had been looted and many citizens murdered, mindful as he must have been of his friendship for Mr. Gompers, who promptly insisted that the police responsible for the situation be given back their jobs although a good many old fashioned Americans were of the opinion that they should be treated as soldiers that desert in the face of the army.

The President sent a sharp telegram to the strikers. If Mr. Gompers and he were not such close personal friends he might have exerted his constitutional authority in support of the State of Massachusetts, but this would hardly be in consonance with the new order, and we are sure that he will never take rash steps to interfere, even temporarily, with the progress of our political evolution.

The President's general example is being followed closely, we are glad to report, by his chief assistants in the government.

The Secretary of State, by law and custom his principal adviser, has been fishing somewhere on the Canadian border following his extended, if something trying, experiences abroad. We are sure that all forward-looking men will regret the unexpected breach of confidence of Mr. Bullitt, his late associate at Paris, who astounded the country by announcing that the Secretary of State was diametrically opposed to the President's Treaty of Peace and League of Nations, as being subversive of America's old-fashioned institutions. The Secretary's disdainful refusal to dignify

this violation of confidence by so much as a denial is highly commendable and we doubt not will be pleasing to his chief.

Meanwhile the Under-Secretary of State is matching wits at Paris in an attempt to make peace with two countries with which we have never been at war while the Assistant Secretary, a young man of meticulous manners and immaculate dress, is managing such foreign affairs as we may have.

The Attorney General reads with interest charges made by the senior Senator from New Jersey that he condoned the sinking of the *Lusitania* while acting as a messenger boy and hired tipster between the White House and the German bomb and arson experts. He, also, disdains to make reply, not unwisely. In fact he is too busy distributing jobs to good Democrats who are assisting in reducing the high cost of living and signing vouchers for the private detective agencies who have been called in to do the work of his own sleuths in running down the Bolsheviki who distributed bombs so generally and with such immunity to themselves on Decoration Day.

The Secretary of War proposes a Prussian military program to the Congress, mindful of the fact that it will horrify the country by evidencing the evils of militarism and the ranking Democratic member of the Senate Committee on Military Affairs suggests that he be impeached for his trouble.

The Secretary of the Navy, unable to bear the excessive heat of a Washington summer, sailed on a dreadnaught to Hawaii, on some pretext or other, and turned a blushing cheek on the Hula Hula girls who, garbed in nature's raiments, playfully bedecked him with seasonable garlands.

The Secretary of Commerce got fired for his general interference in the business of his fellow members of the cabinet and the White House announced that his resignation has been accepted with regrets.

The Secretary of Labor marvels at the Frankenstein his own associates in the labor unions have built up while his assistant, Mr. Post, announces that the French Commune was a garden party compared to what America will experience in the immediate future, unless forward-looking men are given more authority in the government.

The Secretary of the Treasury looks for some new financial principals to discount the excesses of his predecessor while the Secretary of the Interior twiddles his thumbs and wonders if he will ever again be seriously considered by the chief whom he once talked back to. And, our favorite Postmaster General is threatened with impeachment proceedings in the House for having wrecked his own department and for having conspired to violate the law by interfering in the functions of the Civil Service Commission.

So it goes at Washington. Would that Jefferson might return to us and see the fulfillment of his dream.

It is recalled that the grandfather of the present Prince of Wales, on his visit to this country nearly sixty years ago, took the initiative in rescuing Independence Hall from sordid desecration and possibly impending destruction, and in rehabilitating it into its present worthy condition as a shrine of patriotism. We wonder if the present Prince on his approaching visit will find occasion to make some similarly profitable suggestion for our benefit?

Social Effects of Prohibition

THERE is something much more than a joke in the suggestion that "home, sweet home" will be invested with new and greatly enhanced charms through the operation of the prohibition law which while abolishing all public traffic in or use of alcoholic beverages will permit practically unlimited domestic manufacture of cider and light wines. There is a keen reminder of the certainty of radical changes in the whole tone and habit of social life. There is a question as to what drug habits may to a certain extent replace alcoholic indulgence, as was so notably the case in China and in Mohammedan countries. There is also the question of what will take the place of the social entertainments and amusements which seem hitherto to have been dependent upon the drinking habits of the public.

Some marked results of prohibition have already become apparent. In the large cities numerous restaurants and some hotels have entirely gone out of business, while many others have greatly curtailed their activities. Some of the best-known restaurants—not mere drinking places but legitimate restaurants of high character—instead of remaining open until late in the evening now close promptly after an early dinner hour. Cabaret performances and even simple musical accompaniments to dining, have largely been discontinued. Dancing as an adjunct to dining has been much abated. After-the-theatre suppers are far fewer than of old. Public banquets also seem likely to be fewer in number and smaller in attendance. To what extent these processes will be continued and extended, or the reverse, as the social season of the later fall and winter advances, will form an object of interested observation. There is at present no indication of any reaction against the tendencies which we have described, nor indeed any reason for expecting it.

Now it may be that some of these changes are for the good of the community, individually and collectively. Others are legitimately to be regretted. That, however, is not the present point. What we are interested in is the question what will take the place, if anything does, of the things thus abolished. Three conceivable courses are open, of greatly varying degrees of desirability. One is, that some substitutes of an acceptable character will be found, which will enable society to maintain its activities with their sparkle and gayety little if any abated. This, seeing that "man is a social being," is to be desired, within reasonable limits. The second conceivable course is also to an extent desirable, namely, an increase of domesticity. It will doubtless be a mighty good thing for those who have been spending their time elsewhere; and if they do not know how to make home life interesting, they will do well to learn. For man is a home-making as well as a social being.

The third course is altogether to be deprecated; and yet it would be inexcusable folly not to recognize the serious danger that there is of its being pursued to a considerable extent. That is, a turning toward furtive and illicit forms of so-called social enjoyment. It is indisputable that this has been done hitherto in prohibition States; how widely is a matter of question. There are those who fear that under universal prohibition such practices will prevail in all States; and there are on the other hand those who insist that univer-

sal prohibition will make possible their universal suppression. We shall see; and we shall hope that the latter theory will be vindicated.

In any case, it is well for us to realize that the adoption of prohibition does not mean merely cessation of the liquor traffic and of the public drinking habit. It means just as certainly far-reaching and profound changes in our social and domestic life, in economics, in the whole tone and character of the nation. It will be incumbent upon all who take an interest in the public weal, and in a peculiar sense upon those who were responsible for the adoption of the new system, to do their utmost to make those changes for the better and not for the worse.

There will be general approval, we believe, of the plan which courts are adopting, of holding the owners of automobiles equally responsible with their chauffeurs for violation of the highway laws. As a rule, in the speed at which he drives the chauffeur merely obeys his employer. That does not, of course, exempt him. No man should break the law at his employer's command. But, on the other hand, the employer cannot evade the responsibility for his own orders. It is a sound legal principle that the principal is responsible for the acts of his agent. Again, an employer who tolerates intoxication in his chauffeur is justly to be held responsible for any damage which comes through drunken driving. Doubtless there are misdemeanors in driving for which the owner should not be held responsible, but which are chargeable to the driver alone. But in a majority of cases dual responsibility and dual penalty will surely promote the ends of justice.

Some impassioned apologists for the Shantung infamy are arguing that it is in the treaty precisely as it should be, and that it would be for the great good of China to have her property handed over to Japan for a time instead of being immediately returned to her. Yet the President himself, in whose behalf such representations are supposedly made, has himself disapproved the thing and declared it to be "unconscionable." It is not well to be "more royal than the King."

Mr. C. C. Wu, son of Dr. Wu Ting-fang, the former Chinese Minister at Washington, says that at the outbreak of the war in 1914 the Chinese republican government offered to join the Allies, and to send an expedition to capture the German stronghold at Kiao-Chao; but the offer was refused "for diplomatic reasons which we know very little about." Then, as all the world knows, Japan, with the cordial approval and indeed the encouragement of the Allies, entered the war and sent an expedition into China to do the very thing which China had purposed doing, but which she was not permitted by the Powers to do. It would be highly interesting, and entirely pertinent, to be authoritatively informed why the Allies refused China's offer. It would be a serious thing to suggest that it was for the sake of giving Japan a chance to do the thing, and thus to acquire for herself whatever title Germany had to Chinese property. Yet what other reason could there be?

Again, Who is the Liar?

THE New York *Herald* was the first newspaper to print in full the report of the Hon. Frank P. Walsh and ex-Governor Dunne, of Illinois, upon conditions in Ireland. It was a terrible indictment. With 47 distinct specifications, Messrs. Dunne and Walsh accused British Government officials of atrocities committed upon helpless political prisoners in Irish jails which in sheer brutality were quite on a par with the worst infamies perpetrated by the Hun barbarians in their invasions of Belgium and France.

When the *Herald* spread this awful arraignment before the people of this country there was a general outburst of indignation. And its publication in England evoked even stronger expressions of shame and anger there than it did here. Not for an instant could the British Government remain silent under such fearful accusations. The accusers were responsible men. Mr. Walsh was an appointee of President Wilson to an important part in the Administration. Mr. Dunne had been Governor of the third greatest State in the Union. They went to Ireland as accredited representatives of the American people. As such they were received by British Government officials and as such, as they were free to admit, every facility for their inquiries was afforded them.

And as a result of these inquiries, in a carefully prepared report, they spread before the world a record of cold-blooded murder, torture and starvation of political prisoners in Irish jails that, if true, simply placed the country and the Government responsible for it beyond the pale of civilization.

The British Government had to reply and did reply. In a document quite dispassionate in tone and as carefully and methodically prepared as the Dunne-Walsh report itself, every one of the 47 charges and accusations made by Mr. Walsh and Mr. Dunne was met with a specific categorical denial. The issue resolved itself into a clean-cut question of deliberate, calculated falsehood on one side or the other. There was no middle ground. Either Messrs. Dunne and Walsh were infamous liars or the officials of the British Government were infamous liars.

At the time the Government report was published here leaving Messrs. Dunne and Walsh under this charge of wilful mendacity, we ventured to suggest that this was an accusation under which those gentlemen could not afford to remain silent. Nor did they remain silent. In this WEEKLY of August 23d, last, Mr. Walsh, in a two-column statement reiterated all the original charges, and, assuming that England must eventually agree to an impartial court of inquiry, pledged himself, as Chairman of the Commission on Irish Independence, to produce proof of a list of atrocities which, if they be proven, make of England a country to be execrated by all liberty-loving people.

But the New York *Herald*, which was the first to arouse American indignation by the publication of the Dunne-Walsh report in full, has not seen fit to await any such inquiry as Mr. Walsh suggests. It has made an investigation on its own account. With clear, positive instructions to bring an absolutely unbiased mind to his task, to seek out the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth and to publish the same irrespective of where and whom it hits, the *Herald*

sent its chief London correspondent, Mr. Truman H. Talley to Ireland. Mr. Talley's reports the *Herald* has been publishing from day to day. They bear every internal evidence to a conscientious adherence to the rigid instructions under which his investigations were to be made. They show no animus, no prejudice, no leaning either towards one side or the other.

Now, in a nutshell, Mr. Talley's report leaves Messrs. Walsh and Dunne under quite as heavy a cloud as did that of the British Government officials themselves. Mr. Talley finds that the Dunne-Walsh charges are absolutely false. Thus Mr. Walsh and Mr. Dunne lie under a double accusation of telling wilful, deliberate lies—lies calculated to precipitate discord between us and a friendly nation and lies, which, with the reaction inevitable to their exposure, are calculated to do infinite harm to the cause of Ireland itself.

Of course the matter cannot rest there. Messrs. Dunne and Walsh cannot afford to let it rest there. We confidently expect them to meet this new accusation with material, indisputable facts and proofs of some kind, which, once for all, will put an end to what has come to a mere meaningless tossing to and fro of the word "liar."

The President somewhat querulously complains that the critical Senate seems to see only some three or four articles in the Treaty, when in fact there's a whole big book full of them. But if a man has an aching tooth, does he complain because the dentist gives professional attention to that one tooth and neglects all the others which are acheless? Not irreverently we might cite an ancient and supreme Authority, Who said, "They that are whole need no physician, but they that are sick." The fact that many are whole does not lessen the need of doctoring those who are ill. The fact that the other thirty-one are painless does not diminish the pain of the aching tooth. The fact that a couple of hundred pages of the Treaty are sound enough does not gloss over the iniquity that those three or four articles contain.

A significant and gratifying movement is perceived in the very great increase of entrance enrollments at colleges and universities, and in the enormous demand of students for courses of instruction in American history, constitutional law, diplomacy and kindred subjects. The splendid impulse of patriotism which these institutions felt during the years of the war is apparently to be maintained and widened in scope. Nothing could be of better omen for the nation than that its boys and young men should seek high education and particularly education in those things which make for robust manhood and for resolute Americanism. It should be not only the duty but the eager pride of every American college and university to give every student a thorough grounding in those principles which during a century and a third of unparalleled growth and prosperity have made the United States what it is to-day. If our young men will study the teachings of Washington and Jefferson and Hamilton, we shall be in no danger from the propaganda of all the Lenines and Trotskys and Fords in the world.

Letters From Our Readers

WE ARE HONEST.

SIR,—Is there anything that will drive the shafts of fear and respect into the hearts of mischief-plotting nations, whether in Europe or Asia, quicker than a knowledge of the fact that we are honest with ourselves and that we, as a people, hate things done in secret, whether done by our own or by others?

Woodrow Wilson simply thinks that we are the same cowards that he thought we were before the war. The same kind that the Kaiser also thought. But we were not too proud to fight; and we won't be too proud to keep our blood-bought high, but practical ideals from being hidden under a loathsome bushel of un-American cowardice, when it comes to both internal and external dealings!

What kind of an American is Woodrow Wilson, surrounded by a gang of bootshiners to whom "position" and its salary are more important than self-respect? "Rubber stamps" of an uninspiring but dangerous example to American youth.

New York City.

HENRY DILL BENNER.

FROM A WOMAN VOTER.

SIR,—Thank Heaven, we have the "pigmy minds" and "contemptible quitters" in our splendid and greatest leaders who are working for the independence won in 1776. Let us hope that our loved song of liberty will be sung without any cuts and that this country will continue to be the "land of the free" as well as the "home of the brave."

Your WEEKLY is awaited eagerly for it deals with the truth only and breathes independence. We carry it in the cars and in the shops and streets. The whole country should have it and thank you as we do for a paper that has such high ideals of truth and honor.

St. Louis, Mo.

A WOMAN VOTER.

CANNOT CONQUER AMERICA.

SIR,—I read that the "Mild" reservationists are discussing compromise with the out-and-out strong reservationists and that the strong League opponents are discussing ways and means for a compromise. Why? Of course, I have not heard everybody but so far I have found only one man who is for the League of Nations. What is there for the Senate to be afraid of if sentiment is like this everywhere?

William Pitt told Parliament "You cannot conquer America." Let us hope it proves true.

Needless to say, I buy a copy (sometimes more) of HARVEY'S every week and when read give them to a friend.

Pittsburgh, Pa.

AN AMERICAN.

MR. STONE AND SKILLED LABOR.

SIR,—In your issue of the sixteenth instant you refer to Mr. Warren S. Stone's recent evidence given before a Congressional Committee. It is refreshing to read the article. But having taken Mr. Stone over the coals as he so richly deserved, why mollify the castigation and take out the sting by proclaiming Stone and his people representative of "the highest type of American manhood and of American skilled labor?" The manhood part may be all right, but where do you get this "highest skilled labor" stuff?

If Warren S. Stone is possessed of the saving sense of humor, and the expression of his wonderful views in the evidence referred to above would not so indicate, he must be smiling all over. To be sure if Warren takes you seriously and does think that running an engine is "skilled labor" then the joke is on him.

Pittsburgh, Pa.

E. RAITROADER.

THE SMALL NATION'S VIEWPOINT

SIR,—In the *Saturday Evening Post*, Baron Rosen says in his "Forty Years Of a Diplomat's Life:" "A Serbian statesman—by the way, the wisest of all I have ever met, said to me: 'If only the Great Powers would agree to leave us severely alone, we Balkan peoples would soon manage among ourselves to settle our affairs to our own satisfaction, and it would be better not only for us but for the peace of Europe as well.' I wonder if these small nations of Europe are not all of the same opinion now. They are complaining of the Great Powers' interference, and now these pipe dreamers in America want to sic the United States on them! If there were more men like you, unafraid to come out for the right, all this foolishness would soon be stopped."

Atlantic Beach, Fla.

ETHEL T. PRIOR.

JUSTICE WHERE JUSTICE IS DUE

SIR,—I wish you would be kind enough to stop lying about Mr. Burleson. I consider the Post Office Department one of the most efficient of all monopolies. Just for an example: Through one month I sent to one individual in New York City fifteen registered letters. The envelopes in which they were sent had the name and street address of the addressee printed in Cheltenham eighteen-point bold extended, and also had a printed return address. Only six of these fifteen registered letters were delivered to the wrong addressee, and only two of them took more than a week to travel to New York.

The last two registered letters I sent were on June 12th. One has not yet reached New York. For the other, I received today a return receipt from somebody in Pittsburg.

So I wish you would stop saying things about the Post Office Department. The wonder isn't that it managed to convey seven out of seventeen registered letters properly—the wonder is that it conveyed as many as seven to their destination at all.

Bass River, Mass.

HAROLD E. PORTER.

ALIEN CONSENT

SIR,—A Sunday dispatch from Washington says: ".....It was, however, admitted that the President had cabled to Paris, instructing our representatives to sound out the British and French to see whether there would be any objection to making public the various drafts for the League of Nations, including the original *American scheme*."

Of course, the President's scheme for "bevoing" the national Government in no way interferes with our sovereignty or independent action, but it is a little unusual, I think, that any one should imagine it necessary for the President to secure the consent of alien Governments before making known to his people, things that concern them in a most intimate and vital manner. All the more astounding is it, when we reflect that what the people wish to know is the very thing which the President insists he had an imperative mandate from the people to perform.

With a fervid wish for the continued high virulence of HARVEY'S WEEKLY, I am,

HOWARD B. CROSS.

The Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore.

TRANSFERRING OUR ALLEGIANCE

SIR,—That President and Senate can transfer the paramount allegiance of American citizens is an absurdity. The Constitution provides no legal machinery by which it can be effected. Consider that if such power is possessed by President and Senate, then they may, if they wish, transfer our allegiance to the King of Siam, or, for that matter, to Villa and his band of Mexican cutthroats. The independence of the United States of America is not a lawful subject of negotiation save on the battlefield. There it was won and there only can it be lost. The treaty-making power was conferred on President and Senate in order that they might make such arrangements with other nations as to facilitate the intercourse of the people of this independent and sovereign nation with the people of other nations, and for no other purpose. None but a betrayer of his country would attempt to use the treaty-making power to *divest this nation of the power to make a treaty*. If the Senate shall confirm the treaty containing the League of Nations covenant, without first eliminating the covenant, the act will be *ultra vires* and of no legal effect. It will, however, have another effect of tremendous import: it will be an invitation to civil war.

Clyde Park, Mont.

ALEX. S. CHRISTIE, SR.

"THE FUTILE FIVE"

SIR,—In case The Times continues to refer to The Futile Five as "plenipotentiaries," as quoted in the two passages in the WEEKLY of September sixth, it would seem pertinent to remind that out-of-joint publication that "plenipotentiaries" means "Those full of powers," and not "Those full of prunes."

Two of the group, The Autocrat at the Dining Car Table and Secretary Lansing have come back, the only two having any national warrant whatever for the exercise of any powers at all. Yet the remaining three, Col. House, General Bliss and Mr. White seem to be more mighty than before, perhaps as a chain is no stronger than its weakest links, for they are busily engaged in making treaties of peace with Turkey and Bulgaria, with whom we never were at war.

RICHARD D. WARE

Amherst, N. H.

A "CAUSTIC SHATTERING."

SIR,—“On the Road to Mandalay,” the leading article in your September 13th issue, was the most caustic shattering of the Wilsonian fallacies and ideals that I have seen since the New Jersey Schoolmaster entered upon his perilous and hallucinating jaunt to convert the people to his dangerous theories.

Fort Edward, N. Y.

A. H. BUMWELL.
Fort Edward Advertiser.

"WHOLLY AND PURELY AUTOCRATIC"

SIR,—There certainly is a striking contrast between the declarations of democratic principles of our President and his attitude toward the co-ordinate branches of our government which alone distinguish a democratic form of government from an autocratic government. If there was any consistency in his various enunciations of democratic principles it would certainly require his unqualified recognition of the treaty making powers of our United States Senate. Suppose for illustration the League of Nations was adopted and Woodrow Wilson was the dominating influence. Can there be any doubt that every provision in the League would be construed by him and enforced rigidly according to his own construction? There could be no doubt that under such control it would be the most autocratic system ever adopted, and in fact be anti-democratic. The facts are, this League in its present form is wholly and purely autocratic in its inception, and if this country is to champion freedom in its strictest sense it ill becomes us to even acquiesce in such an arrangement. The most gratifying feature of the present contest is the unquestionable demonstration of the need for safe-guards against abuse of power, which is provided in the creation of our Senate and I feel certain that the Senate will not fail in this all important duty.

To this end I feel that your periodical is rendering the country a great service.

Seymour, Iowa.

A. M. JACKLEY.

WHO ARE THE POLTROONS?

SIR,—I cannot forbear saying something about Senator Hitchcock and what I say must necessarily be severe.

Every true American who loves his own country more than he does other parts of the world, and who would protect his country from the dangers of subjecting it to the rule of a foreign majority should resent with all the power of his American manhood the misleading and insulting tirade of this Senator wherein he denominates those who are opposed to the League of Nations as poltroons and cravens, because they want to get out of Europe.

The men in the Senate who are opposing this league are representatives of States that showed anything but “poltroonery” or “cravenness” as long as there was anything to fight for in Europe; in behalf of the United States.

They are principally Republicans and they were much more forward in this particular of fighting than the Democrats—for the leading Republicans of the United States were ready to fight long before the leading Democrats could see that our country had been insulted and was in danger. It seems insane to me that Senator Hitchcock, with his record, should be calling the followers of Theodore Roosevelt poltroons and cravens.

I think the Republicans in the Senate can quite willingly allow the people to decide who are the poltroons; the party who “kept us out of war” in order to get into office or the Grand Old Party led by Theodore Roosevelt and the staunch Republican leaders still in the Senate, who couldn’t get into war until the Democrats let them; but who when they did get in were the backbone and sinews of that war.

Now that the war is over, and the Republicans refuse to follow any further the leader who had to be pushed and almost kicked into the war; refuse to follow in a crazy settlement which would sell out the United States to Europe; Senator Hitchcock has the hardihood to call them “poltroons” and “cravens.” Either he is hard up for something to say, or else he is dangerously swelled up with his own importance as leader of the Administration forces or both. Anyhow the country will pity the poor deluded champion of the rotten covenant, which seeks to tie America up with and tie her so that if she tries to escape she has just about got to fight the whole world to get out of it.

Myton, Utah.

LOUIS N. SHANKS.

[We were not aware that Senator Hitchcock had applied such epithets to his colleagues. It is a fact, however, that he tried to help Germany win the war by voting to deprive the Allies of munitions.—EDITOR.]

Announcement

This issue of HARVEY'S WEEKLY was published in advance of the usual time because of the announced intention of some of the unionized workers in the printing trade in New York City to strike, beginning October 1st, unless their demands, which are not sanctioned by the International Union, are met.

At this writing it is impossible to forecast the proportions of the strike, or the length of its duration. The publishers of HARVEY'S WEEKLY are now making arrangements with out of town printers, whose unionized workers are agreed to abide by the decision of the International Union, to publish without interruption. But, for lack of facilities, it may be impossible to complete these arrangements, and, in that event, the publication of HARVEY'S WEEKLY, in common with many other periodicals, may be temporarily interrupted.

Subscribers may rest assured that their subscriptions will be extended by the exact number of copies which may be omitted should the threatened strike occur.

ALL THE TIME NECESSARY.

SIR,—I am sending you an article which is a good answer to your article entitled “Time's Up,” in the WEEKLY for Aug. 16, 1919.

I am a straight Republican, and after reading this article wondered if you weren't switching over. Then I thought how could you, when Benedict Arnold took 7 months to arrange to try and sell our birthright for a mess of pottage, and you certainly want our Republican Senators to take time to uncover all crookedness and trickery.

Believe me, any intelligent person wants them to take all the time necessary.

This Benedict Arnold stuff doesn't go with good true Americans.

Oakland, Cal.

MRS. C. R. TATE.

(We have repeatedly insisted that, while there should not be a moment's unnecessary delay in concluding peace, the Senate should take all the time that is necessary for thoroughly Americanizing the Treaty before ratifying it. Better a year's delay, better no Treaty at all, than to barter America's birthright for a speedy peace.—EDITOR.)

THANKS

SIR,—The only improvement I could suggest for HARVEY'S WEEKLY is to suggest that it increase its circulation. I believe that this can best be done by circulating more sample copies and let the people become better acquainted with it. Here are the names of a few who I think will help circulate your WEEKLY, once they become acquainted with it. [Names appended.] Trusting you will receive a number of subscriptions from these and through these.

Shelbyville, Ind.

M. M. CONGER.

HARVEY'S WEEKLY

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Put It Up to the President

WE record with satisfaction that the voting has begun. The country craves action. There can be no doubt of that. It also wants its independence safeguarded beyond possibility of doubt or of question. That also is certain.

Is there any good reason why both aspirations should not be realized quickly? We perceive none. Senator Lodge is now in full control of the situation. He has at his command a solid majority pledged to effective reservations agreed upon as to both substance and form. He has more. He has the Covenanters in a hole from which they cannot be extricated. Senator Hitchcock attended to that when he tried to score a point by accusing the majority of filibustering. There was not the slightest basis for the charge, as he well knew and as Mr. Lodge promptly demonstrated by demanding unanimous consent for a vote on the Fall amendments, which, admittedly doomed to defeat, only encumbered the way. The Moses amendment, whose rejection also seems certain, can be readily disposed of by the same method.

The Johnson amendment providing for the United States equal representation with Great Britain will remain. No great amount of time should be required for the acceptance or rejection even of that. Its purport is thoroughly understood. The only question is how many Senators are willing to subordinate the Amer-

ican Republic in actual voting power no less than in numerical influence to another Power in an association of nations. We can discern no occasion for delay in requiring them to make their pusillanimous responses. It remains only for Senator Lodge to fix the day and the hour. We hope it may be soon. Senator Hitchcock and his followers are in no position to object. Senator Johnson deserves no further consideration. He ought to be at his post of duty.

The Shantung amendment must take its chances some time. It may as well be now as later. Time will effect no change in votes.

Both of these proposals, if defeated as amendments, can, it is claimed, be made effective through reservations whose adoption is assured. That may be a fact or it may be a pretext. As to the fact from a legal standpoint, we frankly prefer an opinion, as yet unexpressed, from Senator Knox to the judgment of Senator Hale.

In any case, the thing to do now is to reach the "irreducible minimum"—the Committee reservations—at the earliest possible moment, adopt them by the majority of at least twelve which is pledged and return the Treaty to the President for such action as he may see fit to take.

"It will then be," as he said truly and, according to the reports, with kingly emphasis, "for ME to determine whether its [the Senate's] action constitutes an adoption or a rejection,"

and, he added with respect to the reservation as to Article X:

"If any such reservation is adopted, I will be obliged to regard it as a rejection of the Treaty."

Maybe he will and maybe he won't. There is nothing to go by. Sometimes he does what he says he is going to do and sometimes he doesn't. Witness the Freedom of the Seas, Self-determination and the Fourteen Commandments, all sternly and irrevocably upheld in the breach and incontinently abandoned in the observance. But suppose he should say, as the disgusted Mr. Taft puts it, "I won't play because I can't have my way," and should act accordingly, what of it? He would achieve only the privilege of negotiating a separate peace with Germany, "hat in hand."

The sacred "cause" may be in his mind "greater than the Government of the United States," but the Government of the United States is still big enough to compel a public servant to perform his sworn duty, as specifically defined by the Constitution.

But the point we are driving at is that it is the Senate, not the President, that the eyes of the country and the world are now fixed upon politically, and that it behooves the majority to look sharp. Not only does the country, as we have said, want action; but, despite the fact that neither Italy nor Japan has ratified the Treaty, our Allies are fairly entitled to know where we stand. Rightfully or not, they are waiting on us and we ought not to keep them in suspense one moment longer than is necessary. It is undoubtedly true that public sentiment against the League is growing stronger daily and there is little doubt that Senator Hitchcock's insistence upon haste is largely due to his awareness of that circumstance.

But the fact remains that there is little more to be said. Both the people and the Senators have made up their minds. So let us have the votes as quickly as may be. Promptness has become the paramount consideration.

The issue can never be plainer. The Senate declares that it will not approve the Treaty as submitted. The President says he will scrap the Treaty if it is changed. It is for the Senate now to make good its declaration, Treaty or no treaty, League or no league, Peace or no peace, and put it up to the President.

League Doesn't Need U. S., Says Clemenceau.—*Tribune* Headline.

Well, the United States certainly doesn't need the League.

Sir Edward Carson has just hoisted storm signals.—*Evening Post*.

By his boot straps? He is himself the chief storm signal.

Overworking Presidents

ALTHOUGH the optimistic anticipations of a week ago were not realized as promptly as was wished in the rallying of the President from the indisposition which interrupted his covenanting campaign, we must confidently regard them as merely deferred. Meantime, the serious lesson of his temporary prostration remains in unimpaired pertinence and force.

Mr. Wilson himself long ago sounded a clear note of warning against the overworking of a President. "Men of ordinary physique and discretion cannot be Presidents and live, if the strain be not somehow relieved." There is a touch of irony in the circumstance that, after saying this, he should himself have been the first to demonstrate its truth by coming unpleasantly near to a complete breakdown under a strain which knew no relief. There can be no unkindness nor reproach in repeating what has been said a thousand times before, that Mr. Wilson has, throughout his Administration, taken too great a burden upon himself. Before he entered upon the Presidency he wisely said that "The President cannot himself be the actual executive; he must therefore find, to act in his stead, men of the best legal and business gifts, and depend upon them for the actual administration of the government in all its daily activities." Yet that is precisely what he did not do. Nobody would pretend that the eminently respectable gentlemen who compose his Cabinet are the ablest that could have been found, or that they have relieved him of the burdens of actual administration to anything like the extent that might and should have been possible. Particularly in the great labor of negotiating terms of settlement after the war, he has borne the burden himself. He has insisted upon so doing. There will readily occur to mind the names of statesmen of far greater experience and facility in diplomacy than he, no less devoted to the welfare of the nation and of humanity than he, and abundantly representative not only of the principles and traditions but also of the present wish and will of the nation, who might have been sent abroad by him, as such commissioners had thitherto invariably been sent abroad, to negotiate the treaty. In undertaking the work alone, he made of himself a "weary Titan . . . bearing . . . the load well nigh not to be borne."

If we compare, or rather contrast, his labors with those of any other chief of state, the difference appears appalling. The nominal duties of King George and M. Poincaré are not, of course, to be considered. But everybody knows that Mr. Lloyd George and M. Clemenceau, industrious as they are, do not assume nor perform anything like the proportion of governmental labor that Mr. Wilson has insisted upon performing, but that they leave a far greater proportion, both of responsibility and of actual work, to their ministerial colleagues than he has ever thought of assigning to his Cabinet. We may admire the zeal and devotion of such a course, but we cannot approve its discretion, or its justice to the President himself. He ought to be, he ought long ago to have been, somehow relieved of the strain.

Our Debt to Mr. Gary

IF any doubts as to the entire unreasonableness of the Steel strike lingered in fair but misinformed minds, such doubts could not survive a reading of Judge Gary's testimony before the Senate Education and Labor Committee. The head of the great Steel Corporation made an admirable witness. Under a line of questioning by Senator Walsh, which at times seemed to justify some of the newspaper headlines describing it as "a heckling," Judge Gary never for an instant lost his poise, let alone his temper; never for an instant swerved from his own chosen line of presentation of the employer's side of the controversy; never by so much as a hair's breadth yielded from his fixed purpose not to meet union leaders representing a small minority of the Steel Corporation's employees. He took his stand squarely on the bedrock proposition of sound Americanism that a man has a right to work for whom he pleases and on such terms as he and his employer can agree upon as satisfactory; and the further proposition that he is entitled to the full protection of his person and property in the exercise of that right.

This, of course, means the open shop, which is precisely what Judge Gary meant it to mean and what he said it meant. He did not leave his position in this respect to be deduced from the mere enunciation of broad, general principles. At the very outset he proclaimed his firm, irrevocable stand for the open shop as the basic principle under which alone American industry can reach its full development. In language remarkable for its clarity and convincing frankness, he moreover left no doubt in the mind of anybody who heard or read his testimony that, as between the open shop and the union shop there can be no middle ground. The shop is either open or it is union. Once the representatives of an outside union are recognized as qualified to deal with the employing authorities of the Steel Corporation, from that moment the open shop ends, the closed, union shop is in operation, and outside labor union leaders are in the saddle.

Through all of Senator Walsh's at times rather rasping and at times irritating questions as to why the Steel Corporation's head had refused to see the outside labor leaders who called the strike, and if under this, that and the other condition he would now see them, Judge Gary with admirable calmness and patience repeated over and over again the reasons he had given so many times before, as well as his flat refusal of any sort of arbitration or compromise. With an overwhelming presentation of incontrovertible facts and figures he showed that the Steel Corporation's employees were liberally paid; that they were satisfied with their pay; that they were better and more cheaply housed than they could be elsewhere with no raise either of rent or price of a home, if they chose to purchase one, since 1914, notwithstanding the enormous increases of such charges all over the country; that the Corporation had spent millions in work to promote the community comfort and well-being of their employees and their families, including free hospital attendance and liberal old age pensions; and, above all, that the employees were contented and, with the exception of the foreign element on whom the outside union agitators had

exercised an unsettling influence, did not want to strike and would all be glad to be back to work provided they and their homes and families could be protected from physical violence. Provided, in other words, there is law and justice enough in the United States to protect a man in earning his living by that labor of which the country is now in such crying need.

Judge Gary's firm stand and his admirably temperate and forcible exposition of his reasons therefor will have the entire and hearty approval of the American people. He has been fighting the battle of the country's industrial salvation. He has been doing even more than that. He has been unflinchingly forcing a challenge which in its ultimate implications means a grave peril to the stability of our very Government itself; means direct threat to change our American democracy into a minority oligarchy made of elements even now a menace to the country, and capable, with a few preliminary victories, of endeavoring to lead us into such an abyss of anarchy and nightmare chaos as that into which maniac-ridden Russia has fallen. It will not be merely the United States Steel Corporation, it will be the United States of America which will owe Judge Gary an everlasting debt of gratitude when his unflinching courage and calm sagacity has won the victory which now naught save political demagoguery or Administrative meddling can snatch from him. And the country is in no mood now to tolerate either the meddling or the demagoguery.

What Roosevelt Wrote

SINCE the monstrous indecency has been committed of making garbled quotations from what Theodore Roosevelt wrote before the war, to appear as favoring the present Covenant of the League of Nations, let us in justice to that gallant soul recall his actual words of less than a year ago, almost the last he ever wrote, on the present scheme so far as it had then been developed. This is what he said—and what he meant:

Without question there is a general desire for some kind of international agreement or union or league which will tend to prevent the recurrence, or at least to minimize the scope and the horrors of such a hideous disaster to humanity as the world war which is now closing.

If the League of Nations is built on a document as high-sounding and as meaningless as the speech in which Mr. Wilson laid down his Fourteen Points, it will simply add one more scrap to the diplomatic waste paper basket.

Let us begin by including in the League only the present Allies. . . . Let us explicitly reserve certain rights—to our territorial possessions, to our control of immigration and citizenship, to our fiscal policy and to our handling of our domestic questions generally—as not to be questioned and not to be brought before any international tribunal. Let us absolutely decline any disarmament proposition that would leave us helpless to defend ourselves.

Let us absolutely refuse to abolish nationalism.

If any League propagandists wish to quote Theodore Roosevelt on the pending Covenant, let them quote those words. Having quoted them, let them then pretend that he was in favor of any such abominable abortion as that Covenant—if they dare!

Reaping the Whirlwind

WE should hesitate to say to precisely what extent the President would charge the present unprecedented outbreak of lawlessness and crime to the refusal of the Senate promptly to accept without amendment the Covenant of the League of Nations. Judging from the known to the unknown, by analogy, however, we should expect him to say that there was no hope of checking automobile highwaymanship in the streets of New York until the United States had placed itself under a moral—not a legal, but only a moral—obligation to defend the political independence and territorial integrity of The Hedjaz against Siamese attack, and that Omaha and other urban mobs must inevitably continue to burn jails and hang mayors until we concede that the Monroe Doctrine is nothing but a regional understanding. He has already given us to understand that there is little use in trying to readjust our purely domestic economics until we have become a member of the League of Nations, while incidentally his Attorney-General has unmistakably intimated that the President will not raise the ban of war-time prohibition until the Peace Treaty is ratified without amendments or effective reservations.

Meantime the converse of this proposition appeals with most disquieting if not convincing force. We may not, of course, say that the President is responsible for the epidemic of lawlessness. But it would be brazen folly for anybody to pretend that he had used so much as a tithe of the legitimate influence of his powerful office against it and for its repression, or that there was not a most unfortunate—though doubtless quite unintentional—correlation between his policy and utterances on the one hand, and the animus of lawlessness on the other. This relationship is so marked that it is not difficult to imagine some deliberate lawbreaker as quoting the President and his associates in defense of his crimes. That would of course be a monstrous perversion of the President's intent. But it would be embarrassingly plausible.

In the very midst of the unrest and lawlessness which are so ominous a symptom of these times, the President has been vociferously proclaiming that "national law is played out," and that the alien cause which he is promoting is "greater than the Government." The Secretary of the Navy has been quoted as ranking the Covenant of the League of Nations above the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States—which is indeed quite consistent, seeing that the purpose of the Covenant is to supersede and annul those instruments—and the President of Harvard University has jeered at Washington's Farewell Address with a "Don't laugh at it!" quite in the manner of the proverbial "Don't nail his ears to the pump!"

It is not difficult, we say, to imagine weak-minded or evil-minded persons as perverting these doubtless well-meant utterances into apologies for if not actual incitements to disregard of law, contempt for government, and commission of crime. There was practical worldly wisdom in the ancient injunction to speak no evil of dignitaries. It is a perilous thing to inculcate or to suggest a light regard for the law

and for the institution of Government. It may sound smartly epigrammatic to say that a man cannot be patriotic when he is hungry; but there is danger that some hungry man, hearing the President of the United States declare that in his plight he could not be patriotic, might regard himself as freed from the obligations of loyalty. It is not an exaggerated view of the case to surmise that in such utterances as those which we have cited there has been an unintentional but no less actual sowing of the wind, from which is now being reaped the whirlwind of a pestilence of lawlessness and crime.

Omaha's Opportunity

IT WAS not the negro, it was the city of Omaha that was lynched by that frenzied mob. The wretched beast who was the immediately provocative cause of the outbreak becomes but a minor episode in the fearful tragedy. For a fearful tragedy it certainly is when a great American city, a city of as high standards of intelligence and refinement as is the flourishing Nebraskan metropolis, suddenly breaks loose from all restraints and runs amuck through all the safeguards of civilized law and order, tries to lynch the mayor of the city itself, burns the finest court house in the State, shoots and clubs the sworn guardians of the peace and reverts, in a word, to sheer cave-dweller savagery. This is a tragedy indeed.

No body will hesitate for a moment about agreeing with Senator Williams, of Mississippi, that the crime of which the Omaha negro was accused, and of which all evidence goes to show he was undoubtedly guilty, is one for which no penalty under the law could be made too severe. If, under the law, we cannot reach, convict and punish to the limit wretches so vile, then our laws are a failure, our Government is a failure, and a failure, too, is the whole fabric of our civilization. And that mob in Omaha, it seems, assumed that our law, our Government and our civilization had failed, and that there remained nothing but mob anarchy to try, convict and execute—all in one continuous process of murder, arson and general havoc.

It is not necessary to dwell upon the brutal injustice of inflicting upon an entire race the terrible savagery of mob violence because of the crimes of the scoundrels of that race—scoundrels who, as a matter of fact, are no more numerous

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proportionately, than are the scoundrels of other races. We had the horrors of the Washington and Chicago race riots to demonstrate their inherent sheer bestiality, and now we have this other shocking instance in Omaha. How many more of these disgraces to our civilization must the country endure before, by the infliction of condign punishment upon participants in these outrages upon entire communities, it at last becomes clear that the joys of lynch law riots entail perils beyond those of mere street conflicts with police?—perils so grave that they will not be lightly encountered.

It is now the duty of Omaha to leave nothing undone to make an example of such participants in this last outbreak as can be convicted—an example that will be a warning to the mob element in every city of the country. The country needs precisely that lesson—needs it never more than right at this moment. If Omaha supplies it, then will Omaha have won the well merited gratitude of the entire country.

An Old Race-War Warning

THE atrocious occurrence at Omaha, following soon after like infamies at Knoxville, at Washington, at Chicago, and elsewhere, and threatening in turn to be followed by others in Heaven only knows what other communities, arouses much academic and some practical speculation as to the causes of such bitter racial animosity and such disregard of law and justice. It may be that there are various causes, that there is a special cause in each place, for each outbreak. Yet we cannot dismiss the belief that there are some general causes, inherent in our social system and inseparable from it as at present organized.

It would be preposterous to pretend that the element of racial discrimination did not enter into these cases. Of course, no detestation can be too intense for some of the crimes which provoke these outbreaks, and no legal punishment could be too severe for them. But it is undeniable that when committed by negroes they are regarded as far more grave than when precisely the same crimes are committed by white men, and that there is immeasurably less willingness to let the law take its course in the former than in the latter cases. It is simply inconceivable that what happened at Omaha the other day would have happened if the criminal or suspect had been a white man.

One of the causes of this racial discrimination was clearly foreseen more than a century and a third ago, by practical-minded statesmen. The New York Legislature then passed a bill for the abolition of slavery, but also providing that no person of even part negro blood should ever be permitted to vote. The Board of Revision, which then exercised the veto power, disapproved the measure, not because it would emancipate but because it would disfranchise the negroes and would thus create discrimination between two classes of citizens. It would be repugnant to principles of liberty and equality, said the Board, to charge with the bur-

dens of government those who have no representative share in imposing them.

Then, still more to the present point, the veto message went on to say that "This class of disfranchised and discontented citizens at some future period may under the direction of ambitious and factious leaders become dangerous to the state and effect the ruin of a constitution whose benefits they are not permitted to enjoy. . . . The creation of an order of citizens who are to have no legislative or representative share in the Government, necessarily lays the foundation of an aristocracy of the most dangerous and malignant kind."

Now it is true that in no State of the Union are persons of negro blood *per se* denied the franchise. But it is indisputable that in many States they are practically denied it, and that in most if not all the States there is under either written or unwritten law discrimination against them; and to such discrimination the criticisms of those New York statesmen of 1785 apply as aptly as they did to the objectionable provision of the bill which was then vetoed. The general treatment of negroes throughout the United States creates a class suffering from adverse discrimination; if not entirely a disfranchised certainly a discontented class.

We do not think that their discontent and resentment at such discrimination are so intense as to provoke them to the initiative in racial conflicts. In most if not all cases, the whites have been the aggressors. But those feelings are sufficiently strong to cause negroes to meet aggression of any kind with equally and perhaps more savage aggression. Moreover, the exercise of such discrimination against them has a subjective effect upon those who do it, moving them to inflict upon the objects of it physical as well as social and moral evils. It is probable that resentment at such discrimination incites many negroes to the commission of atrocious crimes against whites, and particularly against white women. It is certain that it is because of that discrimination that the horrors of lynching are so often visited upon negroes, just as much in cases where the full penalty of the law is certain to be imposed as where there is danger that it will not be.

That the feeling of racial discrimination, so long existent and now radically instinctive, can easily be overcome, or indeed that it will ever be effectively overcome, may be too much to expect. That it will, so long as it prevails, be a frequent cause of animosity and actual conflict, is unhappily very much to be feared.

The Italian Crisis

IF NOT actually in a state of civil war, Italy, to all appearances, is drifting thitherward with disconcerting rapidity. The recent Chamber of Deputies tumult following a rather wobbly vote of confidence in the ministry seems fairly to represent the strained state of public sentiment throughout the entire country. In the Deputies' Chamber members went headlong from heated denunciation of each other into what approximated a free fight, which was restrained only by the threat of closing the session.

And yet the Deputies were practically unanimous in the sentiment that Italy should have that Italian city of Fiume which Mr. Wilson takes it upon himself to say Italy shall not have. This, too, is no sentiment of the army; it is the sentiment of the great mass of the Italian people. However crack-brained and melodramatic may have been the posings of the patriot poet d'Annunzio in seizing Fiume, his action is clearly meeting the approval of the Italian people generally. And the fact remains that he is in Fiume, that he is holding Fiume against only nominal efforts to dislodge him, and that both he and all Italy are fully cognizant of the fact that possession is nine points of the law.

During Mr. Wilson's absence from the seat of Government for a month it was impossible to get before him arguments as to Fiume and to get from him his decision thereon. Mr. Wilson having made himself a self-appointed mandatory over this particular phase of Italy's boundary aspirations, in the absence of his authoritative decision nothing could be done towards bringing order out of the chaos.

Meantime, acting under mysterious orders from somewhere out of the United States and quite without the knowledge of either the State or Navy Department, as representing the Government of the United States, a landing party from one of our warships in the Adriatic went ashore at Trau, on the Dalmatian coast, and took charge over the heads of the Italian detachment in possession there at the time. All that was lacking to make this an overt act of war on Italy was a collision between our marines and the Italian military forces, with the inevitable bloodshed. Fortunately our naval officers, with their traditional tact and skill, averted this calamity, and, apparently, averted an assured collision between the Italians and a Jugo-Slav force which was preparing to march against them. Had the Italian-Jugo-Slav collision occurred then, we should have had another and a decidedly embarrassing war to add to the interesting collection of conflicts now raging. By a mere fluke this was averred, and by the good sense of our naval officers we succeeded in escaping being plunged into a war-like assault upon Italy, with which splendid country we are and always want to be on terms of peace and cordial good will.

So, with the danger of our being tricked into a state of hostility, there remains for Italy the chance of an Italian civil war over Fiume, or of Italy being in a state of revolt against the authority of the Paris Conference, involving, naturally, either an armed attack on Italy by her late allies or an economic war against her to starve her into submission to the will of Mr. Wilson, who alone is opposing a settlement of the Fiume trouble along lines satisfactory to Italy and to the two other great European Powers which, with Japan, make up the dominating group of the proposed Wilson League of Nations.

Such a war on Italy, either physical or economic, is, of course, a thing too preposterous to be dreamed of. France would never consent to it. Neither would Great Britain or the people of the United States, unless our lately acquired habit of yielding to the arrogant authority of a self-willed

executive has quite paralyzed the American people's mental processes. Italy will undoubtedly settle the Fiume question in her own way in the end, even though it involve a Jugo-Slav war, which now seems to be impending as, possibly, the next phase of the re-psychologizing of mankind under Wilsonian mandates. As for an Italian civil war, just how that would be carried on with practically the entire population lined up on one side of the question at issue, it is difficult to imagine.

For Mr. Taft's Attention

DOES Mr. Taft know what is being done in his name? Instead of asking that question we ought, perhaps, to suggest the desirability of his learning what is thus being done, confidently assuming that for some regrettable reason he does not know it. For it is simply inconceivable that if he did know it he could approve it or permit its continuance.

Mr. Taft is the President of the League to Enforce Peace. It may be that the organization would have been formed without him. It is quite certain that without the prestige of his name it never would have amounted to shucks. It is everywhere known as his league. A large proportion of its members joined it because he was the head of it. He is not unreasonably assumed to direct its policy and its activities. That is what the president of such an organization should do.

Well, what are the activities of this League?

It has been sending out through its financial secretary an appeal for funds, stating that "The crisis is at hand. A vote for any reservations may endanger the Treaty. The alternative to a League of Nations is a crushing race for armament, another war more destructive than all former wars, and the suicide of civilization." Therefore funds are wanted. How some of the funds thus secured are used was, by the way, interestingly disclosed in Westchester County, New York, the other day, when a lot of "League of Nations Mass Meetings" were held and in the advertisements of them were published, as supporting the meetings and as favoring ratification of the unamended Covenant, the names of various influential people who never gave assent to such use of them and who in fact were and are inexorably opposed to the Covenant. It was a sheer piece of bunko-steering.

Another appeal has been sent out, through the National Extension Director, urging all members to "write, telephone, telegraph or visit" their Senators and "demand unqualified ratification;" because the adoption of reservations "means years of delay, possibly defeat through some great catastrophe born of the awful condition of the world." Apparently this appeal had some effect. Just after it was issued announcement was made that Hiram Johnson had received a lot of telegrams asking him to quit his anti-League campaign.

Whatever influence these appeals exerted was not, of course, because they bore the rubber-stamp signatures of Tom Jones Meek and Philip Bennett, nor because the names of Vance McCormick and the Rev. Dr. Henry van Dyke were printed in the margin, but because the name of William Howard Taft was printed in big letters at the top of the sheet. Yet it is simply impossible that Mr. Taft authorized them or approved them. For at the very time when they were being circulated he was publicly declaring that

Everybody knows—unless it be the President—that a majority of the Senate is in favor of reservations restricting by construction and qualification such an interpretation of the treaty. . . . And everyone knows but the President that unless such reservations are agreed upon there are enough votes in the Senate to defeat the treaty, whatever the consequence. If rejection follows what will be the course of the President? He will have to seek a new treaty, with new provisions substituted for the present League of Nations. . . . He cannot wash his hands of the whole business. . . . If the Senate refuses to concur in a peace treaty of his making he cannot say, "I won't play because I can't have my way." . . . What, then, is his present duty? It is to face facts as they are and make the best of them.

Never were truer words spoken, or words more worthy of a great political leader; and, because of their calmness and serenity, all the more scathing in their rebuke of the President's petulant and arrogant declaration that if the Senate should adopt any reservations it would then be for HIM to determine what future course to pursue. But note the contrast between what Mr. Taft himself says and what is being said in his name by Tom Jones Meek and Philip Bennett with Vance McCormick and the Rev. Dr. Henry van Dyke in the margin! These latter gentry shrilly scream, in effect, "Send us big checks for bunko meetings, and send frantic telegrams to your Senators, or the whole world will go to the demnition bow-wows! S O S!" To which the imperturbable and philosophic Mr. Taft replies, in effect: "Nonsense! The majority of the Senate insists upon reservations, and so there are going to be reservations; and the President had better accept them like a man, and make the best of it."

That is the voice of pure reason and enlightened patriotism, and it is too bad to have it marred by the crazy ululations of Tom Jones Meek and Philip Bennett, with Vance McCormick and the Rev. Dr. Henry van Dyke in the margin. Wherefore we kindly but firmly repeat to Mr. Taft the suggestion that he really ought to take notice of some of the things which are being done in his name.

As to Filibustering

Mr. Hitchcock's demands for haste in disposing of the Peace Treaty, and his feverish speech criticising delay on the part of the Senate majority, were merely a harmless effervescence. Mr. Hitchcock, of course, knows that consideration of the most important document ever submitted to the United States Senate must be exhaustively deliberate and critical. He knows perfectly well that it is not a little matter to be "jammed through." If it failed to give the Treaty the careful scrutiny its overwhelming importance demands, the Senate would be flagrantly recreant to its sworn duties. Mr. Hitchcock knows this and the entire country

knows it, and, however anxious the American people may be to have the miserable mess cleared up and out of the way as soon as our disentanglements from its worst features can be effected, they are in no such haste as would tolerate the Treaty's approval with a single one of its vicious provisions still hanging to it.

Mr. Hitchcock went just a little too far when he accused the opposition of "filibustering." Mr. Lodge's stinging retort to this charge set forth the exact facts of the situation.

"A great many Senators on both sides," he said, "are not voting under orders and they wish to discuss this Treaty. That is their right. It is the greatest function that has ever come before the Senate or that probably ever will come before it. There has not been a word spoken here that has not been genuine debate."

For all except Senators "voting under orders" this ought to be enough. There has been no filibuster, as Mr. Hitchcock very well knows, and there will be none. But there will be full, free and exhaustive debate. The days when measures may be rushed through either branch of Congress under the crack of the Executive whip are over. They began before the war, flourished during the war, and ended with the war. The Legislative branch of the Government has resumed its constitutional functions. It may be hard for the Court Senators to realize the fact. It may be hard for them to get over the habit of jumping at the swish of the White House lash. But times have changed and they must adjust themselves to the fact. If any of them are still voting under orders they will do that voting when the Senate and not the White House so decrees.

Disingenuous

A FLAGRANT example of the disingenuousness of League of Nations propagandists is found in a syndicated "A B C of the League of Nations," by Dr. Frank Crane, which is being widely circulated in the "patent insides" of country newspapers. It is in the form of very much cut and dried question and answer. Here is a specimen:

16. Does it not interfere with the treaty-making powers of the United States?

A. No. It is a treaty. We can make any treaty we please.

Article XVIII of the Covenant requires that every treaty hereafter entered into by any member of the League shall be registered with the Secretariat, and decrees that "no such treaty shall be binding until so registered."

Article XX of the Covenant reads:

The members of the League severally agree that this covenant is accepted as abrogating all obligations or understandings inter se which are inconsistent with the terms thereof, and solemnly undertake that they will not hereafter enter into any engagements inconsistent with the terms thereof.

A Commandment much older than any of the Fourteen, but apparently rated below them by League propagandists, says:

"Thou shalt not bear false witness."



PATRI



FIRST

The Week

WASHINGTON, October 7, 1919.

THE arrival of the King and Queen of the Belgians upon our shores was safely and auspiciously effected, though in circumstances which must be a lasting cause of regret. We can think of no possible visitors who should be or would be more welcome, either popularly or officially. It is one of the circumstances of the great war best worth remembering, though unhappily too little actually thought of, that of all the belligerent countries, Belgium was the only one whose record was from first to last above suspicion or reproach. Superb as was the conduct of France, we must remember that her first two war ministries were tried and found wanting. Great Britain, too, had to discard as unprofitable servants some of the ministers under whose lead she entered the war. Italy did not escape censure, perhaps undeserved, for her delay in drawing the sword. We have never believed the detestable imputations which the League Covenanters have made against Japan: that she had to be bribed to enter the war, with a promise of Germany's stolen goods; but it is undeniable that she has not been exempt from the suspicion of selfish motives. As for the United States, it is impossible to regard with pride the devious and stultifying course which our Administration pursued almost down to the very moment of our entry into the strife. But never was there the slightest cause to utter a word of criticism of Belgium in any respect. Her course was absolutely *sans peur et sans reproche*. And in that, the names of Belgium and the King of the Belgians are synonymous and interchangeable. In the person of the Hero King we greet and reverence the hero nation.

The one regrettable circumstance of the coming of our more than royal guests was, of course, that of their immediate reception; of which perhaps the less said the better. The President cannot be blamed for his physical inability to greet them in person, which doubtless he lamented deeply, and we are quite willing to concede that conjugal duty was sufficient to restrain Mrs. Wilson from doing so. But we have heard and expect to hear no adequate explanation of the extraordinary solecism of sending the visitors to a New York hotel, instead of conveying them immediately to the National capital and entertaining them in some official residence. New York is a delightful city to visit, and the hotel in which they were housed is one of the most luxurious and comfortable in the world. But an official residence at the National capital is the only appropriate place for the entertainment of the head of another nation, at least as his first domicile in this country. With the President an invalid, and Mrs. Wilson absorbed in care of him, entertainment at the White House was doubtless out of the question, but surely there were available homes of other high officials of the Government, or former officials, whose owners would have been glad to place them at the service of the President for the reception of the guests whom he could not for the moment shelter in his own home. We must regard it with

regret as a case in which most grievously "someone had blundered."

"One more such victory, and we are undone." So Pyrrhus, and so the Covenanting Senators. They defeated the Fall amendments, as everybody expected them to do; but they did so by a vote which, clear as writing on the wall, foretold the Covenant's doom. Bear in mind that the Fall amendments were not amendments or reservations of the Covenant, but were textual changes of the essential body of the Treaty. They were, therefore, of all pending proposals, most open to objection, even from those who oppose the Covenant of the League. On the other hand they were of least importance. Therefore they were the weakest of all. Yet they were supported in the final vote upon them by more than one-third of the Senate. That showed that the necessary two-thirds majority for the Treaty without amendments or reservations could not be secured. It meant, it means, in brief, Effective Reservations, or no Treaty. That fact and more was recognized by the leader of the Covenanters. Senator Hitchcock's comment was that the vote gave no indication of the line-up of the Senate on drastic reservations. Precisely. But every man in his senses knows that the vote in favor of such reservations will be much stronger than that for these amendments. We can imagine a number of Senators assenting, with a shrug of the shoulders, to our participating in the delimitation of Belgian boundaries, who will stand like adamant against scrapping the Monroe Doctrine. If one-third voted for the Fall amendments Mark Tapley himself could not expect less than one-half to vote for the reservations to the Covenant.

Senator Hitchcock regards the defeat of the Fall amendments as a great victory "for the forces favoring ratification of the Treaty without deadly changes." We cordially concur. We don't want deadly changes. We want vitalizing changes.

It is worthy of observation and remembrance that some Senators declined to vote for the Fall amendments who at the same time announced their intention to support an omnibus resolution covering the same ground. They do not care to bother with the matters at retail, but prefer to dispose of them at wholesale.

The French Chamber of Deputies has at last ratified the Treaty of Peace, by a vote of 372 ayes and 53 noes. As the Chamber contains 597 Deputies, of whom at least 501 were actually present, it is obvious that a large number did not care to vote for the treaty, though they would not actually vote against it. It also appears that the Treaty was ratified by less than two-thirds of the entire Chamber. On the other hand, immediately afterward, the treaties of alliance with the United States and Great Britain were ratified by the unanimous vote of the 501 members present, not a single one dissenting. Nothing could more impressively show France's estimate of the comparative values of the direct treaties and the League of Nations. It seems to indicate that if the United

States will ratify the treaty with France, as of course it is going to do, the heart of France will not be altogether broken if we do not put our heads into the noose of the League. Gaining that which she values so much the more, she will not greatly grieve over the loss of that which she values so much the less.

A suggestive side-light is thrown upon the Covenant of the League by the circumstance that British ratification of the Treaty is not yet complete. Parliament, at Westminster, approved long ago. But the King has not yet signed and proclaimed it. Why? Because he is necessarily waiting for Australia's assent. Now it is doubtless a very proper thing for him to await Australia's ratification, from the British imperial point of view. It marks and confirms the solidarity of the British Empire. But if the United Kingdom and the Commonwealth of Australia are thus diplomatically one in making the Treaty, how can they properly be two separate powers under the Treaty? Seeing that they have to act as one single and indivisible entity in adopting the Covenant, how can they logically and justly become two distinct entities in enjoying the powers and privileges of that Covenant? If they vote as one in creating the League of Nations, they should continue to vote as one in that organization. And since, as we understand, the same rule holds good concerning the other autonomous Dominions of that Empire, the King's signature representing them all and depending upon the assent of them all, reason and justice require that a single vote should likewise represent them all in the Council and in the Assembly of the League.

In a division of the Chamber of Deputies on a vote of confidence in which the terms of peace were the issue, M. Clemenceau won by a majority of 73. That was sufficient to assure the stability of the Government for the time. Yet we must regret that so many as 188 votes were cast against the veteran "Tiger" who has done so great a work for France and for that civilization of humanity of which France is the outpost. There can be no question of the cause, and it is a dual cause, both parts of which concern this country. One part is the dissatisfaction with which an increasing number of Frenchmen regard the Covenant of the League of Nations. True, it does not violate French nationality quite as badly as it does ours, but it is recognized that the only way in which it can be kept from seriously infringing upon it is to make the thing after it is adopted a mere "scrap of paper," and that course does not commend itself to the French mind and conscience. The other part is the impatience which is felt over the delay in ratifying the Franco-American treaty of potential alliance. Frenchmen feel strongly that, in the absence of other guarantees against German aggression, that treaty is of vital importance, and they resent the fact that there should be the least delay in perfecting it. We have no doubt that if he had been able to announce the ratification of that treaty by the American Government, M. Clemenceau would have had twice as big a majority as he obtained last week.

Presumably the agreement as to Fiume reached by France and Great Britain would be accepted by Italy. It might even be accepted by d'Annunzio, who seems to have become at least a political entity of large potential resources for trouble-making, even if not quite an Independent Power Eligible to League of Nations membership.

But the assent of France and Great Britain to the agreement is conditional on the assent of another Great World Power—Woodrow Wilson, to wit. And, at this writing, the news that seeps through the chinks of the President's cloistered seclusion in Washington is to the effect that he will not give his assent and has directed that the Paris conference be so notified.

At this point both Mr. Lloyd George and M. Clemenceau wash their hands of the entire matter. They assented to an agreement whereby Italy received enough of the Fiume territory to meet reasonable national aspirations, and the Jugo-Slavs received concessions enough to secure their hinterland commerce through the Adriatic port and enough also to sustain their racial and national dignity. But Mr. Wilson would have none of it. It is either his way out of the impasse or none. The responsibility for whatever happens becomes his, and, unfortunately, ours. Italy will not eject d'Annunzio. Neither will France nor Great Britain. The job is wholly ours. So far as Clemenceau and Lloyd George are concerned it is a simple case of "Let Wilson Do It." Thus it is wholly within the cards that our next armed exploit in the Adriatic will be an attack and war upon d'Annunzio. To be sure, it would be tantamount to war with Italy. But what does one war more or less amount to?

Senator Hoke Smith proposes an amendment, or reservation, or something or other, to the Treaty, which should be adopted by the unanimous vote of the Senate. That is, that all agents of the United States in the execution of the Treaty shall be appointed by the President "by and with the advice and consent of the Senate." That is a safe and sound rule to follow, which should not be the less favorably regarded because it happens to be an essential prescription of the Constitution of the United States.

Senate and House appear to have agreed upon the Prohibition Enforcement bill, under which all sales of buttermilk, cider and similar beverages will be forbidden under heavy penalty, though those forms of the Demon Rum may still be manufactured in the kitchen for the family's own imbibing. Whether it will be permissible to pass around the buttermilk jug at the meetings of the Dorcas Society, or to give a neighbor a swig of cider for helping at hog-killing, will probably have to be decided by the Supreme Court of the United States. Meantime we observe that numerous new drug stores are being opened in convenient places, conspicuously displaying in their windows certain "patent medicines" bearing on the wrappers of the bottles in big letters the warning(?) legend: Contains 15 per cent. of alcohol.

The Cost of Living Outlook

PRICES reverse the law of gravity. They rise more readily and more swiftly than they fall. There may be cold comfort in that reflection to those who are suffering from the high cost of living. But it is better to see things as they are than to imagine them as we should like them to be. The fact of record is that experience gives no ground for expecting prices after the conclusion of peace to return immediately to their former level, or to do so nearly as quickly as they rose above that level during the war.

The most obvious and probably the most pertinent and instructive example is furnished by the record of fluctuations of prices during and after our Civil War. Wholesale prices did not begin to rise until the middle of 1862, more than a year after the beginning of the war. Then they went upward with a steep rush, and reached their peak at the end of 1864. Then there was as sudden a drop, but only about one-third of the way down to their former level, by the middle of 1865; after which there were minor fluctuations, up and down, but more down than up, until 1879, when the old level was substantially reached, fourteen years after the end of the war and the beginning of the decline. Retail prices, by way of contrast, began to rise the moment the war began, rose much more slowly and more uniformly than wholesale prices, and did not rise more than two-thirds as high as the latter. They reached their peak in 1866, a year after the war, and then declined more slowly than they had risen and much more slowly than the wholesale prices.

If the same rule should now prevail, therefore, we should see wholesale prices presently fall sharply, and then more slowly, and reach a normal level from twelve to fifteen years hence, while retail prices might continue to rise for another year, and then slowly, very slowly, decline during the ensuing twenty years. That is by no means a cheering prospect, but it is by no means illogical, and it has additional color of plausibility in the circumstance that the rise of prices during the present or late war almost exactly coincided in speed and in height attained with that in the Civil War.

The fact that the one was purely a domestic war while the other has been a foreign and world-wide war is probably of less importance than might at first thought be supposed, since the period during and following our Civil War was a time of great wars in Europe also, so that the world generally was subjected to war conditions very much as it has been in the last half dozen years.

Of more pertinence is the matter of wages, which indeed may have a markedly differentiating effect upon the present situation. During the Civil War wages rose almost exactly *pari passu* with retail prices until the end of 1866 and beginning of 1877. At that point their lines crossed and wages continued to rise while prices slowly fell. Never since have their lines coincided, nor have wages materially declined. On the contrary, their general tendency has been, still is, and is likely to be, upward. That will naturally be a seriously retarding influence upon the decline of prices.

One other consideration deserves attention, and affords a degree of hope. That is, the vastly superior governmental

and social organization of the present time over that of half a century ago, for the prevention of extortion. There were in the sixties and seventies no effective laws against trusts and profiteering. How effective the present laws are, or can be made, remains to be seen, as does also the influence which they may have upon the cost of living. We may hope that they will abate or prevent injustice, but it would probably be over-sanguine to look for them to restore prices to their ante-bellum level in a day, or in a year.

Ireland's Nationality

IT would be profitable, though it might be embarrassing to them, for some of our glib and facile apostles of the denationalization of the United States to paraphrase the classic inquiry concerning Kansas, and to ask and to answer the question, What is the matter with Ireland?

It cannot be political oppression. For many years Ireland has been free to elect to Parliament an almost unanimous delegation of Land Leaguers, Home Rulers, Sinn Feiners. It cannot be under-representation. Ireland has one representative to 45,000 inhabitants, while England has only one to 75,000. Thus in Parliamentary matters Ireland is the most favored member of the United Kingdom.

It certainly cannot be fiscal oppression. There is not a tax in Ireland that is not also levied in England, while there are some in England and Scotland that are not levied in Ireland, and some that are common to both are lighter in Ireland than in Great Britain. There are also various heavy expenses which are local charges in Great Britain and state charges in Ireland. Thus primary education and police are paid for by local taxation in England and Scotland, but by the general government in Ireland; so that such Irish services are paid for in part by England and Scotland.

It is not agrarian oppression. At the beginning of Parnell's campaign the problem was largely agrarian, and landlordism was a vast and intolerable evil. But that has been changed. England has provided from the pockets of English taxpayers enormous sums to finance Irish peasant proprietorship, and the land laws of Ireland are today far more favorable to the people than those of England and Scotland.

It cannot be a religious grievance which Ireland suffers. In no country of the world is there a greater degree of religious freedom or a more marked absence of discrimination against the church with which the great majority of the people are affiliated.

What, then, is the grievance? It is quite obvious. It is the denial to Ireland of independent and sovereign nationality. Irishmen may be quite aware that under this independent government they would have to assume burdens which they do not now bear, and relinquish advantages which they now enjoy. But such considerations are negligible by the side of the paramount passion for nationality.

That, we say, is an example which Americans will do well to heed. We cannot concede that the national sentiment is less strong here than in Ireland, or that America is less entitled to demand that her complete nationality shall be maintained, than Ireland is that hers shall be restored.

Teutonic Howls

WE ARE told that Germany has been deprived of her coal and iron mines and other resources, and is thus doomed to industrial ruin. She is not only disarmed, she is pauperized. That is the piteous pretence under which Germany seeks to gain in this negotiated peace what it failed to gain in war.

It is, of course, all a lie. The mining regions of Alsace and Lorraine, the Sarre valley and Upper Silesia constitute so small a proportion of Germany's mineral resources as to make the loss of them negligible. All these coal and iron fields put together do not equal in extent the vast coal and iron field of Rhenish Westphalia, which stretches unbroken from Wesel to Limburg and Giessen, and which is more than six times as productive as the Sarre coal field over which so great a to-do is raised.

Then there are other important coal fields elsewhere in Germany, in Hanover, in Saxony, in Lower Silesia, and in the Rhineland, aggregating a far greater output than the Sarre valley. Also, there are enormous lignite fields scattered pretty much all over Germany, in Hesse, Saxony, Thuringia, Brandenburg, Lower Silesia, Brunswick, Anhalt and Bavaria.

There are also left to Germany practically all of her vast mines of potassium and other salts, of zinc, lead, copper, tin, silver and gold. Her natural resources thus remain substantially intact and unimpaired; her industrial potency is practically as great as ever.

If it be asked why, since she was already so richly endowed with such mineral wealth, she was so intent upon seizing in 1871 the coal and iron fields of France, the answer is easily given. It was not so much that she needed them herself, as that she wanted to deprive France of them. She wanted to cripple her rival. Of course, after she had stolen the mines, she made all possible use of them. She used them even to the neglect of her own, because she felt sure of always having the latter, but she feared that she would some time be compelled to surrender the mines which she had stolen, and she wanted to get everything out of them that she could while she had the opportunity.

There is no occasion to expend any sympathy over these German protests. Their pretence of suffering is all a lie. Their only loss is that which every thief feels when he is compelled to surrender stolen goods.

Aliens Who Are a Menace

WE NEVER sympathized with Know-Nothing-ism. We have no objection to a considerable influx of immigrants from other lands. Some of these have taken high rank among our most useful citizens. Millions of them have added to the essential brawn of the nation, and have done an inestimable work for our material progress.

But when aliens, from any land, come here in numbers so great to be assimilated, when they remain chiefly unnaturalized, and when they form a majority of the men

engaged in some of our most important industries, they become a serious menace to our industrial and social welfare.

The statement was made at the beginning of the steel strike, by the operators, that the majority of those who went on strike at the incitement of the admitted revolutionist, Foster, were aliens. This was denied, but the denial was not as convincing as the original charge, which was backed up with statistics.

It is authoritatively reported that in the steel and iron industry a majority of all workmen are aliens. The same is true of bituminous coal mining, of woolen mills, cotton mills and tanneries, of slaughter houses and meat-packing houses, of oil refineries and sugar refineries, and of clothing factories and furniture factories. These are all great industries, and in all of them more than 50 per cent. of the workers are foreign-born.

Moreover, of these aliens the great majority remain aliens, showing no disposition to become naturalized citizens. Recent canvassing showed that in 112 large representative establishments, in different industries, only 31.4 per cent. of the aliens were naturalized, 3.8 per cent. more had declared their intention of becoming naturalized, and more than 64 per cent. remained unnaturalized.

The proportion of aliens remaining unnaturalized varies greatly according to their origin. Of Bulgars, Croats, Greeks, Mexicans, Roumanians, Serbs and Spaniards, more than ninety per cent. remain unnaturalized. Of Armenians, Hungarians, Italians and Russians, more than 70 though less than 90 per cent. remain alien. Of Austrians, Bohemians, Canadians, Finns, French and Polish, 50 per cent. or more, though less than 70 per cent. retain their foreign allegiance. Of English, Germans and Irish, from 30 to less than 50 per cent. remain unnaturalized. The only nationalities of importance of which less than 30 per cent. remain alien are Norway, 27 per cent., and Sweden, 27.4 per cent.

We do not believe that it is a good thing for these men themselves to remain unnaturalized aliens in the land where they are making their homes and earning their living. We are certain that it is not a good thing for this country, industrially, socially or politically, to have them do so. It must be remembered that millions of them are unable to read or write—at any rate, to read or write the English language. Therefore, the only information they can get concerning the laws of this country, or concerning the issues in any economic controversy, is that which they get from hearsay or through the dubious medium of the foreign language press. It would be a miracle if such men were not too often susceptible of being misled by designing agitators and intriguers.

There are few more urgent duties before the nation and its governments, National, State and Municipal, than the Americanization of this unassimilated mass, and the regulation of further immigration so as to avoid further increase of the evil. It is one thing for a country to be an asylum for the oppressed and a land of opportunity for those who seek to better their lot. It is another and a very different thing for it to be made an international dumping-ground, or a Tom Tiddler's ground for alien exploitation.

Applause in the Galleries

PRESUMABLY the Senate of the United States is big enough to take care of itself, and sufficiently conscious of its dignity and responsibilities to prevent its deliberations from being embarrassed by tumultuous demonstrations of outsiders admitted to its galleries. Recent outbreaks, such as those following the speeches of Senators Lodge and Reed, have seemed, none the less, to raise a question as to the Senate's desire, at least, to maintain proper decorum within its own chamber.

Not only were the outbursts of applause, cheers and other noisy manifestations of gallery sympathy with Mr. Reed's and Mr. Lodge's scorching denunciations of Mr. Wilson's now much tattered and torn League of Nations carried to the very limits of tolerance, but they were accompanied by hisses, hoots and jeers at other Senators who rose to speak in opposition.

This, of course, is intolerable. It would be unworthy of a town hall meeting in the height of a political campaign.

It makes not the slightest difference towards which side in the controversy the cheers and jeers are directed. They are out of place and unbecoming in the Senate of the United States. Perhaps some decently decorous gallery manifestation of approval and appreciation of such masterpieces of argumentation and patriotic eloquence as characterized the speeches of both Mr. Reed and Mr. Lodge, might properly be overlooked and tolerated. The gallery is the public. It fairly represents the public. And that the public is becoming profoundly stirred in opposition to that preposterous engagement to which Mr. Wilson would bind the country is becoming an overshadowing fact. With every day that the debate in the Senate and throughout the country has continued, this popular opposition has been increased and intensified.

Senator Johnson's recent speech-making trip through seven States was a continuous-performance demonstration of the powerful hold that opposition to Mr. Wilson's League has taken upon the people. His meetings were record-breakers in size and enthusiasm wherever he went. We have not the slightest doubt that he was well within the fact when he said, on his return to Washington, that with sixty days more discussion before the American people of the Wilson foreign-entanglement proposition, there would not be a shred of it left.

It is entirely natural that this hostility to the wretched international absurdity to which Mr. Wilson wishes to tie the United States should prevail in the Senate galleries as it prevails in all gatherings of Americans. Very many of the Senate gallery visitors are soldiers, and the lack of sympathy of the returned soldiers with the President's "visions" is a factor in the opposition to his League dreams which is beginning to count heavily throughout the country.

Only a few days ago a petition against the League, signed by 5,000 Pennsylvania soldiers, was laid before the Senate. Soldiers in the galleries, many of them wounded and some

on crutches, were leaders in the demonstrations of enthusiastic approval of the speeches of Mr. Lodge and Mr. Reed. Possibly, also, they shared in the improper demonstrations that greeted Senators who rose in opposition. But, even with all allowance for the sentiments of soldiers naturally roused to anger by the proposed surrender of American national independence of action involved in the League—even when all allowance is made for sentiments so natural, yet the Senate and people of the United States were treated with disrespect in some of the demonstrations which followed Senator Reed's remarkably stirring speech.

It seemed to be a perplexing problem for the able Senators. Kindly, good-humored Vice President Marshall fairly ducked it for a time. It was within his authority to clear the galleries at any moment. But that would have hurt a good many people's feelings. He did not want to do that. It would have inflicted a hardship and some embarrassment upon ladies in the gallery, who, presumably, had taken no part in the disorderly manifestations. That was something that was beyond Mr. Marshall.

So the gallery enthusiasts had their way for a while. But at last a device was put into effect that suppressed them and yet did not exclude them. Guards were scattered here and there among the gallery benches. Their's was an easy task. Their presence itself was almost enough. A warning look or a "h-u-s-h" from one of them was sufficient to silence the most explosive of the gallerians. It was a masterpiece of strategy. It leaves Vice President Marshall's traditional gentleness and kindly courtesy unimpaired and it effectively squelches the gallery riot at the same time.

STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION, ETC., REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF CONGRESS OF AUGUST 24, 1912.

Of Harvey's Weekly, published weekly at New York, N. Y., for October 1, 1919.

State of New York, County of New York, ss.

Before me, a Notary Public in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared George M. Gottfried, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the Business Manager of Harvey's Weekly and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management, etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, embodied in section 443, Postal Laws and Regulations, to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business managers are: Publisher, North American Review Corporation, 171 Madison Ave., New York, N. Y.; Editor, George Harvey, 171 Madison Ave., New York, N. Y.; Managing Editor, none; Business Manager, George M. Gottfried, 171 Madison Ave., New York, N. Y.

2. That the owner is George Harvey, 171 Madison Ave., New York, N. Y.

3. That the known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 per cent. or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: None.

4. That the two paragraphs next above, giving the names of the owners, stockholders, and security holders, if any, contain not only the list of stockholders and security holders as they appear upon the books of the company but also, in cases where the stockholder or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting, is given; also that the said two paragraphs contain statements embracing affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees, hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner; and this affiant has no reason to believe that any other person, association, or corporation has any interest direct or indirect in the said stock, bonds, or other securities than as so stated by him.

(Signed) GEORGE M. GOTTFRIED,
Business Manager.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 29th day of September, 1919.
(Seal)

HERBERT E. BOWEN,
Notary Public, Queens Co., N. Y.

Certificate filed in N. Y. Co. No. 615. (My commission expires March 30, 1921.)

Letters From Our Readers

THE SIX-TO-ONE CLAUSE

SIR,—In answering the criticisms that Great Britain, under the proposed League of Nations, has six votes to our one in the council, Mr. Wilson always comes back with the reply that it makes no difference, for the reason that in the council the vote to have effect must be unanimous.

For the sake of argument suppose we admit that the vote must be unanimous and the one vote of these United States would be as effective as the six votes of Great Britain, to bind the League to put into effect any policy or plan that may have been proposed.

Again, assume that some policy is before the council for consideration, that affects favorably the welfare of Great Britain and at the same time affects that of the United States adversely, and that the United States has appointed for her commissioner on the council, a supercilious, arrogant, conceited, weak-kneed puppet, representing a band belonging to a vicious money interest, who are trying to make of this Government a dependency of the super-government which the so-called League would be, is it not fair to reason that that representative could be cajoled by those trained and skilled foreign diplomats or representatives in the council, into doing the very thing he ought not to do; in other words, "Shantung" this country?

In view of the President's statement that the League is greater than our Government, this seems to be a reasonable assumption of what could happen, from the way I look at it.

The President has seen fit to call those who oppose his League, "hyphens." I am not a "hyphen" and resent the slander. I am an American and make the proud boast of nine generations of my family in this country, whereas some of our exalted critics are English by one remove.

Washington, D. C.

GEORGE L. PECKHAM.

WE ARE FORGIVEN

SIR,—I have been charged with the crime of high treason for not standing back of the President. If I am guilty, no less are you. I personally declared war against the Imperial German Government two and one-half years before Mr. Wilson reached the end of his watchful wavering, and then, for a time, I did stand squarely behind him, but it was not long until I found that standing behind the President was a feat that required more gymnastics of conviction than I was equal to. My only defense is, how can you stand back of a man who does not stand back of himself?

When I was told that you laid claim to being the original discoverer of Woodrow Wilson, my first impulse was to cancel my subscription to your WEEKLY, but my earlier training in standing back of the President had made me nimble, and once more my pygmy mind turned turtle. I forgave you, for I recalled that even Christopher Columbus, the greatest discoverer of them all, when he first set foot upon the little island of San Salvador, thought that he had found America.

St. Paul, Minn.

H. RODGERS.

WANTON WASTE

SIR,—A few days ago it was reported to me that a soldier of the Seventy-seventh Division had spent a month or more following the signing of the armistice in destroying motorcycle and automobile engines in France with oxygen-acetylene cutting torches; that he and other soldiers made the engines entirely useless except for scrap metal.

The agreement between our Government and our motorcycle and automobile engine manufacturers was not to return the engines as it would cheapen the American market.

For the same reason the French Government refused to accept them whole, though they would purchase scrap for the metal value. The rubber tires alone were returned to the United States.

Is this part of the million dollar destruction of aeroplanes, etc., or is it something new or entirely false? As our Liberty Bonds financed the war it would be interesting to know if this is where the portion went. I would appreciate any information you can offer.

I enjoy the reading of your WEEKLY.
New York City.

B. A. THOMPSON.

THE THIRD TERM

SIR,—In your last issue of the WEEKLY you say: "Or it may be, as many suspect, that his real purpose is to create a situation which will seem to require his candidacy for a Third Term." To use a slang phrase, "You said it all." You told the story,

and one that I envisaged months ago. When I then asserted to a group of Wilsonites that Dr. Wilson's threat upon his departure for Paris to intertwine the Treaty and Covenant inextricably would be done with deliberate intent, so that the Senate would be forced to oppose him, thereby giving him the opportunity to go direct to the people for vindication, I was told I was non-compos-mentis. However, I at the time wagered fifty dollars that Wilson would not only be a candidate for a third term, but would accept the nomination. This wager is signed and I expect to win it.

Chicago, Ill.

W. H. ROWAN.

FROM A NATURALIZED CITIZEN

SIR,—As a naturalized American, who has assimilated the true American ideals and accepted them without reservations, I am indebted to you more than any man, except Roosevelt, for bringing out in me, in concrete form, thoughts and convictions which are fundamental in the making of a good American citizen. You and he have taught me how to steer a straight course through the maze of propaganda and subterfuge to which we have been subjected from above and below.

It is my hope and conviction that the future will see a new order of things in America—not the kind Mr. Wilson is preaching—but the kind which is the result of such ceaseless efforts as yours in making the people think. To you and your kind falls the burden of preserving the ideals of Washington, Lincoln and Roosevelt. You are creating the nucleus of an army of real Americans who shall in time defeat the international snake that is now attempting to lure America into its coils.

May God give you health and strength to carry on to keep the American flag waving at the top of the mast, a true emblem of courage, loyalty, liberty and truth.

Seattle, Wash.

C. HAGEMAN.

GERMANY AND THE KU KLUX

SIR,—A correspondent writing from South Norwalk, Conn., has uncovered an alliance between the Ku Klux and Germany to sacrifice "diversified industrialism," in order to turn this country into a "coolie cotton plantation," and says that certain books, written by President Wilson and Colonel House, show them in sympathy with this conspiracy.

This must be the same man who discovered that Bacon wrote Shakespeare. It will comfort him to know that this damnable scheme has miserably failed. The farm laborers are getting such fabulous wages that there is not a chance for cheap cotton.

I am something of a sleuth myself at running down mysteries. My guess, just off hand, is that the gentleman is a cotton manufacturer.

Austin, Texas.

WALTER B. ROBINSON.

THE TREATY AND PROHIBITION

SIR,—Attorney General Palmer knows that a great many people in this country want the ban lifted from whiskey so that large quantities of it now in bond may be taken out and sold. Naturally, the number of people thus interested would be supposed to have some influence, and the Attorney General, prompted by the Wilsonian conscience, has given out the statement that the whiskey will not be released until the League of Nations Treaty, or Peace Treaty, shall have been signed. What is one to think of a public official who would resort to such methods to obtain support for the League of Nations?

Louisville, Ky.

WM. C. LAMBERT.

ST. ELIZABETHS' PATIENTS

SIR,—In the stress of your great anti-League campaign, pray do not forget the pitiable plight of the shell-shocked soldiers at St. Elizabeths', an asylum for the insane (Washington, D. C.), and if they have not already been removed from that institution, use the influence of your powerful paper to prevent them being driven really insane by gross mismanagement.

Utica, N. Y.

CAROLINE CHAPMAN.

APPRECIATION

SIR,—Permit me to express my appreciation, as a worker in the Republican ranks, of the splendid fight you are making in behalf of America and Americanism, in which I, too, am putting in some licks as best I can.

Clarksburg, W. Va.

WILLIAM L. GEPFERT,
Editor *The Clarksburg Telegram*.

Letters From Our Readers

"FALLACIOUSLY SUBTLE"

SIR,—It has been said that Mr. Cleveland, who knew Woodrow Wilson quite well, remarked on one occasion that he was "intellectually dishonest." Permit me to call attention to some things that Mr. Wilson has said and in which he is fallaciously subtle and disingenuous, striving with apparent deliberation to lead the people to false conclusions.

In California he declared that the wresting by force of the concessions in Shantung on the part of Germany was "fundamentally un-Christian and heathen," and that the actions of England, Russia and Japan following the example of Germany were of the same character, and that "none of them had any business in there on those terms." And this is exactly what the opponents of the Shantung provision of the Peace Treaty believe. We regard it as unethical and immoral as well as inexpedient, and we feel that the honor of every American citizen is involved in the settlement of the issue.

But Mr. Wilson goes on to justify his own action in signing the Treaty by calling attention to the fact that when Germany forced China to yield Shantung, Mr. McKinley and Mr. John Hay refrained from raising any objection to the deal. "No protest," he says, "was made by the Government of the United States against the original concession of the Shantung territory to Germany." And on this he bases his contention that we should hand it over to Japan.

What is the impression that he undertakes to make on the popular mind? That the two cases are exactly parallel. But as a matter of fact there is no comparison. When the original concession was made the United States was in no sense a party to the dispute. The matter was never referred to us, our advice and consent were not sought, and it was clearly impossible for us to project ourselves into the case unbidden without immediately inviting a war with Germany. We were not then in the business of meddling with the affairs of the whole world and trying to arrange the map of Europe, Asia and Africa on the lines of pure and unadulterated idealism.

But in the present instance the matter is referred directly to us. We are obliged to ratify or reject the action of the Peace conference in alienating Chinese territory and property rights. We have the solemn duty of approving or disapproving the transaction thrust upon us, and we cannot escape the alternative if we would. Under the circumstances what could be more dishonest than Mr. Wilson's method of handling this grave question? His treatment of it in this speech is a piece of sophistry without a shred of truth to cover its nakedness.

Newport, Ky.

REV. T. W. RAINEY.

A CHAIN OF BLUNDERS

SIR,—In my judgment, your patriotic work far surpasses that of any other man in the United States. You are the only writer with whom I can agree in everything. Your statements are all the very essence of lucidity, patriotic to the core, and absolutely fearless. Besides, your comprehension of national and international questions, which enables you to detect error, sham and weakness, and your marvelous ability to put into fitting words your conclusions, place you in a class by yourself. Needless to say, therefore, that I am in hearty accord with you in the great fight you are making against that suicidal project—the League of Nations; and in writing this I do so *merely* to make a suggestion, for I believe that every man in his way should do his bit, infinitesimal though it may be.

The suggestion I wish to make is that you, in your inimitable way, show the utter lack of judgment of Mr. Wilson, by presenting the whole chain of his principal blunders and self-reversals in one continuous procession. A majority of the democrats are supporting the League project because *he* is fathering it, and it seems to me important to demonstrate by a chain of irrefutable facts, as only you can do, what a colossal failure he is and has been as a guide. By showing him to be the false prophet that he is, no doubt many democrats (I have always been one) would see the true light and desert his standard.

New York City.

J. S. B.

SERVANT, NOT MASTER

SIR,—Query: A large business house appoints a Manager, under four years contract, which includes a large salary and expenses, who in return is under oath to give his entire time and attention to the prescribed duties and interests of his official position. Suppose this employee abandons his post and travels abroad for six months as self-appointed spokesman for his employers, neglecting both the duties and responsibilities of his salaried position and the

financial interests of the corporation, and endeavoring during this absence to promote a private federation of business competitors, to the great detriment of the corporation that employs him, but largely to his own prospective advantage?

On returning home, he refuses to divulge to his employers any details of his self-appointed mission abroad, but calmly presents a heavy bill for travel expenses and demands prompt approval and endorsement of his proposed League, or federation, with dire prophecies of heart-breaking results if such endorsement is not immediately forthcoming!

How would a corporation or business firm act under such circumstances? How long would such an employee be retained in his position? And why should not the same business principle be applied and the same result obtain in another and more exalted instance of similar desertion and betrayal of trust?

The American people have been patient and long-enduring in time of trouble. But Mr. Wilson is servant, not master, of the people, and it is high time that this fact be forcibly and finally impressed on his obstinate mentality.

New York City.

GEO. W. HILLS.

JAPAN'S VOTE

SIR,—To criticisms of the proposed League of Nations stating that Great Britain has six votes to our one, President Wilson has replied by saying that no question can come before the Assembly of the League which has not first received (with the exception of the admittance of new members) the unanimous consent of the Council, composed of one delegate each from the United States, England, France, Italy, and Japan. Therefore, says Mr. Wilson, while it is true that Great Britain has six votes in the Assembly to our one, she cannot use these votes on any matter until the United States, through its delegates to the League's Council, has first given its approval thereto.

Mr. Wilson has said also that under the Covenant, China's wrongs will be righted, and Shantung returned to its lawful owners, and he urges this as a reason for ratification of both the Treaty and the Covenant. But Japan is an equal member with the United States, England, France, and Italy, of the Council of the League. And Mr. Wilson has shown that only one adverse vote in the Council is needed to block effectively any action or policy of the League of Nations. Therefore, to maintain the status quo in the Far East, Japan has merely to go on saying No to any proposed changes not in accord with her policy. Thus Mr. Wilson's assertion is proved to be only a voice in the air!

Rochester, N. Y.

RICHARDSON MURPHY.

"AN INSPIRATION"

SIR,—Your WEEKLY coming to our desk each Tuesday morning is indeed an inspiration. It is read and reread, and we feel that we have gleaned some good each time it is gone over. It is full of material for thought and will be a benefit to any reader regardless of his political affiliations. Your courage is the one thing to be admired. You speak with a positive knowledge and in a straightforward manner and call things by their proper names. If a copy of your WEEKLY could reach every elector of this country, America would be a better place in which to live and have our being.

May success attend your every effort.

Martins Ferry, Ohio.

R. D. ROBINSON.

Ohio Valley News.

PROPHETIC

SIR,—May I not call your attention to the following prophetic paragraph which appears near the bottom of page 233 of Mr. Wilson's *Congressional Government*:

"His [the Executive's] only power of compelling compliance on the part of the Senate lies in his initiative in negotiation, which affords him a chance to *get the country into such scrapes*, so pledged in the view of the world to certain courses of action, that the Senate hesitates to bring about the appearance of dishonor which would follow its refusal to ratify the rash promises or to support the indiscreet threats of the Secretary of State."

This policy, enunciated in 1884, seems to have met with practical application at Paris in 1919.

Washington, D. C.

H. L. B.

TO THE POINT

SIR,—Permit me to congratulate you on your able paper and particularly on the article "Pettifogging Investigations," which is timely and to the point.

Scarsdale, N. Y.

FRANK SMITH.

CARTOON: "THE UNWELCOME VISITOR"

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The Skies Are Clearing

JOY, oh joy! The Democrats are going to kill the League and incidentally the Treaty, —so they say. Senator Hitchcock heralded the glorious news after grave consultation with Secretary Tumulty on the afternoon of October 6.

"There is no doubt," he declared confidently, "of the ability of the Democrats to defeat the Treaty if the proposed killing reservations are adopted. The Republicans may adopt the reservations; I am not counting votes at this time, but if they do, and the reservations are of the nature now contemplated, it may be set down that the Treaty will not be ratified."

The Senator speaks with accurate knowledge of the situation. He knows full well and tacitly admits that the Committee reservations will be adopted by the solid vote of the Republican majority, swelled by the support of from six to sixteen American Democrats. Everybody knows that,—“everybody,” that is to say in the words of Mr. Taft, “except the President,” who either has not been told or will not believe the truth.

Undoubtedly, too, Mr. Hitchcock speaks by the card when he says that it will be “an easy matter” to muster the thirty-three votes required to reject the Treaty altogether. If help be needed, he can safely count upon a dozen or more Republicans headed by Senator Philander C. Knox. But he will require no assistance. Southern Democrats will jump at the chance to beat the League upon any pretext that will not

involve their “regularity” as partisans. They are well aware that the sentiment of their section is against it. The reduction of the normal Democratic majority of 3,500 to a scant 406 in last week’s bye-election in the Seventh district of Alabama was a true indication.

“Undoubtedly,” said Senator Underwood with refreshing candor, “the ratification of the League of Nations was one of the issues; the Republican candidate was occupying a position in emphatic repudiation of the League and of the ratification of the Treaty with the League in it, while the Democratic candidate was sustaining the position of the President of the United States.”

How much quiet personal satisfaction lurked in Mr. Underwood’s voluntary confession we would not venture to inquire in view of his perfunctory declaration in favor of the Treaty as it stands, but if the Hon. John Hollis Bankhead lost any sleep over the rebuke administered to the Administration by the State which he has represented for nearly forty years we miss our guess completely.

It is no secret that in their hearts the old-timers from the South, including their official leader, the Hon. Thomas Staples Martin of Virginia, who maintains ominous silence, are opposed to the whole scheme. They may have to vote for it, but if they do it will be with wry faces,—and we shall be mightily surprised if the Democratic contingent in favor of effective

reservations, already comprising Senators Reed, Shields, Gore, Hoke Smith, Walsh of Massachusetts, Thomas and probably Chamberlain, is not finally increased by the addition of the Hon. Joseph Eugene Ramsdell of Louisiana and the Hon. Park Trammell of Louisiana, with the Hon. Charles A. Culberson neatly balancing his loyalty between Colonel House and rebellious Texas.

Oh, there will be no lack of Democratic votes if Senator Hitchcock will only point the way to the heeding of convictions without severing party affiliations. And we perceive no reason to believe that he is bluffing. Surely he speaks plainly enough.

"I will say this much," he declared to the *Times* even after a night's reflection, "that unless there is a compromise of some character the Treaty will be defeated by the votes of those who stand against such stringent reservations as the Foreign Relations Committee majority advocates."

We call that splendid. Nothing could be better. True, the Senator did say originally to Secretary Tumulty that he might like later to "consult Mr. Wilson," but—we quote the *Times*—"unless advised," i. e. commanded, "by the President to come to a compromise, the leaders will go ahead on their own initiative."

So the Republicans need not go out of their way to "put it up to the President" after all. Senator Hitchcock has done that flatly off his own bat. He has done more. On October 6, he carefully and foresightedly put into the *Congressional Record* the President's positive assertion that he should regard the "effective and unequivocal" reservations demanded by the Massachusetts convention, agreed upon by Senators Lodge and McCumber and sure to be adopted, as "rejection of the Treaty and nothing else." Obviously he cannot now "advise compromise" without stultifying himself completely and, of course, he will never do that. So the way is clear, with no path out in sight, for rejection by the Democrats themselves of the rotten League.

True, in the doing, they will have to reveal the hollowness of their solemn asseverations to the effect that only prompt ratification can reduce the high cost of living, avert chaos and anarchy, prevent the breaking of the heart of the world, avoid the holding up of the United States to the scorn of all creation as a quitter, a coward, a scuttler, etc., etc., but necessity knows no law. They are beaten and they know it; so the tail may as well go with the hide.

Glory be! It seems too good to be true. And if the great plan shall be realized, as now seems likely, what a relief it will be to the whole

country to know that America is not only safeguarded in her possession of independence, but absolutely free from entanglements of any kind for any purpose with any nation, though ready and willing, as ever before the accession of Woodrow Wilson, to serve valiantly and effectively all righteous causes in behalf of civilization and humanity.

Proceedings subsequent to a result so radiant for America would be purely incidental. The crafty scheme to induce Italy to withhold ratification for the purpose of helping out the President has failed. She has accepted the Treaty; so has France; so has England. More are not required. "Within two weeks," the Associated Press reports from Paris, the formal documents will be deposited, "the *proces verbal* will be drafted by the French Foreign Office, the state of war will be at an end," Europe will have her British League and America will be free to make her own settlements in her own way at her own time and to follow the path of absolute independence which already has led to the most desirable and most coveted position among the nations of the earth.

If then any political party shall care to make Denationalization a National issue and Mr. Wilson or any of his satellites shall appeal to the country upon the ground that he had rejected measures designed to protect its liberties, we shall contemplate the prospect with the utmost complacency.

All that we have ever asked is opportunity for the people themselves to determine the policy which shall shape the future of their own Republic.

An Inspiring Address

THERE was inspiration in the address of Secretary Lane at the opening of the Industrial Conference in Washington. The ringing virility of the note of optimism which the newly-chosen Chairman of the Conference struck will diffuse hope throughout the country that this memorable gathering's deliberation may not drift upon those rocks of futile forensic wranglings on which so many other analogous efforts have split.

Secretary Lane will not tolerate the pessimistic assumption that the problem of labor and capital is insoluble. He holds that for a country whereof the imaginative genius produces more inventions every year than the two largest foreign nations in the world produce, such an assumption is preposterous. "A people," he continued, "that have that amount of practical imagination, that amount of genius, cannot meet with a problem that, in time, they cannot solve." The Chairman-Secretary simply wipes the word "fail" out of America's bright lexicon. He will have none of it. And another word he wipes out of that same lexicon is the word

"class." He will have none of that detestable, unnaturalized, un-American word either. "Men talk in this country of class," he said, "and a class war. Why, gentlemen, there can be no class in this country. Who is to be the next President of the United States? Whoever he is, you will find that he is some boy that years ago worked for wages; and there can be no class where such a thing is possible!"

In the same spirited way Mr. Lane meets the croakers who are already predicting that the Conference will be a failure. To these he said:

I look upon this Conference as the greatest and most important extra-legal body that has been called in this country, certainly in our times. There are some here who have doubted its success. Why, gentlemen, this Conference is bound to be a success. Its extent is not to be measured by resolutions that come from it, by platforms or by programmes, or by bits of machinery that it may invent or reveal. The spirit of this Conference is its justification.

We will draft here a declaration of interdependence, not of independence; a declaration that we are united one with another, that we cannot live in isolation; that we must join hands together not for our own sakes alone, but for the greater sake of our country and of the world.

Good, hearty, spirited talk, that, and as pregnant with assured hopefulness of much-needed results as it is spirited and hearty. Good American talk, too. He puts America first in his anticipations of value to be attained, and not "the world" first and America a draggle-tail world appendage.

And another of Mr. Lane's vigorous expressions was in the opening of his address, when he characterized "arrogance and ignorance" as deadly forces of destruction. Deadly indeed they are and no other combination so deadly save one, and that is arrogance and a matured conviction of self-omniscience.

The Army and the Nation

THE superbly efficient work of General Leonard Wood and the regular army at Omaha, and at Gary, should be an impressive and effective object lesson to those who are still halting between two opinions concerning army reorganization on a peace basis. It is a reminder that our army has after all an essential and indispensable function to fulfill in domestic affairs as well as—on remotely detached occasions—in foreign parts. Three times in this generation have our arms been called across the seas. Three hundred and sixty-five times in every year are they liable to be needed for urgent service at home.

We are not alarmists. We do not look for civil war in America. God knows there is scarcely anything that we should detest more than military rule. But we believe that the best way to prevent trouble is to be prepared against it; and we are not blind to the signs of the times.

This country is becoming permeated with Bolshevism; not in the majority of the people, but in a sufficient minority to cause serious trouble if the virulence of the poison be not checked and eliminated, promptly and inexorably. Look at the situation: At the very moment when the President's great Labor Conference is in session at Washington, prob-

ably the most important, significant and hopeful gathering of the kind ever held in the world, what is being done elsewhere? Tens of thousands of disaffected aliens are trying to paralyze the steel industry of the nation with a revolutionary strike, inspired by Bolshevik leaders and teachings. The soft coal miners of the country are planning, under Bolshevik leadership and with revolutionary aims, to deprive the nation of fuel at the on-coming of winter. Extensive strikes elsewhere, with Bolshevik leadership and purposes, are reducing industrial production at the very time when there is unexampled need of its greatest possible increase. In the metropolis of the nation a mob of thousands of aliens, flaunting Bolshevik banners, denouncing the President, the Government and the Republic itself and demanding a violent and sanguinary revolution, makes public demonstrations in the streets in defiance of the law and of the police.

Such symptoms multiply. They indicate the imperative need of an establishment capable at once of controlling any situation that may arise, and of suppressing any outbreak that may occur. The need of this time is not for an American army to camp at the foot of Mount Ararat or to garrison the towns of Araby the Blest, but to serve as a reassuring and protecting force in American affairs, so that without Bolshevik interference American industry may proceed unchecked and American citizens may enjoy life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness with none to molest them or to make them afraid.

Profit-sharing by employees has a plausible and engaging sound, and many there be who think that they hear in it the solution of our economic problems. But when a business has a deficit instead of a surplus at the end of the year, as is not infrequently the case, are the employees going to be loss-sharers, and make it good?

ENFANTS TERRIBLES

Sit down, Mr. Hoover, you're rocking the boat!
By prodding the Council you're getting their goat,
You surely must see that you can't keep on thus
Insisting on action and making a fuss;
It's quite against precedent, where will it lead
If cutting red tape becomes general, indeed?
No one will be safe on his somnolent stool—
Sit down, Mr. Hoover, and don't be a fool!

Be still, Mr. Borah, and you Mr. Lodge!
You're making the Treaty and League seem a podge,
Exposing their weakness, the dangers that lurk
Concealed in their innards (provided they work);
You're very unpleasant in taking this stand—
Why, haven't you heard that the mixture's "just grand"?
When Divinity's spoken mere men ought to bow—
Sit down, you two gents, and quit making a row!

Shut up, Uncle Sam, and stop using your bean!
Like children you only are here to be seen:
Your purpose in life should be paying the bills,
And scouring the country for illicit stills;
You are not expected to have any brains,
They've all been pre-empted to save you the pains.
Your hand in your pocket—that's right—now a smile!
Shut up, Uncle Sam, and be silent a while!

—William Wallace Whitlock.

Strikes and the Law

MR. GOMPERS thinks and says that arbitration of economic disputes must always be voluntary, and that workmen, on railroads and elsewhere, must always have a right to strike. We have no doubt that many others agree with him, and we readily concede that there is much to be said in favor of his proposition.

It must be obvious, however, that in taking that attitude he is in one respect setting himself in opposition to those advanced principles of social organization with which trades unions are supposed to be in touch and in harmony. For years some of our most conspicuous statesmen have been urging obligatory or compulsory arbitration of all international disputes, without reservation. Certainly if sovereign states are to be under compulsion to submit to arbitration, it would be competent and not inappropriate for such a state to require its citizens, individually or organized, thus to submit their disputes.

Moreover, there is a special reason for demanding such disposition of railroad and other public utility disputes, because in them are involved not alone the interests of the disputant parties, the business profits of the employers and the wages of the employees, but the comfort, the convenience, the imperative necessities, of the entire public. The state charters a railroad not merely for the sake of giving its builders and owners a chance to make money and its employees a chance to earn wages, but in order to provide the public with needed facilities for travel and transportation, and it is no less concerned with keeping those facilities unimpaired than it is with protecting the dividends of the stockholders or the wages of the trainmen and engineers.

There is another reason why Mr. Gompers and his colleagues of the American Federation of Labor should be chary of opposing compulsory arbitration. That is because organized labor has generally been vociferous in its condemnation of employers for ever, in any case, declining arbitration, and has intimated that they ought to be required by official compulsion to submit to that course whenever organized labor demands it. At the very time when he was forcibly protesting against compulsory arbitration, Mr. Gompers was with equal force inveighing against the Steel operators for not accepting it. Surely if arbitration is to be voluntary on the one side, it must also be voluntary on the other. If the employees are to be free to refuse it and to go on strike rather than to submit to it, their employers must be equally free to do the same.

Again, organized labor has long been committed against *laissez faire*. It has repeatedly sought and exulted in official intervention in its behalf, and in official coercion of employers. When the President, in the latter part of his first term, forced through Congress a law compelling the railroads to give their employees ten hours' pay for eight hours' work, we heard no protest against it from organized labor. On the contrary, we heard a great deal of approval, and saw a very large number of railroad employees wearing

Wilson buttons during his campaign for reelection. Now if compulsion is thus to be exerted against employers for the benefit of the employees, it would not seem to be altogether illogical or unreasonable to exert it against the employees, when occasion required, particularly if it was not to be merely for the benefit of the employers but for the welfare of the disinterested public.

This latter consideration seems to have force, not alone in the direction of compulsory arbitration but also in that of actual prohibition of strikes, which is contemplated in pending legislation, and to which Mr. Gompers expresses even more vigorous opposition than to compulsory arbitration. He goes so far as to say that if such a law were passed, and were upheld by the Supreme Court of the United States, he would not advise the members of his Federation to obey it. He would not, of course, advise them to disobey it. But he would look with entire complacency and presumptive approval upon their disregard of it. That is to say, he would insist upon and would legally fight for the enforcement of a law arbitrarily compelling the companies to grant a large increase of wages at the demand of the men, but he would regard as impossible of fulfillment, and would not wish to enforce or to advise compliance with, a law forbidding men to deprive the public of the transportation and travel facilities which are among the prime essentials not only of comfort and convenience, but of life itself.

We shall doubtless have to go some distance before we attain equitable and mutually satisfactory settlement of all matters at issue between employers and employees. But we shall gain that goal the more quickly and the more surely if we follow a road defined by equal rights and equal duties and responsibilities for both parties. Indeed, if we do not follow that road, we shall never attain that goal.

There should be a general response to the request of the American Legion that on Sunday, November 9, attention shall be paid in all the churches not to the Legion *per se* but to the principles of Americanism for which it stands. The date is well chosen, being the Sunday nearest to the anniversary of the armistice which ended the great war. The theme is one of the greatest and worthiest that can be brought before the people.

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The Veto Power at Paris

PRESIDENT WILSON had the veto power at Paris. How did he use it? What did he veto? His was the "heart of steel." Can we ever expect to have a more metallic bosom represent this country in the League of Nations? Did anybody veto anything—unless D'Annunzio has vetoed the President's decision in regard to Fiume? Does the use of the veto power at Paris prove that this power will protect us?

Whence was the idea of the veto power derived? It was not expressly incorporated in the draft of the League of Nations Covenant which the President brought over to this country with him in February. But when Senators here complained that the Covenant as then drawn did not adequately protect America's interests in various directions, the President and his friends explained, "Ah! but the United States has the veto power. Nothing of importance can be done in the Council of the League without a unanimous vote." "But we do not find any such provision in the Covenant," replied the objectors. "Nevertheless, it was generally understood amongst us. That is the way we are proceeding at Paris and we all took it for granted. No other way is conceivable." Later the unanimous voting provision was inserted in the Covenant.

We have a perfect illustration of the way the veto power works, namely at Paris. Did the veto power the President had there stop the Shantung decision? No. The President "regretted the necessity" of consenting to that decision, but he consented, nevertheless. What was the necessity? Secretary Lansing says there wasn't any. Then necessities will arise which will prevent our using our veto power. Such an occasion will be when the other four big Powers are agreed upon a course of action, and we shall either yield to them or break the League. Or, if we allow that Secretary Lansing's judgment is worth considering, such an occasion will be when the other Powers make us think we must either yield to them or break the League.

But, perhaps it will be said, That was a case of the secret treaties, and in the bright days to come there will be no secret treaties. Take a case where there were none. Did the President's veto power prevent his agreeing to the French Alliance? He had said on Sept. 27, 1918: "The United States will enter into no special arrangements or understandings with particular nations." Mr. Lloyd George and M. Clemenceau had a gentlemen's agreement that they would give Mr. Wilson the League of Nations; but, to be sure they had something real, they would force out of him an alliance with France. They made him think that there must be such an alliance or that he could have no League. What became of the veto power? He signed the alliance.

Mr. Wilson and his advisers believed that a specific amount of reparation to be paid by Germany should be named in the treaty. Did the President veto the plan of Mr. Lloyd George and M. Clemenceau to leave the amount of reparation blank? No. Did he veto the Rhenish republic? No. France threw over this buffer state when she obtained

the alliance with this country. Did he veto a strategic frontier for Italy? No. Did he veto the prohibition against Austria's joining Germany? No—in spite of all professions about rights of self-determination. Did he veto anything? No. Yet his was the "heart of steel"!

And Mr. Wilson had at Paris not only the veto power, but something this country will never have again: the right of unconditional withdrawal at a moment's notice. Mr. Wilson could have boarded his ship and gone home when they forced Shantung upon him as an inevitable necessity, or when they demanded of him an alliance inconsistent with his own promises, and upon numerous other occasions.

The ineffectual gesture of calling the *George Washington* to Brest was the only use he made of the right of withdrawal. Of the veto power he made none at all.

Reservations to Article X

THE Covenanters are objecting strenuously even to Senator McCumber's mild reservation concerning Article X, partly because, they say, it would so tie the hands of the United States in the League of Nations that this country could not go to war, or establish an embargo, or take any action whatever for coercing another Power, without the specific consent of Congress; and partly because, they also say, it would bind future Congresses not to assume any more responsibility under that Article than the present Senate is willing to assume.

So far as their first objection is concerned, it is really a convincing argument in favor of the reservation. So long as the Constitution of the United States is in effective existence, this country shall not and cannot go to war without the specific consent of Congress in each individual case. Neither, we believe, can it without such authorization establish an embargo against any other country. Moreover, it should not without such consent of Congress take any coercive steps beyond those already recognized as legitimate processes of diplomacy; our power to use which, we assume, will remain unimpaired even if Article X and the whole Covenant shall be defeated.

The other objection is amusing. If there were anything in it beyond piffle, it would be equally applicable to every treaty ratified by the Senate, and every bill enacted by Congress. In its childlike and bland sense every act of Congress might be interpreted as an attempt to bind future Congresses. But of course that is sheer nonsense, since it is impossible for one Congress to bind another. There is no entail in legislation. Each Congress is a law unto itself, and is just as free and competent to repeal or to amend a law as its predecessor was to enact it.

If these are the strongest objections the Covenanters of the League can make to the reservation to Article X, they must, as the *New York Evening Post* correspondent plaintively concedes, realize that its adoption is inevitable in the end.

A Psychological Episode

THE tales of returning travelers about insults and abuse heaped on Americans in Italy are too circumstantial and specific to leave any doubt as to their accuracy. It simply comes to this: that we are about the best-hated of any foreigners on Italian soil. The manifestations of this bitterness have become so acute that the matter may well become a subject for early State Department inquiry. In fact, passengers who returned on the liner *President Wilson* last week announced their intention of reporting on the subject to Washington.

Mr. William M. Sullivan, a lawyer, of No. 520 Park avenue, New York, was one of these. The insults to Americans, Mr. Sullivan affirmed, are not confined to the populace. An American is the target for all sorts of petty annoyances at the hands of Italian officials. In Naples the Chief of Police refused to recognize American passports until constrained to do so through appeal to the American Consul. In Trieste American passengers desiring to sail were herded into one room by the ship's physician and told they would have to be vaccinated. Those who forcibly resisted being exposed to the dangers of inoculation at the hands of a bitterly hostile official escaped the peril. Others tamely submitted and took their chances. All the passengers were wilfully and maliciously detained until, in a meeting of protest, they announced their intention of appealing to the American Ambassador. Then they were released.

As for the manifestations of popular hatred of Americans, they seem to be a continuous and more and more accentuated performance. Cartoons and caricatures seem to be the favorite vehicle of expression so far as the public prints are concerned. Most of the caricatures are aimed at President Wilson. He is represented as wearing a German helmet and then again in other pictorial ways he is held up to public scorn and ridicule, some of the cartoons being quite unspeakable in their contumelious coarseness. His name, that blossomed forth on so many streets and hotels, has been ignominiously eradicated. Streets but a short time ago named "President Wilson street" are now called "Fiume street," and the "Hotels President Wilson" are now "Hotels Fiume."

The danger in such an outbreak of popular hatred of America and Americans lies, of course, in the possibility of some serious attack upon our citizens which the Government at Washington cannot ignore. In the critical and inflammable state of affairs now existing in Italy, with the country, in fact, near what might be civil war were not the sentiment practically unanimous on one side of the issue—under such circumstances as these, some viciously pronounced outrage on Americans in Italy might well lead to deplorable complications.

And yet but a few months ago when Mr. Wilson was on his royal progress through Italy the enthusiasm for him and for our country knew no limits. He addressed his speeches over the heads of the Government officials whose guest he was to the more radical elements of the people themselves. This

was particularly the case in Milan, where Socialists of all shades of red are in great numbers. Then, again, he addressed the people of Italy over the heads of their representatives at the Paris conference in a broadside which possibly was intended to produce a ministerial crisis.

This was the beginning of Mr. Wilson's assumption of arrogant dictatorship over the destiny of Fiume, a question so specially European in all its bearings and complications that Mr. Wilson's injection of himself and his dogmatic self-sufficiency into the question, together with his continued stubborn refusal to meet any of the accommodations of the matter arranged and assented to by European statesmen, has resulted in our becoming the objects of all this concentrated hatred throughout Italy. It was a piece of mulishly obstinate persistence in an attitude, in itself an impertinence, which might well have roused the anger of a people far less mercurial than the Italians.

It was in Italy that the President announced it as his mission "to change the world's psychology." If transforming the cordial liking and good will of foreign peoples for us into virulent and bitter hatred is changing the world's psychology, then of a certainty the world's psychology is changed.

"There will never," says Viscount Kaneko, "be a war between Japan and America;" and there are few men in Japan so well fitted to judge the matter as he. He is probably quite right, and his saying would be not a whit the less true if America had stood resolutely against the iniquitous Shantung business, and had thus given Japan an opportunity to retire gracefully from a position which her foremost statesmen now regret that she ever assumed.

Produce the Proofs

A LEARNED pulpit orator a few days ago made himself responsible, in a New York address, for such statements as that the officers of the Steel Corporation had "Cossackized and terrorized the workers by means of coercion and violence"; that "some employers were not without guilt, that their lawlessness was silent, and that laws were passed at their behest through the connivings and cunning of unscrupulous agents;" that ten years from now "we shall laugh at the Garys, for in ten years the Gary aristocracy will be as obsolete as is the Hohenzollern."

Now these remarks are not the reckless, frenzied utterances of a William Z. Foster, the open and avowed advocate of anarchy with sabotage preliminaries. They are the deliberate, well pondered statements of a clergyman high in the esteem of many of his faith. Doubtless the speaker had full and specific knowledge when he made the assertion that the officers of the Steel Corporation had terrorized their workers by coercion and violence; had "Cossackized" them; had corrupted legislation through the connivings and cunning of unscrupulous agents. When he made these terrible charges against men of high standing and heretofore unblemished character, such as Judge Gary, it is inconceivable that he, a clergyman, did not possess full and specific

Guard the Doors

THERE will be little disposition to regard Representative Albert Johnson as an alarmist in his earnest warning as to our immigration perils once the bars are let down by the proclamation of peace.

Mr. Johnson represents the third district of the State of Washington in Congress. He is in a position to know a great deal about undesirable immigrants. The State of Washington's ports have been the gateways through which some of the worst and most dangerous foreigners have gained access to the country. Seattle was the favored port of entry and exit of the Russian Bolshevik propagandists. The effect of their presence and teachings was sufficiently demonstrated in the recent organized attempt to seize the administrative machinery of the city and transform it by revolutionary violence into a purely soviet government, the opening attack to this end being the familiar general strike in industries and in public service plants.

It did not work, as we all have grateful cause to remember, for the reason that Seattle happened to have a mayor who was not a cowardly politician cringing before labor union arrogance.

Representative Johnson has had these object lessons in the perils of unrestricted immigration very closely brought home to him by the experiences and serious perils of his own State. He has had opportunities, furthermore, to study this problem at close range, and he has availed himself of those opportunities. He has learned that from Japan, from China, from the Russian ports of the Pacific there is even now a dammed-up tide of the worst types of red anarchist humanity only waiting the relaxation of present wartime exclusion laws to pour in upon our Pacific Coast States and from there spread themselves and those unspeakable doctrines of riot, arson and murder which have made a shambles of their own Russia. Once lift the immigration restrictions imposed by the war, and the way will be open to them to pour their anarchist hordes in upon us by the thousands.

And what is true of the Asiatic ports of the Pacific in this respect is true of the European ports of the Atlantic. Bolsheviks are assembled, and, as Mr. Johnson put it, "begging passports," in London, Paris, The Hague, Madrid, Rome, Constantinople, Stockholm, Christiania, Copenhagen, Berne, Belgrade, Prague and Archangel. Mr. Johnson continued:

I am in possession of reports from each of these places and I say frankly that unless we check the incoming of these violent revolutionists, who themselves think the United States is the only fertile place left in the world, not only for their individual prosperity, but for the spread of their damnable doctrines, the country will become a hell cauldron instead of the peaceful melting pot it has been.

We do not believe there is the least exaggeration in all this. We believe that Mr. Johnson's demand that the wartime immigration restrictions be continued and applied vigorously for many years after the proclamation of peace, is a demand which should be heeded without an instant's hesitation. It is a matter that has already engaged the serious attention of the Department of State. It should engage the attention of Congress and of every loyal American.

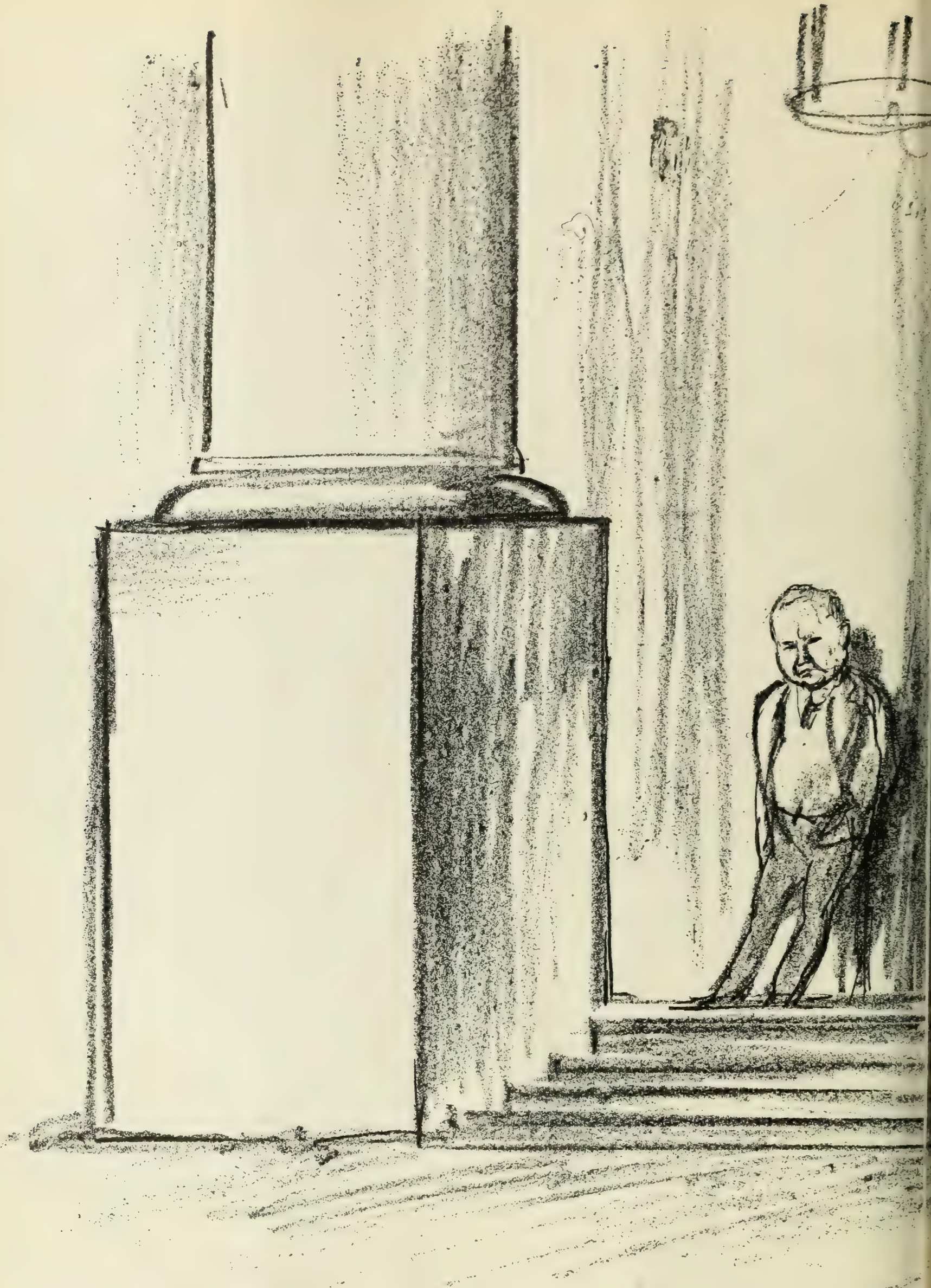
knowledge of that whereof he spoke. He must have had at his command an abundance of unassailable facts and specifications wherewith to support what he so unqualifiedly asserted. That being the case, it is his duty, his imperative duty, to produce these proofs of a charge so serious, and to produce them at once. It will not do to leave accusations such as these, against such men as are accused, in the form of mere sweeping generalized denunciation. It is the duty of this clerical speaker instantly to spread before the American people specific instances of "Cossackizing" and terrorizing by means of coercion and violence. It is his imperative duty to specify when and where laws were enacted at the behest of these criminal employers "through the connivings and cunning of unscrupulous agents." What were these laws? When and by what legislative bodies were they enacted? Who were the unscrupulous agents? Who employed and paid these agents? Facts and specifications are demanded in the case of accusations so grave as these. We must have chapter and verse for assertions so blackening to the good names of men who long have been among the country's most respected citizens.

The Reverend Orator in question described himself as "a responsible person who can be found any day." As to the ease with which he may be found, there can be no question. As to his responsibility, that depends entirely upon the promptness with which he produces the proofs of the atrocious charges he has made. Failing the production of those proofs, he lays himself wide open to the charge of being an irresponsible demagogue—and the worst kind of a demagogue: a pulpit demagogue.

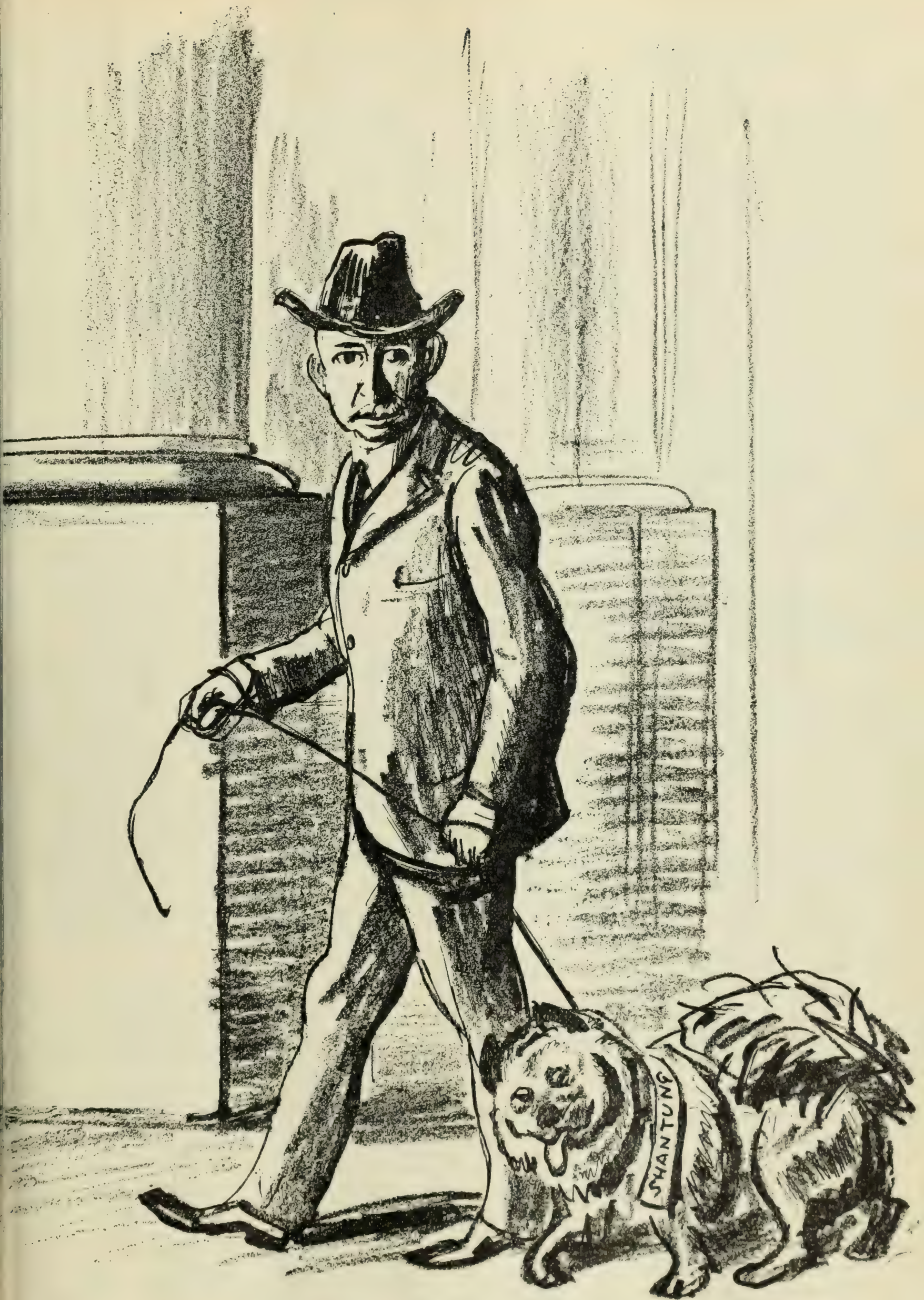
In these days of dangerous unrest, of threats open and veiled to overthrow our form of Government and substitute for it the red anarchy of Russia—in such days as these no public instructor, above all, no pulpit instructor, may with impunity make statements so sweeping and even incendiary without such specifications and undeniable facts as will leave their accuracy beyond all question.

"The shortest man I ever knew," said a great American orator of days gone by in one of his addresses, "was a man by the name of Long. The tallest man I ever knew was a man by the name of Short." Now, the name of this pulpit orator we have quoted is Wise—Rabbi Wise. His sagacity may justify his name or his lack of it may justify the implications of the Long and Short comparison. But whatever his wisdom or his lack of it, the exigencies of mere common decency demand that he produce the proofs of those infamous charges which he has made in sweeping, general assertion against men whose intelligence and responsibility as citizens possibly would not suffer by comparison with his own. No privilege-of-clergy plea in a case like this can avail.

There has been some display of passion, some ill-considered utterances. . . . The President, in some of his earlier speeches, referred to the opposing Senators in terms that when he recalled them he must have regretted as sincerely as his countrymen did.—*The New York Times*.



THE UNW



ME VISITOR

The Week

Washington, October 14, 1919.

THE President's illness is tedious, as such attacks usually are, with fluctuations in his condition, but on the whole with progress toward that complete recovery for which the whole nation wishes. His greatest danger has been, from the first, that of seeming to get well—or thinking that he was getting well—too rapidly. We can understand his intense desire to be at work again, and his impatience with every hour's delay. We can also understand how strong is the desire of his friends in Congress that he shall resume his place at the head of affairs. Indeed, the whole nation would like to see him at work again tomorrow, if it were possible. The danger has been, and perhaps still is, that he would yield to some of these urgings and return to his desk before his condition warranted it. Any such imprudence might be followed by a most regrettable relapse into a worse condition than before. Nerves are tricky and treacherous things, and the prudent course in dealing with them is always to allow a broad margin on the side of safety. Happily, the President's own sense of responsibility and his own powers of restraint, joined to the resolute prudence of physicians and nurses, seem to have avoided this danger. How much longer we shall have to wait for his complete restoration remains to be seen. But the delay can be met with equanimity, in the assurance that it is delay and nothing more.

Second only to his feelings at being compelled to relinquish his League of Nations campaign must be the President's regret at his inability to participate in the opening and conduct of the Labor Conference. In that regret the whole nation joins. Yet it was undoubtedly well that the Conference should meet at the appointed time and proceed with its work, just as though he had been there. It seems to be making a good beginning—Secretary Lane's address, which we discuss elsewhere, being especially praiseworthy—though an unpleasant impression has been produced in many quarters by the plan for carrying on so much of the most important work behind closed doors. A practical adoption of the President's First Commandment, which was so largely flouted at Paris, would have been far more satisfactory to the public. It is indeed difficult to imagine any adequate reasons for secrecy, while reasons for the fullest possible publicity are plenty as blackberries.

The railroad owners and managers may not like the prospect, but at least it has been made clear to them and they now know what to expect; or not to expect: there will be no raising of rates during the rapidly waning period of Government control. That is unmistakably indicated by the Director-General in his letter to the Chairman of the Association of Railway Executives. The roads are practically told to get busy and work out their own salvation; in which task the Government will give them what aid it can. That is cold comfort, but it is at least definite. With the reasons

which Mr. Hines gives for the refusal to raise rates there will not, we imagine, be universal satisfaction. It may be that the question of an increase of rates should not be considered solely on the basis of the unfavorable showing of the early part of this year, but it is not clear that that would have to be the sole basis. There are other data which surely could be taken into account. As for the suggestion that the roads should wait until normal conditions are restored it is unconvincing because of the impracticability of saying just what normal conditions are, or will be. It is quite certain that conditions will never again be precisely what they were before the war. The proposal that roads shall go on piling up deficits until conditions are reached which all agree are "normal" seems a counsel of despair. Nothing better is to be said of the suggestion that the public would not be satisfied with an increase of rates without the concurrence of the Interstate Commerce Commission. That seems to us to imply a public regard for that Commission and its acts which does not exist. On the contrary, we believe that there is a pretty widespread notion that the Interstate Commerce Commission was largely responsible for the bad plight which the railroads were in at the beginning of the war, and that it would be quite possible for greater wisdom to be exercised than is reasonably to be expected from it. It might be instructive to apply these very arguments of Mr. Hines's to the increases in expenses which the Government has piled upon the roads, and see how they apply.

In Massachusetts, in State conventions, Democrats and Republicans alike have condemned the Covenant of the League as it stands and have insisted that before it is ratified it must be radically modified, through amendments or reservations. We note that the Democrats are on the face of the case a little more outspoken than the Republicans, since they demand that the Covenant shall be "amended," while the Republicans would be content with "unequivocal and effective reservations." The difference, however, is merely in nomenclature. The "reservations" which the Republicans specify would be absolutely tantamount to amendments, and they seek precisely the same end as the amendments which the Democrats demand. Things equal to the same thing are equal to each other.

Another State which has placed itself squarely on record against the Covenant as it stands is President Wilson's own State of New Jersey. A very numerous signed petition of its citizens, including the principal judges of the highest courts, publicists and representative men of the highest standing, Democrats and Republicans alike, has been forwarded to the two Senators at Washington, urging them to demand such amendments or reservations to the Treaty as shall "preserve to our nation the full enjoyment of its complete sovereignty in all matters affecting its peace, its prosperity and its happiness."

The criticisms of the Covenant made by these New Jersey citizens are worthy of general reading and adoption as expressions of judicious, prudent, dispassionate, non-partisan American patriotism. They run:

We believe that the duties and the obligations of the United States under the "League of Nations Covenant" of the proposed treaty are so indefinite as to imperil the future peace and prosperity of our country.

We believe that no matter what any one may tell us the treaty does or does not do, the meaning of the treaty as expressed in its language and its implications should be patent to all men.

We believe that the circumstances under which American boys can be called upon to fight in foreign quarrels should be clearly stated.

We believe that no group of political units recognizing the same sovereignty should have any greater voting strength than the United States would have.

We believe that we, as a nation, should be free to settle our own internal matters, without any question whatever of our right to do so.

We believe that the United States should be the sole judge of its right to terminate its membership in the league.

In the old days of the "Province of Camden and Amboy," New Jersey was jestingly declared to be out of the Union. This expression of its sterling patriotism indicates it unmistakably to be not only very much in the Union but very close to the Union's heart.

An auspicious event of last week was the beginning of military training of schoolboys of the State of New York. All boys in school between the ages of 16 and 19 are required to spend an hour and a half a week at a National Guard Armory under instructors provided by the State Military Commission. Entirely apart from the potential value of such training in case of future war, we shall look for physical, mental and moral improvement of those boys sufficient abundantly to vindicate the system. The chief criticism of the measure is obviously to be directed against the age limits, which are too high, or rather are not low enough to be sufficiently inclusive. Most boys are out of school at sixteen, or soon after that age, and few indeed remain until they are nineteen. The minimum age might well have been placed at fourteen, at which age the average boy is well adapted to military drill and is likely to receive a large degree of benefit from it. That will doubtless come in time. It is understood that before long, boys from sixteen to nineteen who have left school and gone to work will also be required to undergo the same training, though it will obviously be much more difficult to compel them than those who are still in school. However, the law as it stands is an admirable beginning.

The imminent danger of a general strike in the bituminous coal industry is a grim reminder of the way in which vital domestic industries have been neglected while we have been trying to make busybodies of ourselves in remote foreign affairs which are of no concern to us whatever. The miners, who are very largely poisoned with Bolshevism, are making extreme demands, some of which are obviously intended to provoke the refusal which is necessary and thus to give pretext for a strike of inconceivably disastrous results; the ultimate object being a Soviet revolution. The operators cannot grant such demands, and see no way to avert a strike on November 1, which would deprive the greater part of the country of fuel at the beginning of winter, unless the Government intervenes. The acting head of the miners' union is said to be earnestly desirous of averting a strike, but to be

unable to do so without Government aid, which he would welcome. Now, in ordinary circumstances this would be a case strongly calling for Government action, but in the present circumstances the call is more than ordinarily strong. It is the imperative demand of duty. That is because the Government itself, under the war regulations still in force, is a third party to the controversy. It was the clear duty of the Administration long ago to make its influence felt in behalf of the national welfare. But it did not. Instead, it busied itself with the affairs of Czecho-Slovakia or Borrioboola-Gha or some other Heaven-knows-where region, and Dr. Harry Garfield, our inspired Fuel Administrator, resigned his job and went back to school teaching. It is a sorry business.

Rumors multiply of dissension and hostility between Lenine and Trotzky, with the exact facts obscured in the cloud of uncertainty which enshrouds all Russian affairs. The persistence of the rumors and the antecedent probability of their truth are significant, however; calling to mind the breach which ultimately occurred between one Maximilien Robespierre and his colleagues in an earlier and lesser Terror.

The fortunate ending of the great British strike appears likely to have a sequel of vast political significance. Mr. Lloyd George has seen in the uprising of the Middle Classes a great light to show him the way of escape from his self-imposed role of Frankenstein. He sees that the millions of organized trade unionists are after all the minority of the British people, and that the hitherto passive and oppressed majority are at last awakened and are inclined to assert themselves. Therefore he deems it the part of shrewd political tactics to side with the majority, even at the cost of an open breach with his former friends of the minority. It is of course a colossal piece of opportunism, for which, however, he has ample warrant in the record of his great exemplar, Gladstone; and in the present temper of the British people it may prove successful.

That is certainly an ingenious construction of the interstate commerce clause of the Constitution which will give the Federal authorities jurisdiction over the theft of an automobile provided the thief runs it into another State, but not even the strictest "strict constructionist" will be inclined to carp at it if it proves effective for stopping or even materially diminishing the wholesale larceny of vehicles which is now going on. Indeed, it suggests still further extension of the same general principle for the punishment of criminal drivers of vehicles, whose sin is greater than that of the thieves. Surely some way can be devised of bringing under Federal law the miscreant who drives his car into another State and there commits manslaughter on the public highway. One of these days we shall expect to see motor traffic generally under Federal control.

The Mexican Investigation

FOR a good many months "The League of Free Nations" has been supplying the American press with "the truth about Mexico." Its reports have been accepted by about 350 papers, and printed, sometimes as "specials" from Mexico City, and sometimes in other form.

The service was free. It offered "snappy" articles that made good copy. Of course a free service is likely to be suspected of ulterior motives of some sort, but the most skeptical editor must have been satisfied that nothing was being put over on him when he read the directorate of Reverend and Very Reverend gentlemen who sponsored the organization, and who could have been actuated by no other purpose than to establish peace on earth and good will among men.

The service is devoted almost exclusively to reports indicating that Mexico is rapidly developing into a simon pure Democracy; that Carranza is a grand President; and that reports of murder, robbery and general disorder are fabricated by American investors—a bad lot, anyhow—who hoped to bring about intervention for their own profit. And so the word of the league was accepted as truth from the pulpit, and its growth was great.

Now comes Senator Fall, with the assistance of Senator Brandegee, and exposes the entire business as being nothing more than an aid to Carranza, exploited for his own purposes after the fashion that Bernstorff used so freely in circulating his poison. In attempting to solve the league's mission as well as its finances, the Senate Investigating Committee queried the Reverends and the Very Reverends, but of course they really didn't know anything about the organization except that they thought it an excellent thing, and had gladly lent the use of their names because they believed it would help to keep peace on this hemisphere.

Finally a young man named DeBekker was called to the stand. It appears that he went to Mexico for the *Tribune* and spent six festive weeks as Carranza's guest, and then returned to New York with more knowledge of Mexico than most people find it possible to pick up in six years. The *Tribune*, with apparent good reasons, refused to lend its columns to the Carranza Government for propaganda purposes. So Mr. DeBekker promptly moved over to the *Nation*, showing evident discretion, and that renowned weekly printed his pieces with relish.

Before the committee Mr. DeBekker announced that he was the presiding dispenser of truth at the headquarters of "The League of Free Nations." It appears that the information concerning Mexico which he circulated for the league was sent to him by a Mr. Weeks, whom he described as a highly competent and disinterested American resident of Mexico City.

The mysterious and reliable Mr. Weeks was identified on the following day as Mr. George F. Weeks, who has been on Carranza's pay-roll for several years. And so it was established that the League of Free Nations, which

supplies "news" to the American press, which glorifies Carranza and all his works, receives its information directly from a gentleman who in turn receives his bread and salt from Carranza. It's the old story.

We daresay that the publication of these facts will be not altogether pleasing to the 300 editors who have been deluding their readers with this free service, or to the Reverend and Very Reverend gentlemen who made the alien enterprise possible through the use of their names. A little later other revelations concerning the financial relations that have existed between Carranza and the camouflaged purveyors of his propaganda may be exposed. For the present however, this is enough. The investigation may now go down to business.

It is reported that the committee intends to proceed to the border within a few weeks to get first-hand information on conditions. This would be a mistake. Washington is the place for the committee just at present. There are tons of reports available here which should be carefully compiled and sifted, so that the entire record may be built up in an orderly fashion. Every report in the State, War, and Navy Departments should be analyzed by way of showing the full truth.

Before quitting Washington we trust that the committee will call Brother Bryan, John Lind, the late Reverend William Bayard Hale, Lincoln Steffens and the other distinguished diplomats who were President Wilson's principal advisers when Watchful Waiting made its auspicious appearance as a national policy. We are sure that they can present a most engrossing account of their activities. Major General Hugh Scott should be included in this list, as he can furnish a sprightly account of our diplomatic relations with Villa before that patriot, for some reasons never explained, broke off relations.

Mr. Lansing will of course be called. He is an expert on Mexico, having represented President Porfirio Diaz in Washington for many years before he joined the ranks of the forward-looking men and gave his assent to the ruination of all that his former client had built up in Mexico. Doubtless Mr. Lansing can supply quite as satisfying an explanation of his change of viewpoint in relation to Mexico as he has done in relation to his attitude, then and now towards the Peace Treaty and League of Nations.

General Pershing and General Bliss can help out, too. It would be extremely interesting to have General Pershing's account of the reasons that prompted the Administration to halt his expedition peremptorily when he had finally cornered Villa behind Parral, and when Colonel Allen promised to fetch the bandit back, dead or alive, if he was allowed to proceed. General Bliss knows more than any one else about the border raids preceding the Columbus raid. His promise, contained in an official report which has never been published, to put a permanent end to the murder of Americans on this side of the border, if allowed a free hand would make an excellent exhibit.

And we hope also that Admiral Niblack and General Williams, chiefs of the naval and military intelligence will be called, so that their reports can give the full stor-

of Carranza's German connections during the war. There are many others in Washington who should be called, and who could explain in detail how our Government has consistently declined even to attempt to put an end to the murder of Americans and the looting of their properties.

After the foundation is laid by these highly competent witnesses, the committee will have ample time to go to the border, there to hear in detail the story of how Carranza's generals have looted the country to the sod, and shipped the stolen property across the border for safe-keeping, while our own Government gave its approval by its silence, and prated of uplift and democracy while it knew it was supporting murderers and thieves at the expense of American citizens.

The Secretary of Commerce apparently saved up the accumulating wisdom of his administration for his valedictory. Commenting upon the Boston police strike, the revolutionary steel strike, and other such performances, he said: "Organized labor is losing the sympathy of the general public, and unless its attitude and actions undergo alterations very soon, the union movement will suffer a serious reverse." That is exactly true, and it is a truth which every thoughtful workingman will do well to take to heart.

Army and Navy Pay

A FEW months ago we ventured the suggestion that it would be a good thing to pay army and navy officers enough to live on, so that they would remain in the services where they belong, rather than accept civil positions paying enough to make both ends meet. Of course the simple fact of the matter is that these officers, on an average, are not making as much as boiler-makers and bricklayers. Their present pay represents just about the income that was enough to squeeze through on when prices were less than half what they are today.

There is hardly a man in either service who is not in debt. Many of the younger officers are borrowing money from month to month to pay rents and grocery bills. The predicament of those in Washington and other large cities is particularly unpleasant. On their present pay, they simply cannot live in respectable neighborhoods and wear fresh linen.

Approximately 1,600 army officers have quit. A great many more will be compelled to quit within the next few months unless Congress acts. Within the next few weeks, most of the regulars will revert to their pre-war ranks, and then the real squeeze will be felt throughout the service.

In the Navy about 200 officers from civil life have resigned. They were principally in the Pay and other Staff corps. They were not essential to the service. Secretary Daniels accepted their resignations. Several hundred more, who are not only essential but are vitally needed in the already depleted service, have prepared their resignations, but Mr. Daniels has refused to accept them. They must break a rule, get court-martialed, and be dismissed in disgrace, or stay in the service on borrowed money.

When it became manifest several weeks ago that the situation had reached a point where, unless it could be

remedied, the service would be destroyed, the War Department decided to ask Congress to act before it was too late. Acting Secretary of the Navy Roosevelt concurred in the plan, so that the present identical scale of pay in both services might be made effective under the increases by a single act of Congress.

A bill representing a fair, if moderate, increase in compensation was prepared, and immediately received the informal approval of the Congressional leaders who must support it. For a few days it looked as if the legislation might be passed without delay.

At this point Secretary Daniels stepped in and announced that he desired to "think it over" before approving the measure, because, while he believed the younger officers needed more money, possibly the older ones might continue to live on their present salaries. In other words, Secretary Daniels blocked action on legislation that affects every officer in both the army and navy.

Naturally our leading mariner was subjected to some rather caustic criticism by the wives and children of officers of both branches, who hoped to get the increases in time to replete their shabby wardrobes before the cold weather sets in.

But Josephus is hardly to be blamed in the circumstances. He is not really familiar with the hardships of salaried people in Washington and the United States generally. He and Mrs. Daniels crossed the Atlantic and spent the Spring in Europe at Government expense, so, of course, they have had no personal experience of the difficulties involved in the problem which today confronts less fortunate mortals.

No Covenant, No Drink

THE poor old Constitution! The Administration flouts it again—this time through that very department which might be expected to stand foremost in defending and maintaining it. For what says the Constitution in its Eighth Amendment, in that Bill of Rights which followed so swiftly after the original ratification? That "cruel and unusual punishments" shall not be inflicted. And what now says the Administration, through the Attorney-General? That for its contumacy in refusing to accept the Covenant of Denationalization, the nation shall suffer the cruel and unusual punishment of being deprived of its accustomed beverages of buttermilk and beer!

We understood that wartime prohibition was only for the period of the war, and that as soon as the war was ended and the demobilization of the army was completed, the ban would be lifted and buttermilk might flow again as copiously as H²O. Well, on November 11, 1918, almost a year ago, the President formally and officially announced to Congress, "The war thus comes to an end." Naturally, the people thought that the war was over, and began to cast reassuring glances at the buttermilk jug. But still there was demobilization; which took some time, in view of the proportion of available shipping which was required for the transportation of the Lord High Peace Commissioner and his numerous collection of rubber stamps. In

the deliberate processes of time, however, that too was effected, so that the other day the War Department, the head of which is one of the ablest public officials the President ever knew, announced that "the accidents of war and the process of demobilization are at an end." Whereupon the tersomaniac multitude murmured, "What wait we for?" and reached their eager hand toward the buttermilk.

Then spoke the Attorney-General; and, like the Consul Aulus, "He spake a bitter jest." The war-time prohibition act, he reminded them, was to remain in force not merely until the end of the war and the completion of demobilization, but until *after* those achievements. And what is "after"? Who shall define its metes and bounds. Granted that the War Department pronounced the war ended and demobilization complete on September 30, 1919. What is "after" that time? October 1? Yes. But is not October 2 still more "after" it? And will not November 1 be still more "after" it? And will not the Greek Kalends of 1999 be a great deal more "after" it? Who shall determine what degree of after-ness is the "most senseless and fit?" This, to be sure: the date of the acceptance of the unamended Covenant. When the United States assents to being but one-sixth of a nation, when it renounces its independence, when it abrogates its Constitution, when it proclaims the Monroe Doctrine a scrap of paper, then the buttermilk jug may be taken off the pantry shelf and the busy housewife may concoct more elderberry wine; for that time, of a surety, will be after, very much after, the end of the war and the demobilization of the A. E. F.

But until then, Constitution, Bill of Rights, Eighth Amendment, may all go hang! There is no punishment too cruel and unusual for the pygmy-minded insects who oppose that holy consummation.

Daylight-Saving Confusion

AS A SEQUEL to the ill-advised action of Congress in abolishing the daylight-saving adjustment of time, which for two years had worked so admirably and to so great benefit of all concerned, save perhaps the purveyors of artificial lighting, the country is now threatened with a degree of confusion which may prove seriously embarrassing. We are told that the city of Cincinnati has adopted an ordinance under which the clock-time of that community will be set forward one hour, not merely during the summer but the whole year round. This action is said to have been favored by every civic organization of importance and by business men and citizens generally. Even the president of the electric lighting company advocated it, because while his company would lose money by it, he realized that it would be a good thing for the public at large. There is a strong movement toward the same end in New York, and in various other cities, so that it seems not improbable that a number of important centers of populations and business will soon be living, moving and having their being an hour in advance of the rest of the world.

This, it is obvious, will cause confusion. Indeed it is likely to cause embarrassment so serious that appeal may

be made to the courts to determine the right of a municipality to take such action. Much as we approve the daylight-saving plan, we must doubt the advisability of such separate action, and must recognize a considerable possibility that it may be vetoed by the courts. It would be intolerable, we should say, to have it one o'clock in Cincinnati and at the same moment twelve o'clock in Covington; or twelve in New York when it was only eleven in Albany. It must be remembered, too, that there are certain very important considerations of time which are not and cannot be purely local. Thus for legal purposes, in courts, in banks, and elsewhere, the day must begin and end at a certain hour, and that hour must be uniform throughout the State, if not the Nation. Uniformity of time is indeed similarly essential to uniformity of money, weights and measures.

If, then, such separate local time-keeping as Cincinnati has adopted should prove impracticable or illegal, must we abandon all hope of so valuable and greatly desired a reform? By no means. Two courses would be open. The one would be to acquiesce in a postponement of the reform until a sufficiently general public sentiment could be aroused in its favor to compel Congress to reenact the law. That time, we confidently believe, would not be far distant. Indeed, there is little doubt that a large majority of the people of the nation would now favor daylight-saving, if the question were presented to them in an intelligible form for effective decision. It should not take long, with proper effort, to secure from them expressions which Congress would have to heed.

The other course would be, to leave the clock unchanged, but to set forward by one hour in actual time all operations. That would mean getting up at six a. m. with the clock pointing to six, instead of getting up at six with the clock at seven. It would mean going to bed at ten, with the clock at ten, instead of at ten with the clock at eleven. It might not at first seem so easy or so pleasant to do this as it has been to do precisely the same thing with the clock-face camouflaged. A certain psychological principle is involved which is not without force. Yet we doubt not that it could be done. If it were done by separate communities at first it would avoid the confusion which is now threatened, and when it came to be done by the entire country it would avoid certain anomalies which have existed under the practice of the last two summers.

Post-Dated Finance

WE must confess some little surprise at the fuss that is being made over the disclosure of the methods of financiering which were practiced by the State Socialist, or Non-Partisan League, bank at Fargo, North Dakota, which was recently placed in the hands of a receiver by the State Banking Board. Most of the fuss is over the acceptance of post-dated checks as collateral security with notes for loans. A farmer would come in

for a few thousand dollars, give his note of hand for it, and then, to reënforce the note, draw his check for a similar amount, payable to the bank's order. Of course, he wouldn't have a dollar in the bank for the check to draw upon. But he would date the check away ahead, say three months. It could not be put in for collection until that time, and by that time he calculated, or professed to calculate, upon having money in the bank to meet it.

It was a delightful arrangement—for the borrower. It was popular, too, as one might suppose, so that the bank was found to be loaded up with such post-dated checks to the face value of hundreds of thousands of dollars, and the actual value of the market price, per pound, of waste paper. For it is difficult to imagine anything much more worthless than a post-dated check drawn against a non-existent deposit. It hasn't even the value of a present-dated check drawn against a deficit, because the latter is good basis for action, civil or criminal, against the fellow who dated it. But you cannot arrest or sue a man for issuing a post-dated check for a thousand dollars when he hasn't a thousand picayunes in the bank, because you can't prove that he won't have the money there, all right, on the date named in the check. Neither has it the value of an unsecured promissory note, because in fact it contains no promise to pay. It simply directs the bank to pay the money at a certain future time, without giving any assurance or promise that there will then be any money on deposit with which to make the payment. It is simply a scrap of paper.

But what puzzles us is why there should be such a fuss over it, seeing that it is so perfectly characteristic of the Socialist scheme of affairs in general. For what is Socialism, after all, but a system of post-dated finance, and post-dated economics, and post-dated statesmanship? Give it the good cash it asks for now, and some time in the future it will repay, if it has the means. Some time in the future all men will be equal in ability. Some time in the future all will be of equal wealth. Here is an order that the three-hooped pot shall have ten hoops, but it bears a future date. Here is a shrewd design for catching larks; but it is to become effective only when the skies fall. Meanwhile there is not the slightest security or assurance given that those golden days will ever dawn, or that their conditions will ever be realized; any more than there is that the farmer will have the thousand dollars in the bank three months hence with which to honor his post-dated check.

We observe that the managers of the bank in question are very indignant over the closing of it. They say that it is all due to political spite, for which they purpose to make somebody smart. That is very sad. We know that political spite sometimes goes a long way, but to have it go so far as to object to the lending out of perfectly good money on the collateral security of post-dated checks—well, that is certainly going too far. If a State Socialist bank wants to lend money on the pages of a patent medicine almanac, why let them do so. Only, the depositors whose perfectly good money is thus put out may some day have something to say concerning it—about election time.

France Against Six to One

THE attention of those who still argue that six and one are equal is respectfully directed to the comments of M. Leon Bourgeois. That gentleman is not an American but a French Senator, and therefore presumably neither a pygmy nor an insect, but a statesman of parts. It is quite obvious, too, that he has no partisan spite against our President, and is not engaged in "fixing political fences" in California or elsewhere. Yet, *mirabile dictu!* he agrees to a dot with Senator Hiram Johnson and the majority of Americans in reckoning that six is much greater than one and that therefore a nation or government having six votes in a League would enjoy a great advantage over another having only one vote.

M. Bourgeois was, be it remembered, a member of the Commission on the League of Nations, wherefore he must be supposed to know what the Covenant means, or what it was meant to mean. He has made a report on the Treaty to the French Senate, as a guide of its action in ratification, corresponding in function with the report to our Senate by the Foreign Relations Committee. In that report he expresses strong dissatisfaction with the Treaty, particularly with the Covenant part of it, and a determination to press urgently for some very radical amendments. He scouts the notion that the Covenant is an effective peace assurance policy for the world; pointing out that it does not forbid war nor declare it to be illegal, and that in fact "the measures provided are *totally insufficient to prevent the unchaining of war.*" Such is the deliberate judgment of one of the foremost statesmen of France, who has long been a conspicuous advocate of peace and indeed of a proper League of Nations for assuring it.

So much on the general issue. Then turning to the specific point of representation in the League, M. Bourgeois makes it plain that he exactly agrees with Senator Johnson concerning the proportionate over-representation of Great Britain, or of the British Empire. He says:

We hope that as Great Britain has obtained representation for its Dominions and colonies in the Assembly, we will obtain the same right. Our colonies were not, like her Dominions, represented in the Conference; they had no voice. But France will obtain in the Assembly, we do not doubt, the total representation to which it has every legitimate right.

In other words, France is just as dissatisfied as the United States with the six-to-one arrangement, and insists that she shall have as much voting power in the League as Great Britain or any other country. Why not? One vote for France herself, including Algeria, which is legislatively an integral part of France; one for Cochin China, one for Madagascar, one for the Sahara, one for Dahomey and the other coast Colonies, and one for Guiana, Martinique, Marquesas, St. Pierre Miquelon, *et omnibus partibus infidelibus*.

As for us, one for the United States, one for Alaska, one for Hawaii, one for the Philippines, one for Porto Rico, and one for Guam, Yap, and the North Pole! Is that to make a travesty of representation? Then in the name of commonsense and justice and international comity, let us get to the rational and equitable foundation of "One government, one vote."

Letters From Our Readers

FOES OF AMERICANISM

SIR,—Many of the American people are too engrossed in transient matters to become inspired and take heed of the momentous, impending, irretrievable adversity now confronting us in the Covenant of the League of Nations, in its present form, and which is being passed upon by the United States Senate.

The foes of Americanism would have the people accept this latest form of war powder without their taking the time to look up the names of the manufacturers or even observe the label of contents.

When that subtle, sly old fox, David Lloyd George, and that astute old weasel, Georges Clemenceau, approved the words embodied in the present Covenant of the League of Nations, they recalled that Washington, Jefferson, Monroe, Lincoln and Roosevelt are dead. They presumed that most of the Americans now living would be so busily engaged in their plans for making more money that real, red-blooded American patriotism would naturally rock in the cradle of lethargy. It is usually an undesirable dose of medicine that must be administered while the individual is asleep.

It was the President who said in his speech at the Metropolitan Opera House, just before his return to Paris, that "an overwhelming majority of Americans is in favor of the League of Nations. I know that is true. I have had unmistakable intimations of it from all parts of the country." Then why did he make the trip from Columbus to San Diego to overwhelm the people, engaging in hallucinations and in false prophesies, if Americans wanted the Paris formula?

The trap is set: The bait is the League of Nations, camouflaged with the German peace treaty; David Lloyd George set the trap; Georges Clemenceau tied it to John Bull's stake; each tooth represents an English statesman; Wilson is urging, pushing, shoving and intimidating Uncle Sam for not quickly taking up the Covenant, demanding him to sign it on the dotted line, without batting an eyelash or curling an eyebrow. A placard should read: "Gentlemen on this side of the water would be very much profited by getting in communication with SOME gentlemen on the other side of the water."—Woodrow Wilson, Metropolitan Opera House, March 4, 1919. Hon. Robert Lansing and W. C. Bullitt at that time were on the other side of the water.

What a blessing it will be when the American people can again go about their business without pursuing the "Meddlesome Matty" disposition and not endeavoring to overwhelm European and Asiatic people with vain ambitions.

Press onward with your splendid, gallant fight and help save the freedom and independence of our great nation. All true Americans will rejoice when your patriotic work, so nobly conducted, is finally crowned with the success you are endeavoring to attain.

Detroit, Mich.

DANIEL WEBSTER SHIVES.

PRIESTS, PROFESSORS, AND POLITICS

SIR,—“May I not” draw to the attention of readers of HARVEY'S WEEKLY the following quotation from Part 2, Chapter 5, of Mr. F. S. Oliver's *Ordeal by Battle*?

“Priests and professors, when they meddle in politics, are always the same. They sit in their studies or cells, inventing fundamental principles; building thereon great edifices of reasoned or sentimental brickwork which splits in the sun and crumbles in the storm. Throughout the ages, as often as they have left their proper sphere, they have been subject to the same angry enthusiasms and savage obstinacies. Their errors of judgment have been comparable only to their arrogance.

“It would be unfair to judge any country by its political professors. At the same time, if any country is so foolish as to follow such guides, there is a probability of mischief in national—still more in international—affairs.”

To your pygmy-minded readers, no comments are necessary.

New Bedford, Mass.

H. D. PRESCOTT.

WE WISH WE COULD!

SIR,—HARVEY'S WEEKLY is the one and only journal which gives clear and true statements about the League and Treaty, and also about the Administration, about Congress, and about current events and conditions in general. But you are committing a great wrong upon the country, in that you do not make HARVEY'S WEEKLY a fifty-cent or at most a dollar a year and two-cent-a-copy edition, so that the great millions may afford it and that it may have a nation-wide distribution and do “its bit” in a broader manner, instead of catering to the few who can afford the four-dollar subscription price. Please help to set things right by a broadcast circulation.

New York City.

A. P. B.

COVENANTERS

SIR,—The *Sun* quotes President Wilson as saying in his Kansas City speech: “My ancestors were troublesome Scotchmen and among them were some of that famous group that were known as the Covenanters. Very well; there is the covenant of the League of Nations. I am a covenanter.”

Encyclopedia Britannica, 9th edition, vol. vi., page 529, says: “Covenanters [is], in Scottish history, the name applied to a part . . . who, during the 17th century, bound themselves to establish and maintain the Presbyterian doctrine and polity as the sole religion of the country to the exclusion of Prelacy and Popery.”

Who, without presidential enlightenment, would have guessed the family relationship of the secular league and covenant of the 20th century and its ancestral namesake, the “Solemn League and Covenant” of the 17th? Is not this broad declaration of “the President of the United States, acting in his own name and by his own proper authority,” in danger of producing multitudinous tumults?

Scranton, Pa.

JOHN H. JORDAN.

PERSHING THE FIFTH GENERAL

SIR,—You are always so very accurate in your statements that I hesitate to write, but in your WEEKLY of September 13th you refer to General Pershing as the *fifth* general.

I think you will find, if you care to investigate, that he is the *fourth*, Grant being the first, Sherman second, and Sheridan the third.

Congress created the office of Lieutenant General for Washington. President Adams appointed him and the Senate confirmed him.

Council Bluffs, Iowa.

G. LEFFERTS.

[Washington was General of the Continental or Revolutionary Army, Congress appointing him to that rank in June, 1775. He held that rank until his resignation of his commission in 1783. In 1799 he was recalled to the service, and was made Lieutenant-General. Pershing is therefore our fifth General, as we said, though only the fourth under the Constitution of the United States.—EDITOR.]

“IF”

SIR,—If President Wilson had taken a firm stand on the Adamson law, and defied the Brotherhoods, he would have been hailed as another Cleveland.

If he had refused to negotiate about the “Dalmatian Border,” and to interfere on local boundaries in the peace settlement, we would stand better with Latin America.

If he had stood by his conscience and refused to consent to the Shantung settlement, he would have been applauded as a second Roosevelt.

If he had done as he suggested to David Lawrence, and asked the A. F. of L. to cancel all charters to police unions, he would have had ninety-five per cent of the people with him.

But he did not!

New York City.

JOSEPH D. HOLMES.

“COURAGEOUS AND AMERICAN”

SIR,—I wish to congratulate you upon the courageous and thoroughly American stand which you are taking.

I am taking the liberty of enclosing herewith a clipping cut from a recent number of one of our local papers, which undoubtedly will prove of interest to you.

Chicago, Ill.

EDWARD P. SMITH.

[Enclosure]

AFTER READING “HARVEY'S WEEKLY”

I love Colonel Harvey,
His stuff is so warm,
And if you don't bite him
He'll do you no harm.
I'll sit by the fire
And feed him raw meat,
And Harvey will roar me
Clear off'n my feet.

—Chicago Daily Tribune.

NEW MEXICO STILL AMERICAN

SIR,—We are Americans out here, and are with you in your noble fight against the League in any form.

Socorro, New Mexico.

H. T. CAMPBELL

CARTOON: "WAIT TILL THE CLOUDS ROLL BY!"

HARVEY'S WEEKLY

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Pity for the President

WHAT a pity it is that among those responsible for reports concerning the President's illness there seems to be not one possessed of a vestige of common sense! It is only right and proper, of course, to make due allowance for the words and actions of persons overwhelmed by apprehension. They naturally lose their heads. Physicians, too, are prone to heed far too rigidly, even disdainfully, their code of professional ethics. But it seldom happens in notable cases that somebody does not develop sufficient intelligence, judgment and strength of character to visualize and dominate even the most delicate and trying situation.

None such, alas, has appeared in this unhappy instance. Rear Admiral Grayson's conduct has been flagrantly stupid from the beginning. His original announcement that the President was "a very sick man" has been justified by subsequent happenings, but it was inevitable that the shock to the country induced by so unqualified a statement should be dissipated by reports of the patient taking long drives and by scanty bulletins to the effect that he was "doing as well as could be expected," was "resting comfortably after a restless night," etc.

But one impression could be derived from such casual declarations, namely, that Dr. Grayson had heedlessly exaggerated in his first alarm and that the President, though obviously overdone and tired out, would quickly regain his normal vigor if given a fair chance. Indeed,

the country was definitely and officially notified to that effect.

The sudden turn for the worse came then as a complete surprise, but even so there was nothing to indicate more than an unexpected relapse, and reassurance followed the relief universally experienced as a consequence of the summoning of competent doctors. The people awaited the truth anxiously but with characteristic patience and consideration, only to suffer further disappointment. No results of a diagnosis were announced and no trustworthy information was obtainable. The very atmosphere was permeated with secrecy and mystery which served only to invite and increase apprehension which to this day few, if any, outside the sick-room can assume to gauge with confidence.

The *World* rightly demanded "the truth about the President" and accurately predicted a flood of rumors which could not easily be gainsaid and whose circulation was bound to create intolerable confusion. But the physicians, either of their own accord or under somebody's ill-judged orders, merely drew the veil more closely. Not even the nature of the malady was revealed. The country could but guess whether it was organic or sporadic.

Grave questions of the validity of the President's signature to official documents were raised in the Senate. It was only too plain, as openly asserted on the floor, that, if Dr. Grayson was telling the truth, the President could not

have given the "thorough consideration" which he professed to have given to various proposals of the utmost importance. Upon one day Senator Williams would request his colleagues to refrain from seeking essential information upon the plea, readily heeded of course, that Mr. Wilson was in no condition even to hear the request read to him; upon the next Dr. Grayson would say that "at a pinch" he could examine and pass upon the most important measures, and word would issue from the White House, as from the President himself, that if Congress should take a recess he would immediately reconvene it.

So the wretched paltering has continued and still continues. It is commonly believed now that Mr. Wilson is very ill, but all else is merest speculation. When a responsible Senator reveals his conviction, based upon presumably convincing evidence, that he suffers from "a cerebral lesion" and that while he "may live" he will never again be "any material force or factor in anything," the chief specialist merely derides "porch climbers" and by refusing to deny the report conveys the impression that it is true. Whether it is or not, or whether any of the innumerable other rumored ailments has existence in fact, nobody knows.

The most comprehensive information yet made public is contained in the following personal letter from Admiral Grayson to a friend:

I do not know of any disease that has not been included in the rumors about the President. If I tried to refute all these rumors that have been scattered about I would not have any time to devote to the President professionally.

I have not followed this course and I do not intend to do so. I agree with you—I wish I was similarly afflicted if I could be as mentally alert as the President.

I CAN SINCERELY SAY THAT HIS MIND IS AS GOOD AS IT EVER WAS SINCE I HAVE KNOWN HIM.

I hope the time will not be far distant when it will be considered safe to permit him to resume work, when his actions and his words will speak for themselves.

AS HE GAINS IN STRENGTH HIS CASE IS MORE DIFFICULT FOR ME TO HANDLE, AS HE IS SO VERY ANXIOUS TO GET BACK TO WORK.

All the doctors I have called in agree that absolute rest and quiet are essential to complete recovery. My great difficulty is to keep him from becoming irritated as a result of the rest treatment, for if he should strain himself too severely complications might result. I believe you can appreciate the trying situation with which I am laboring.

This letter was published exclusively in the *World* of October 15, "with the consent of Admiral Grayson." That is to say, the physician in charge perceives no impropriety in giving to a relatively small number of readers of an Administration journal special information respecting the health of the President, to the exclusion of the great body of the American people. A grosser violation of the public rights and established custom cannot be imagined.

Even so, the only thing Dr. Grayson says, aside from his odd mumbling about his own trying situation, is that the President is "mentally alert," and he does not even say that directly; only that he himself would like to be "similarly afflicted." The whole statement, in fact, is on a par with that in which he professed somewhat jocularly to have induced the President to refrain from endeavors on Sunday "because good Presbyterians don't work on the Sabbath,"—quite as he might have tried to quiet a sick child by playing with her dolly.

It is a shocking condition of affairs. The whole country is deeply sympathetic with the President in the great affliction that has come upon him at the climax of his marvelous career, but we are by no means certain that he is not equally an object of commiseration as the unhappy victim of the fatuous ineptitude of those about him.

What a pity! And what a shame!

LET us speak very plainly, though very kindly and with no imputation of any but the best of motives. It must be said—and it has been universally felt—that the secrecy which was maintained concerning the President's condition was a wrong to him, to his attendants, to Congress, and to the nation. The President's health is a matter of direct public concern. The people are entitled to know the truth about it. We need not speculate upon the origin, or the basis or lack of basis, of the various rumors which have been extant. With the slightest appearance of secrecy—and there was far more than a mere appearance of it—such rumors were bound to rise. Some of the physicians declined to dignify them by so much as denying them. Very well. But they should have prevented the rise of them by promptly satisfying the legitimate, loyal, and laudable interest of the people in the condition of their Chief Magistrate.

In addition to this universal public interest, Congress had a special interest in the President's condition. He and it are coördinate branches of the Government. Coöperation between them is essential. When he was stricken down by illness, Congress had in hand much business of the highest and most urgent importance which, quite apart from the mere signing of bills, it could not satisfactorily execute without his aid. It was entitled, for the sake of public welfare, to know as nearly as possible to what extent, if any, it would be permissible for him to continue his coöperation with it, and how soon, according to the best professional prognosis, he would probably be able to resume his normal activities. Nothing could have been more unwelcome than for either House formally to demand information on the subject. Such information, of the fullest possible character, should have been forthcoming without the asking.

The other respect in which greater publicity—or perhaps we should say a greater degree of coöperation between the President and Congress—is now seen to be desirable, was suggested by the colloquy in the Senate Foreign Relations Committee between Senator Fall and Senator Williams.

Resolutions were proposed, asking the President for information of vital necessity in the consideration of the Peace Treaty. To these Mr. Williams objected, on the ground that "in view of the President's condition it would be exceedingly bad taste." Mr. Fall retorted that in that case the Senate should take a recess until the President was able to give it the information without which it could not properly do its work. Here was an embarrassing situation. Grant that it would not be pleasant to ask a man for information when he was too ill to give it. We must also admit that it would not be satisfactory for the Senate to remain indefinitely at a standstill in work which urgently needed to be done promptly, all for lack of essential information which ought to have been placed at its disposal long before.

For this embarrassing situation should have been avoided. It might have been avoided. It would have been avoided if the President had taken the Senate—his partner in treaty-making—more fully into his confidence. Just as his illness came from his taking too much work upon himself, so this awkward situation arose from his keeping his counsel too much to himself. He should—we say it without a thought of censoriousness or chiding—he should have been more ready and eager to give information than the Senate was to ask it. That is because he not only had the information, but he knew in advance of all the details which the Senate would want to know about in the course of its consideration of the Treaty. Of course, if the part of the Senate had been merely to "sign here" without discretion or consideration, it would not have needed any information. But in view of what its Constitutional duties were, it was necessary that it should have the fullest possible information, such as, in this case, only the President could give.

Even the tenderest sympathy cannot blind intelligent eyes and minds to the lessons which this incident should teach.

Lansing Passes

WILFRED A. FRENCH, Editor of *Photo-Era*, writes:

SIR,—It was with mixed feelings of admiration and astonishment that I read your fearful arraignment of Secretary Lansing. The letter was published in the *Boston Herald*, and was as just as it was fearless and convincing. I have looked in vain for some reference to this remarkable document of yours; but thus far the local press, if not the New York and Washington Press, has not seen fit to comment upon it. Knowing the circumstances, I have felt that Mr. Lansing's only alternatives were to brand Mr. Bullitt a liar, or maintain strict silence. He appears to have chosen the latter course, and you would feel justified to call him to task. After that, Mr. Lansing could do only one thing, namely, maintain absolute silence on that topic. What his attitude has been in private, I do not know.

I assure you, however, that, like all loyal and patriotic Americans, Republicans and Democrats alike, I am profoundly interested in this affair and should be indebted to you for a copy of your paper in which you refer to the matter, *after* having published the open letter to Secretary Lansing.

Thanking you on my own behalf for the unequivocal stand that you have taken in this unfortunate affair—an affair that reflects the utmost discredit upon one of our public servants, I remain,

Boston, Mass.

WILFRED A. FRENCH.

Mr. Bullitt babbled on September 12. Secretary Lansing adhered rigidly to the Administration's established policy of

pitiless silence until September 20 when, without referring specifically to his former associate's testimony, he responded inferentially in a speech at Watertown, New York. We parallel the utterances of the two statesmen:

MR. BULLITT

Mr. Lansing then said that he, too, considered many parts of the Treaty thoroughly bad, particularly those dealing with Shantung and the League of Nations. He said: "I consider that the League of Nations at present is entirely useless. The great Powers have simply gone ahead and arranged the world to suit themselves. England and France, in particular, have gotten out of the Treaty everything that they wanted, and the League of Nations can do nothing to alter any of the unjust clauses of the Treaty except by unanimous consent of the members of the League, and the great Powers will never give their consent to changes in the interests of weaker peoples."

We then talked about the possibility of ratification by the Senate. Mr. Lansing said: "I believe that if the Senate could only understand what this Treaty means, and if the American people could really understand, it would unquestionably be defeated, but I wonder if they will ever understand what it lets them in for." He expressed the opinion that Mr. Knox would probably really understand the Treaty—and that Mr. Lodge would; but that Mr. Lodge's position would become purely political, and therefore ineffective. He thought, however, that Mr. Knox might instruct America in the real meaning of it.

SECRETARY LANSING

In the Treaty of Peace there is nothing which invades the sovereignty of this Republic or which limits in any way the full exercise of such sovereignty. There may be in the Treaty features which do not meet universal approval. It would be strange if it were otherwise. But the objections which have been made to certain provisions are trivial compared with the imperative need of peace.

We ought to have peace at once. The Treaty should be ratified without delay and without change. It is a narrow-minded statesmanship which would endanger the going into effect of the Treaty by changing its provisions and thereby postponing the return of peace. I cannot comprehend how any man with a true appreciation of the situation, much less one who shares the responsibility, can permit any objection less than the impairment of the national sovereignty of the United States to weigh against the universal prayer of the nation for the restoration of peace.

Let the Treaty be immediately ratified and let us go forward with the great task which lies before us. The world demands it; patriotism demands it; common sense demands it. We have already waited far too long.

The fact that the melodeons of the League have refrained from remarking upon the episode ought not to surprise our correspondent. What could they say? One only, to our knowledge, has spoken a word, but that was to the point.

"If," said the *Brooklyn Eagle*, a staunch supporter of the Administration, "Mr. Lansing felt that way about the Treaty when it was in process of negotiation he should never have signed it. If he feels that way now he ought to resign from the Cabinet and make his protest publicly like a man. The Bullitt testimony puts him in a bad light, and in that light he must remain so long as he persists in a policy of silence which, in effect, concedes the accuracy of the interview as reported."

More need not be said. Robert Lansing simply passes into the limbo of discredited place-holders who prefer position to patriotism. There let him smoke.

Some people seem to forget that if England had not entered the war as promptly as she did, Belgium and France would have been conquered.—*Senator Nelson, arguing that Six and One are equal.*

Some people think that if Belgium had not resisted the German invasion as stoutly as she did, France would have been overrun and conquered and England invaded. Why not give Belgium, therefore, nine votes in the League; one for each of her provinces?

There is more than a happy simile in Senator Williams' expression that the British Empire has six voices in the League, but will have only one vote.—*The Times.*

Even though happy but untrue, why should John Bull have six voices to Uncle Sam's one?

Treaty Signatures

WE have received the following communication:

SIR,—In your open letter to Mr. Lansing, referring to the signatures attached to the Treaty of Versailles by the representatives of this country, you state:

"We turn now, sir, to the treaty itself and find the first two signatures of the representatives of the high contracting parties to be of:

"The President of the United States, by:

"The Honorable Woodrow Wilson, President of The United States, acting in his own name and by his own proper authority;

"The Honorable Robert Lansing, Secretary of State."

On Sunday, July 20, 1919, I purchased in Baltimore that day's issue of *The New York Tribune*. In the illustrated section of that paper there was reproduced a photograph said to be of the page of the Treaty of Versailles showing some of the signatures attached thereto. Both the signatures of Mr. Wilson and Mr. Lansing were shown. It was not signed by them as you have stated.

You state in your issue of September 20th: "Of the authenticity of these signatures there is of course no question," which I understand covers fully the import of your letter to Mr. Lansing.

You have, however, on several other occasions referred to the words used by Mr. Wilson in signing the Treaty, and about this there seems to be some question.

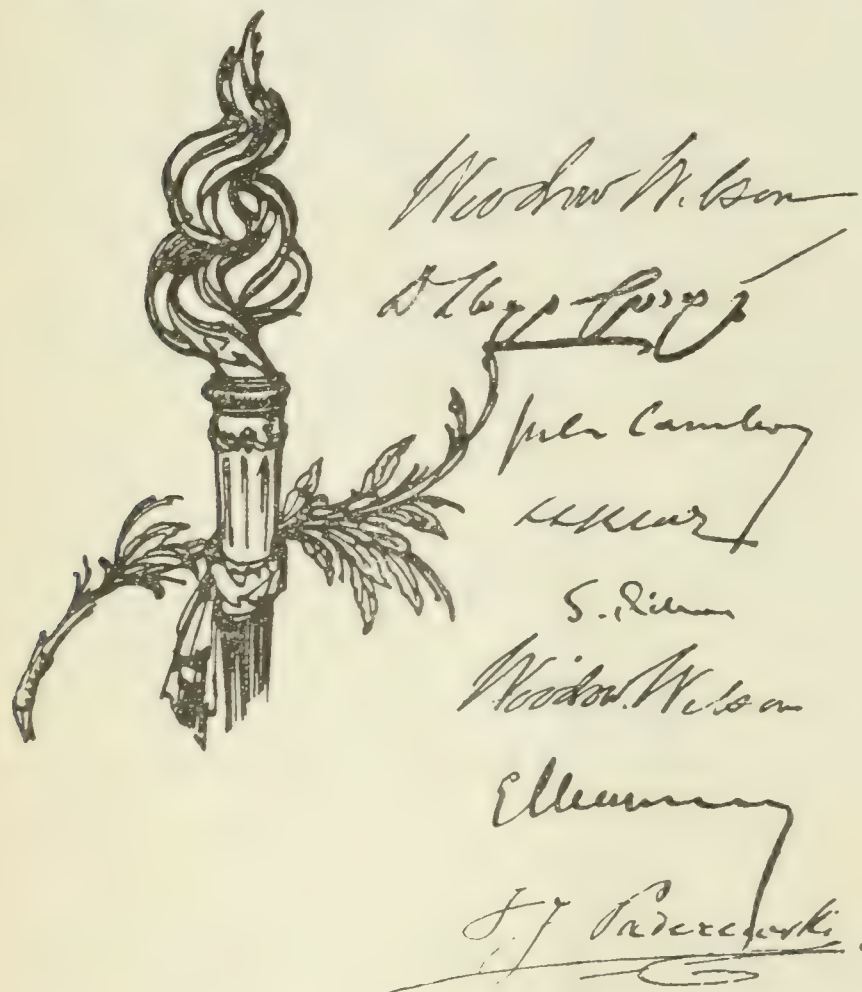
I have read your WEEKLY with so much interest, and, in general, whole-hearted approval, that I do not like to have my confidence in your accuracy shaken.

Will you not be good enough to clear this matter up for several of us who are anxious to read and feel confidence in your publication?

Philadelphia.

MADISON B. FREEMAN.

If our correspondent will turn to the Treaty itself, embodied in Senate Document No. 85, he will find the signers officially self-portrayed in the words exactly as quoted. There was no need, of course, to repeat the designations of authority in connection with the actual signatures at the bottom of the document. We did not happen to see the *Tribune's* facsimile, but we do not doubt that it was genuine. It might, however, have been a reproduction of the "souvenir" signed simultaneously after this fashion:



Un souvenir de Versailles: programme signé au verso par sept des plénipotentiaires; le président Woodrow Wilson a signé deux fois.

This appeared in *L'Illustration* and gave rise to mild speculation as to the reason for Mr. Wilson's signature appearing twice. Several suggested that one was designed to be personal, "in his own name," and the other official, "by his own proper authority." The consensus of opinion, however, was that the President inadvertently affixed the second signature first and then, considering that his name should rightfully occupy the place traditionally ascribed to Abou Ben Adhem, he put another at the top—where it belonged.

However that may be, we have received in this connection another communication of greater significance, to wit:

SIR,—It is being widely stated that there was nothing at all unusual or remarkable in the President's signing the Treaty of Peace as "acting in his own name and by his own proper authority," since other if not all such treaties have been signed in precisely that way. What is the fact?

New York.

J. F. WILLIAMS.

The fact is that no such treaty was ever before signed in that way. There never before was such a document signed by a President of the United States in any way. All of our former treaties of peace were signed, not by the Presidents, but by the Commissioners who were duly appointed by the Government and sent abroad for that purpose. This was the first time in history that a President of the United States went abroad and signed a treaty. All of the other numerous treaties in our diplomatic history, moreover, were negotiated, not by Presidents, but by Ambassadors, Ministers, or other Commissioners sent abroad for the purpose, or by the Secretaries of State at Washington, and were signed by them, and not by the Presidents. Mr. Wilson's method stands alone and unique.

"You're a poor person with whom to talk business," Mr. Wilson smiled finally.

"I'm a doctor and not a business man," Dr. Grayson returned, to the President's amusement.—*The Herald*.

Odzooks! We thought he was a Rear Admiral.

League Doesn't Need U. S., Says Clemenceau.—*Tribune Headline*.

Well, the United States certainly doesn't need the League.

Saving Fools From Thieves.—*New York Sun headline*.
It can't be done.

HARVEY'S WEEKLY

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Senator Lodge's Plain Talk

SENATOR LODGE did another great service to the nation and to the world the other day in his very plain talk about Japan. It was timely in its application to the Shantung question in particular and to the international relations of Japan in general, and it was equally admirable in matter and in manner, consisting of indisputable facts of record stated in a calm, dispassionate way such as one courteous diplomat might employ in direct conversation with another. It could give offense only to those to whom the truth is offensive; and we have too high an opinion of the Japanese to assume that such a description applies to them.

It was well for this nation to be reminded again, so clearly and convincingly, of the salient facts concerning Shantung; facts which remain facts, despite the rejection of the Shantung amendment. It is not true, despite the President's persistent repetitions of the error, that Japan was induced to enter the war by the secret treaty promises of being made the recipient of Germany's stolen goods. (It would have been unspeakably disgraceful to both parties, had that been true.) It is true, on the other hand, that China was encouraged if not persuaded to enter the war by the practical promise of America's support in the Peace Conference for her recovery of Shantung. Senator Lodge brought out this latter most pertinent point with simply damning force. The American Minister to China told the Chinese Government that, in his judgment, such assistance would be given by this country to China. Thereupon China entered the war. That quasi promise of the Minister's was never repudiated by our Government until the Peace Congress met. China went through the war, and then sent her delegates to Paris, in confident expectation that the promise would be fulfilled. We can now understand why, when she found herself betrayed, she declined to sign the Treaty; and also why our Minister resigned his place.

Itself guilty of such cynical perfidy, the Administration might not feel itself entitled to hold Japan to strict account or to take note of any lapses on her part. But Senator Lodge could do so with good grace as the spokesman of that better mind of America which revolted against the betrayal of China. His references to the vagueness of Japan's promises to restore Shantung, and to her "devious policy" in Corea, were therefore most pertinent. That they will be beneficent, to this country and also to Japan, we cannot doubt. The truth must always be beneficent.

Senator Lodge's speech cleared the air and enabled both Japan and America to see themselves as others see them, and it will have a widespread and lasting influence for good, for justice, righteousness and peace among the nations of the world.

Exterminate Them

WHAT an astounding piece of news it is to read in the Washington dispatches of our neighbor, the New York Times, that "the Federal authorities are in possession of evidence which shows that the I. W. W. and allied organizations in this country are now openly agi-

tating the overthrow of the Government of the United States and the substitution of a Bolshevik form of Government."

So the Federal authorities have at last discovered the fact! With over 500 newspapers, magazines and pamphlets in every language, even including English, openly preaching the revolutionary overthrow of our Government, and anarchist orators howling it to mobs all over the country for a year or more, the Federal authorities have found out that there is a propaganda of this sort going on! Marvellous! They have found out what every man, woman and child in the country of ordinary intelligence has known for months and years! This is progress, indeed.

They have found out also, let us hope, that back of this outbreak of strikes from one end of the country to the other—over 1,600 in the last eight months—there looms this same sinister Bolshevik menace. They have found out that strikes have been instigated and precipitated by this same gang of brazen traitors who, once the strike is under way, make it the vehicle for the inculcation of their creed of wreck and ruin for our American form of Government; of property seizure by mob violence; the substitution of mob government for government by law.

The Federal authorities, we are informed, have at last found out the notorious, and are "in possession of evidence" of it. Possibly the shrewd suspicions of the Federal sleuths were aroused by some such utterances as these, taken from an I. W. W. pamphlet scattered by thousands over the country and particularly in the innumerable strike centres. We quote from the quotation in the *Times*:

When the proletariat shall have overthrown capitalism, the I. W. W. will stand, ready made, the pre-established government of the new order. It will not be necessary to call constituent conventions. It will not be necessary to create soviets. It will not be necessary to lavish the precious energies of the proletariat in the desperate experiment of politics, for the I. W. W., which will have fought the revolution, will also pass over the framework of the new communism. The existing parliamentary government will crumble into uselessness. The industrial unions will become the supreme national power. Each industrial union will expropriate the capitalists from its industry. The functions of industrial management will be taken over by the union.

This is the sort of stuff that has been spread broadcast in print and howled from anarchist rostrums for months, until, as Senator Poindexter put it, "the country is seething with violations of the law so far as revolutionary utterances are concerned." And the Federal authorities having the evidence of all this, why in the name of Heaven do not the Federal authorities act? Why are these anarchistic agitators allowed to run at large? There are laws in abundance under which they may be jailed, deported, hanged if need be. Why are not these laws enforced?

Senator Poindexter has offered a resolution calling upon the Attorney-General for an explanation of the Department of Justice's strange laxity in this grave matter. It is a timely resolution. If it results in stirring the Federal authorities to action it will be a service to the country of which the country is sorely in need. There is but one remedy for the anarchistic vermin, foreign or native, now swarming with impunity all over the country, and that remedy is extermination.

"Nationalization"

"NATIONALIZATION of Industries" is the glib shibboleth of the day. It is demanded by the revolutionists, advocated by the Trade Unionists, and worshipped as the Beauty of Holiness by the Parlor Bolsheviks. "The nationalization of mines," says the London *Daily Herald*, the British labor organ, "is the question immediately at issue; but is, of course, a precursor to a complete policy of nationalization of industry. Here is the battle joined." As in Great Britain, so in the United States. The nationalization demands of the railroad brotherhoods, made only a few weeks ago, are still remembered, and are being echoed and repeated by innumerable strikers and agitators to-day. On that issue "is the battle joined."

Now there would be ample reason for opposing and rejecting this demand on the simple and obvious ground of *ultra vires*. It is a demand which the trade unions as such have no business to make. It is political, not economical. It is radically and essentially different from a demand for higher wages, shorter hours, profit sharing, right of organization, collective bargaining, or anything of that sort. These are economic demands, which workmen as workmen have a right to make. They concern directly, primarily, perhaps exclusively, the employees and their employers. But the demand for government ownership of industries does not concern them any more than it does every other citizen of the nation. It is a political policy, of universal interest, and is to be determined not by the wishes of any one class, however numerous or respectable, but by the deliberate will and judgment of the entire nation. For labor unions to demand government ownership and to go on strike to compel its adoption is as unreasonable as it would be for them thus to demand and to strike for election of the President by popular vote instead of Electoral College, or for abolition of the Federal income tax system.

There is, however, a still more serious objection to this demand. It is suggested by the fact, made more and more obtrusive day by day, that these very men who most vociferously demand government ownership are foremost in flouting and defying government authority after it has been extended over industries. That has been and is to-day the case in this country. It has been while the railroads were under government control and operation that the most formidable strikes on them have been planned. It is under government participation in the administration of the mines that coal miners have threatened the worst strike in history. It was in direct defiance of government counsel and intervention that the dock workers went on strike and strove to starve the great cities. Government control and operation of industries command no more respect and give no more satisfaction than private control and operation; and it is therefore obvious that if government ownership should be put into effect there would be no abatement of agitation and strikes. The only change would be that then these would be directed not against individual or corporate employers but against the national Government itself.

And that, we must conclude, is what the advocates of government ownership have in mind. That is the purpose of their demand. They want to strike against the Government. They want to be in a position to coerce the Government to their will, by the menace of a universal strike of its employees and the consequent paralysis of its functions. That is to say, they want to place the Government of the nation under the control of the labor unions; so that a walking delegate can go to Washington and dictate to Congress what laws it shall and shall not enact, and to the President what policy he shall or shall not pursue in either domestic or foreign affairs. That is what government ownership would mean. It would mean not only ownership and control of industries by the Government, but also, and equally, ownership and control of the Government by the trade unions. It would be government of the nation by a minority class. It would be, in a word, Sovietism.

We do not believe that the American people are willing to accept such a system. We have faith to believe that, at no matter what cost of strife or struggle, they will insist upon maintaining what Theodore Parker once well described as "the American idea . . . a democracy—that is, a government of *all* the people, by *all* the people, for *all* the people." But we warn them to-day that eternal vigilance is the price at which such government is to be maintained.

Speaking of sick men, it is astonishing how many Republicans are met with nowadays who look as if they needed a doctor's care. They are heartily sick of the way in which their party leaders are bearing themselves in Washington. One such lugubrious New York Republican was being commiserated by a friend. "Why, you look as if you were seasick." "No, it is not that; I am only *Sun-sick*."—*The Evening Post*.

Only faithful heeding of the famous admonition to keep neutral even in our thoughts as between friends represses utterance of the reflection that the mere increase in popular demand for *Sun-shine* during the past few months exceeds the entire circulation of the *Post-mortem*.

The Greatest Need

THE President's Labor Conference at Washington has already shown good cause for its existence in profit to the nation. It has, it is true, done nothing in the way of deciding the great pending issues. We are not over-confident that it will do so at all. But it has elicited expressions of opinion, proposals, demands, revelations of purpose, any one of a number of which would alone make it well worth while to have held the gathering.

Conspicuous among these was the first of the series of principles proposed by the group of delegates representing capital. All the twelve principles in their category were interesting, and several were highly commendable. But the first of them was so timely, so pertinent, and we should say so imperative, that it deserved not only first place there, but first place in the mind of every industrialist in the land, whether employer or employee. It was this:

There should be no intentional restriction of productive effort or output by either the employer or the employee to create an artificial scarcity of the product or of labor in order to increase prices or wages.

The implication is, of course—and it is a true one—that there has in the past been such restriction, by both employers and employees. We believe that every sound and just-minded man will agree that such a practice is always undesirable and generally vicious, and should be prohibited. But however that may be as a universal and perpetual principle, there can be no question of its paramount desirability at the present time. It is so imperative that we should say that, if it were practicable, it should be enforced by law under heavy penalty.

The great economic need of the time is increased production. It is by that means more than any other that the cost of living is to be reduced to a normal standard, and that thus the purchasing power of mens' wages is to be raised to the standard which they desire; and it is the supreme and damning economic evil of the present epidemic of strikes that they are arbitrarily and artificially reducing production at the very time when there is greatest need that it shall be increased.

There is not a man who is striking for higher wages who would dream of doing so, or who would not be fully satisfied with his present wages, if only the prices of the things which he has to buy were back at their former figure.

Complying With the Law

SPEAKING of presents from foreigners, the *World* sternly remarks:

Men for whom no trick is too low and no slander too mean that promises political usefulness must be pleased and proud at having forced the President, through his secretary, to reply to "cloak-room gossip."

Let us see about that. Was the revelation actually "forced" in the manner indicated? Not according to Mr. Tumulty, who wrote in injured fashion:

Knowing that there is a Constitutional inhibition against the President receiving gifts from foreign rulers or States, the President, after consulting the Secretary of State, was preparing a list of the presents he intended to ask the permission of Congress to retain just before he started on his Western trip.

Does not this imply confession of violation of the "Constitutional inhibition" known to exist even before "consulting the Secretary of State," and admission that acceptance of the gifts required the assent of Congress? And could there be anything more explicit than Mr. Tumulty's assertion that the proper seeking of the required "permission of Congress"—which incidentally has not yet been done—was to be voluntary?

The *World* assumes correctly that folks are not disposed to be meticulous about such things, but is it not obvious that all irritation might easily have been averted by prompter compliance with the law? Why was so long a time required to file so short a list?

Let us hope at any rate that Mr. Tumulty did not inadvertently overlook any really valuable donations, such, for example, as large and priceless tapestries of a type that the Hon. Marcus Aurelius Smith would consider quite unbefitting the decorously rarefied atmosphere of Tombstone, Arizona!

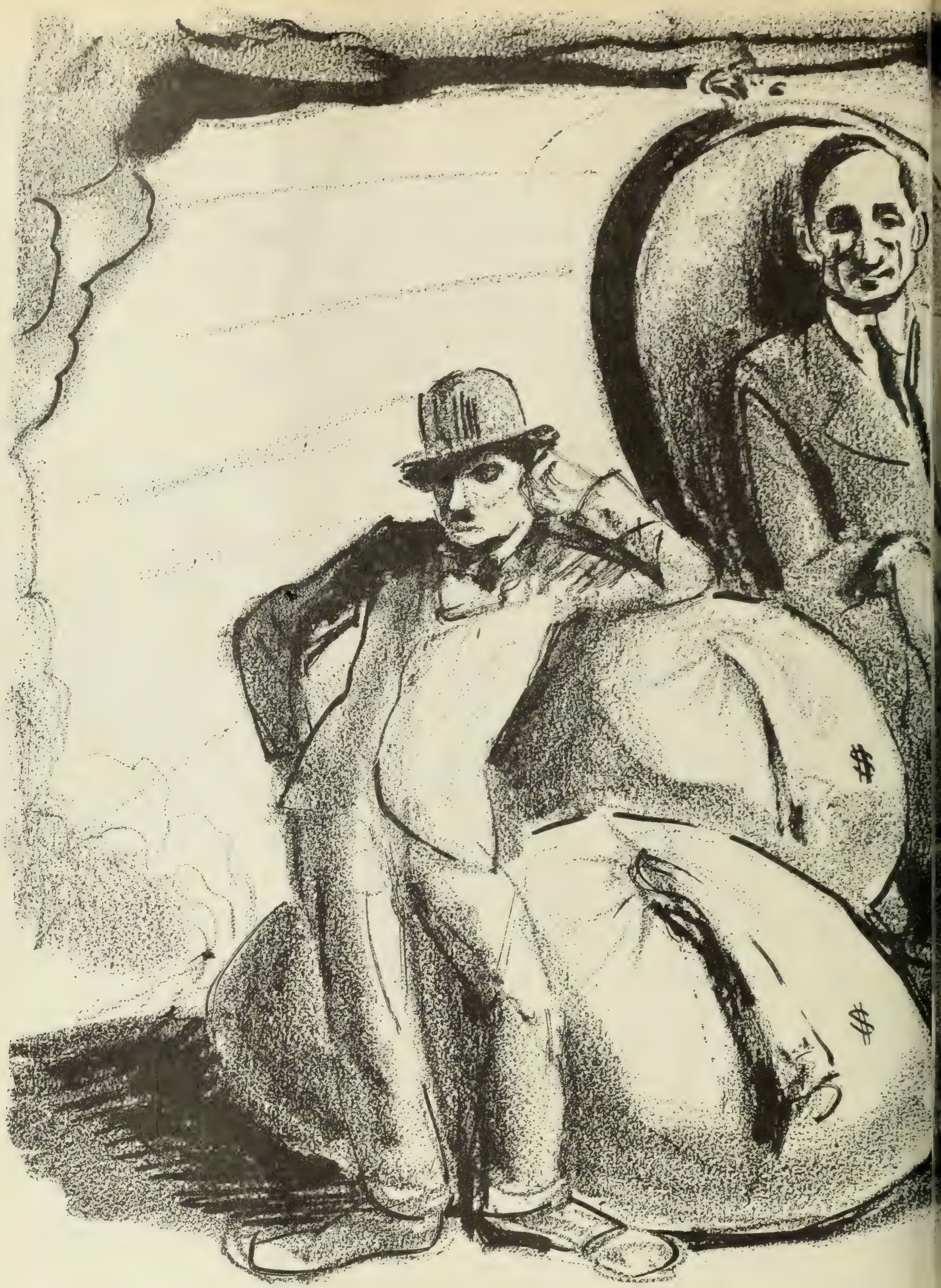
A League Understudy

THE Paris Supreme Council has had substantially all the powers the League of Nations would have had, and yet with all its resources it has been unable to reach even an approximate solution of questions pregnant with peril of the gravest kind. The questions of the Baltic, of Fiume, of Hungary, of Roumania, of Thrace, to say nothing of the intricate tangle of explosive complications in Asia Minor and Armenia, are not a whit nearer to being cleared up than they were when first precipitated. In fact, each and every one of them is more confused, more acute, more threatening than it ever has been. And this is the result of half a year's functioning of a League of Nations understudy with all the resources of statesmanship back of it which the League itself in its full flower would have had. As a demonstration of utter League futility the Supreme Council has been a supreme success. In every other field of endeavor it has been a pitiable failure.

All of which is due in chief to just two things. One is the tying of the simple problem of dictating terms of peace to an utterly defeated foe, to the infinitely complicated problem of creating a world-wide League for the arbitration of international differences and reducing the chances of war to a minimum. The one was utterly distinct from the other. There was neither reason nor excuse for uniting them. Had they been separated, as they should have been, peace with Germany and Germany's gang of international brigands would have been an established fact months ago. The ground would have been cleared then for that deliberate, searching study of the League of Nations problem which its importance and bewilderingly complicated manifestations demanded. But, no, peace and the League must be harnessed up together, and harnessed with the cart before the horse at that.

"The situation," says the Paris correspondent of the *New York Sun*, "as every thoughtful person here now admits, is the direct consequence of tying up the treaty to the League before proper time had been given to work it out in a manner satisfactory to all concerned, and particularly to the United States Senate."

It is only justice to the statesmen of Europe who yielded to Mr. Wilson's insistence on tying the treaty to the League with those non-severable threads of which he boasted so defiantly last Spring, that they did so with the full belief that they were acting in accordance with our Senate's wishes. They had received solemn assurances from the President of the United States which fully warranted them in that belief. He had told them that in his League insistence he was acting under a mandate from the American people. With the President acting under such a mandate, how could it be otherwise than that the Senate would be under the constraints of the same instructions? The statesmen of Europe were deceived. They know now that they were deceived. For this, the world is now paying the penalty in wholly unnecessary confusions and perils from which the issue is not yet anywhere in sight.



WAIT TILL THE

920



CUDS ROLL BY!

The Week

WASHINGTON, October 21, 1919.

THE President's enforced abstention from public business has been felt less than it would have been if Congress and the nation had not in a measure been habituated to it through his long absence from the country; but it has nevertheless been keenly felt, and of course immeasurably deplored, both on account of its cause and circumstances, and because of its unfavorable effect upon public business. Especially regrettable is his inability to participate in the settlement of those issues of domestic economics which now far transcend all else in importance. With the submission of the Treaty of Versailles to the Senate, and with the establishment of European peace through the action of the chief Allied Powers, foreign relations, important as they are, pass into second place. The war was made without us, for us to enter later at our will. So peace has been made without us, for us to enter at our will whenever the Senate shall agree upon a satisfactory amendment of the quite impossible terms at first proposed. It is, as we have hitherto made plain, eminently desirable that the matter shall be disposed of at the earliest possible date, though of course it is still more imperative that it shall be rightly disposed of. For any undue delay, it will be easy to fix responsibility, and so far as the results of delay are costly, culpability and censure will be commensurately heavy.

The not unexpected defeat of the Shantung amendment set the Covenanters a-chortling in their joy: "O frabjous day! Calloo! callay!" We really have not the heart to begrudge them their happiness, seeing how little there has been in life to cheer them of late. But, in the phrase of Mr. Monroe, we owe it to candor to remind them that the Shantung business is entirely separate from the League of Nations, and that a textual amendment to the Treaty is a very different thing from an effective reservation to the Covenant. Moreover, if they want to take the thing in all its aspects as literally and definitively as they do the one phase of it which seems favorable to them, let them prepare for gooseflesh and cold shivers. For more than a third of the Senate voted for the Shantung amendment, and it follows that if they should persist in such reprobation of the betrayal of China, and should vote against the Treaty on that account, that tainted compact would fail of ratification. And we shouldn't greatly wonder if they're quite capable of doing it.

In ratifying the Treaty of Peace the British Government has taken a long step toward a crisis in its own affairs, namely, the acute recrudescence of the Irish Home Rule question. It must be remembered that just before the war began, a Home Rule bill was actually enacted and placed upon the statute book. By common consent a supplementary act was then passed, suspending its application until the end of the war. But when the Treaty of Peace is ratified by all the enemy belligerents, then the act of suspension

will lapse and the Home Rule law must be put in force. That time may come very soon. It can scarcely be postponed more than a few months. Of course, the British Government might force through another suspension act but that inevitably would provoke charges of bad faith, and is hardly likely to be resorted to. The Fall session of Parliament is therefore likely to see some stormy debating over the problem of giving the Nationalists Home Rule, or reserving Ulster from the operation of the act, and of suppressing the Sinn Feiners, who want not Home Rule but complete independence.

A significant and by no means commendable contrast was observable between the Executive and Congress in their attitudes towards the strikes of government employees. By a substantially unanimous vote—222 to 8—the House of Representatives declared against permitting policemen to affiliate themselves with trade unions and thus make themselves parties to industrial strikes. The Interstate Commerce Committee of the Senate, also by practically unanimous vote, declared in favor of penalizing strikes of railroad employees, the single dissenting vote of the fifteen being cast not against the principle but on the ground that such a penalty would not be practically enforceable. Thus in both Houses of Congress recognition was given to the logical and salutary principle which was enunciated in the Labor Conference, that "a sharp distinction should be drawn between the employment relations in the field (a) of the private industry; (b) of the public utility service, and (c) of Government employment, Federal, State or Municipal." That principle is, we believe, one of the most important in the whole domain of economic controversy.

The Administration, however, ignored and discredited this principle at the very time when Congress was thus upholding it. By its attitude toward strikers not only in the public utility service but also in the employment of the Federal Government, it practically conceded their right to strike against the Government precisely as though they had been in a purely private industry. This we must regard with grave apprehension, as establishing a precedent which is sure to return to plague us—if a precedent can be said to be established by an Administration which has so extraordinary a facility for reversing its professions and practices. We can, of course, understand how urgently desirable it was to end the ferry strike at New York, which not only imposed intolerable hardships and deadly menace upon the chief city of the Union, but also seriously affected the interest of the nation at large. Yet we cannot help regarding it as ominous that the men who in a singularly flagrant and offensive manner engaged in that singularly flagrant and offensive desertion of public duty, should have been treated not as deserters from government service who must return to duty before their demands could be considered, but as entirely legitimate strikers who were to be coaxed back to work by concessions of higher pay.

Meantime there is ground for sincere satisfaction in the complete abandonment by the police of Washington of their ill-advised attempt to unite with the American Federation of Labor, and in the failure of the similar attempt in Boston. It now remains for that Federation itself to indicate unmistakably its recognition of the intolerable impropriety of any such affiliation, and to exclude not only policemen but all other government employees from its membership. It could scarcely do anything else that would so greatly commend it to public confidence and grateful esteem. Mr. Gompers and some of his associates have made a fine and patriotic fight against Red Radicalism and Bolshevism. They must surely realize that the "unionizing" of police forces is sheer Bolshevism of the most mischievous kind.

The splendidly efficient work of the Federal army at Gary, as formerly at Omaha, is a reminder of the value of that branch of the Government in domestic as well as in foreign affairs, and in time of peace as well as in war. General Wood was not permitted to serve his country abroad; but not only in spite of but actually because of that unjust and odious discrimination against him, he has had an opportunity in his own land to render military service not less essential and vital than that which his comrades in arms rendered at Chateau-Thierry and in the Argonne; indeed, a service requiring if possible the exercise of even greater discretion and fortitude. It is a great thing to win a victory by "straight fighting" over a foreign foe on foreign soil. It is certainly no less great to win a victory over equally malignant foes on home soil and to do so not merely by force of arms, but still more by the discreet exercise of the highest faculties of civil as well as of military administration.

First off, the war time prohibition act was to end at the end of the war. But when the President, at the signing of the armistice, announced officially to Congress that the war was ended, it was discovered that prohibition must prevail until the army was demobilized. When demobilization was completed, the lapsing of prohibition was further postponed until the Treaty of Peace became effective. When that achievement began to loom in the immediate foreground, through the ratifications of Great Britain, France and Italy, it was announced that aridity must persist until the United States itself had ratified the treaty. Then, if it was ratified with reservations, we must wait until those reservations were accepted by all other nations before we could resume our draughts of buttermilk. Moreover, after the reservations were thus adopted, it would be necessary to wait until all the other peace treaties, between us and Austria-Hungary, and between the Allies and Bulgaria and Turkey, were all fully ratified. Still more, when all that was achieved, the Demon Currant Wine must be further exorcised until it was quite certain that Germany and all the others were going to fulfill faithfully their engagements under the treaties. And so progressively the renaissance of the buttermilk jug was to be advanced. It is all very edifying.

The report seems to be verified that the Peruvian Government intends to press actively, before European Governments, its claims to the provinces of Tacna and Arica which have long been held by Chili and, in case the League of Nations becomes an actual and efficient entity, to appeal to it for justice. But could the League take cognizance of such demands as those of Peru? Its members would be pledged to the maintainance of the *status quo* of each and every one of them, just as they existed at the time of the formation of the League. And as, at that time, Tacna and Arica were, *de facto* if not *de jure*, part and parcel of the Chilian state, all loyal Leaguers would be bound to protect her in possession of them, against all the pretensions of Peru.

The present week marks the end of national "daylight saving." It is a great pity. The persistent fight which the President made for the perpetuation of that beneficent reform will long be remembered as by no means the least of his services or intended services to the nation. Of course, we decline for a moment to believe that the ill-advised action of Congress in abolishing the system will prove final, or even long-enduring. The people of this nation will simply insist upon the permanent restoration of a system which was singularly efficient for their welfare not only physically but also mentally and morally, and which resulted, on the most practical grounds, in greater profit and less loss than any comparable reform ever devised.

That is a grim and stern but noble and most praiseworthy determination of the Belgian Government, to maintain forever the Cathedral and the Cloth Hall of Ypres in precisely the state of ruin to which the Huns reduced them, as a memorial of German savagery. It is well, it is necessary for adequate remembrance, that this should be. We shall hope to see all else of Ypres rebuilt, far finer than before, and to see Belgium generally restored to increased beauty and prosperity; by contrast with which the ruins of these few buildings will be the more impressive. Let them stand as they are, religiously protected from the spoliation of relic-hunting vandals, with an inscription for all the world to see in future ages, telling that this was the work of German *Kultur*. In northern France, too, there should be such memorials. In no better way can the truth of history be assured.

A "living wage" in New South Wales is now higher than it was. It has just been officially advanced from \$15 to \$16.05—no, not a day, as it might be in another country which we know of, but a week. If we remember aright, it was of New South Wales that Douglas Jerrold said: "Earth is here so kind, that just tickle her with a hoe and she laughs with a harvest." Perhaps that is why a man and his dependents can there live a week on a pittance which a New York waiter would scorn as one evening's tips.

The Dunne-Walsh Charges

SIR,—I read your WEEKLY regularly, and certainly can find nothing about which to complain so far as your attitude on the League of Nations is concerned. It has been such magazines as yours—and they are all too few—that have “kept the faith” so far as America is concerned, and, from the present outlook, you have won the battle. Your articles, while inexorable in logic and forcible in diction have uniformly evinced a desire to be fair; to make no misstatements of facts; to draw no unwarranted conclusions.

However, I do not notice this same spirit permeating your articles on other subjects. For instance, let us take your recent article bearing on the “Irish Question” and entitled “Again, Who Is the Liar?” Let us see if you do not, either through inadvertence (I will not say because of a tincture of prejudice) or neglect, violate one of the first principles of the “game,” i. e., misstatement of fact, and, secondly, non-statement of fact. You say that the British Government, in reply to the report of Messrs. Walsh, Dunne and Ryan, specifically and categorically denied each and every one of the 47 charges preferred against it by the American Commissioners. This is not true. MacPherson’s report admitted the truth of several of the charges, endeavoring to justify them by the old, worn-out methods. Immediately following MacPherson’s report, the *Manchester Guardian* editorially made the statement that the Irish case against England was made by the British Government’s own admissions, and that all Walsh, Dunne and Ryan needed to do was to codify the admissions in MacPherson’s report and submit it to the world.

Moreover, the Foreign Relations Committee were as willing to listen to those against Irish Independence as to those for it. The committee was open. Did any British representative appear before the Committee? The American people are more prone to believe statements made before a Senate Committee where witnesses are open to cross-examination than those appearing gratis in a London paper or in an American paper whose correspondent lives in London. The fact that no one appeared against Walsh and his associates before the Senate, excepting the feeble protest of the five who are satisfied with British Government of Ireland so long as they are in the United States, is sufficient admission of the truth of Walsh’s statement. If the *New York Herald* and yourself are anxious for a fair and impartial hearing of the question on its merits, why do you not insist that Mr. Walsh’s challenge be taken up? To-wit, that an impartial commission be appointed by the American and British Governments to investigate the charges which he has repeatedly offered to prove? Mere statement and denial reiterated mean nothing except reduplicated charges of falsehood on both sides. You are kicking because the American people did not get a chance to know what went on in Paris, and you refuse to take Wilson’s statements in explanation. So do I, for that matter; but I believe in consistency, and feel that everybody ought to have a fair deal. Do you?

Columbus, Ohio.

JOHN S. HOGAN.

We certainly do. When the *New York Herald* led all the newspapers in the country in being the first to print the Dunne-Walsh charges in full, it rendered a great public service. The document it spread before the American people was little short of appalling. If accurate, it virtually read England out of the society of civilized nations. In commenting upon the terrible indictment we took precisely that view. We took the further view that England could not let such accusations go unanswered. But when England did answer them we summarized the answer, as we had the charges, with an expression of confidence that Messrs. Dunne and Walsh would not let the matter rest there. Nor did they. Mr. Walsh replied in a statement, filling two of the WEEKLY’s columns, in which statement, as our correspondent says, he offered to prove before a competent tribunal all the charges of the original document.

There the matter rested until the *Herald*, with elaborately specific instructions to tell the exact truth as found, sent its chief London correspondent to Ireland on a tour of investigation. We summarized the result of the *Herald*’s private inquiries, as we had all of the statements pro and con which went before. We furthermore expressed confi-

dence that Messrs. Dunne and Walsh would meet the statements of this new witness in the controversy. We fully retain that confidence.

The suggestion of our correspondent that an impartial commission pass upon the issue is an excellent one. Messrs. Dunne and Walsh are respected American citizens. If injustice has been done them by the *Herald* correspondent in his findings and by the British Government in its report, we are confident that both the American public and the *New York Herald* would wish that they have every facility possible to establish beyond all question the fact of that injustice. As the matter now stands, it has come, in substance, to a direct implication of falsehood on each side. The issue is too serious to rest at a conclusion so undignified and so impotent. We would rejoice to see the suggestion of Mr. Walsh and our correspondent acted upon.

Sir Edward Carson has just hoisted storm signals.—*New York Evening Post*.

How? By his boot straps? He is himself the chief storm signal.

America the Laggard

SIR AUCKLAND C. GEDDES, the British Minister for National Service and Reconstruction, is quoted as saying that Great Britain has before her the greatest trade opportunity in all her history, and that she has no occasion to fear American rivalry in the markets of the world if only her manufacturers and merchants make up their minds to work together. That they will work together and improve their opportunity, we may be quite sure.

Professor Lucien L. Bruhl, the distinguished French economist, reports that “A new France, rejuvenated and vigorous, is undertaking the gigantic problems of reconstruction. Her friends are optimistic and look forward to a period of productive activity.” There is every reason to believe that the wonderful vitality and efficiency which France displayed during the war will also be triumphantly manifested in the peace which follows the war, and that she will show herself as potent in industry and commerce as she did on the field of battle.

Germany, in reopening commercial relations with all the nations of the world, is reminding them that her industries remained unravaged and unimpaired by the war, and that her productive efficiency is now practically as great as ever—in some respects, greater than ever, because of the enormous quantities of machinery and materials which she stole from France and Belgium. There can be no doubt that in this there is far more truth than idle boasting, and that Germany is once more one of the most formidable factors in the trade of the world.

Meanwhile the United States marks time. It has no Minister for National Service and Reconstruction, nor anybody doing the work which pertains to such an official. Although through the war our Administration refused to make the preparations for resuming commerce in time of peace which all the other important Powers were making, because it w

afraid of being suspected of mercenary and sordid motives! And even now that the war is over, it does nothing. Strikes prevail and diminish our productive capacity, shipping is demoralized, and we fall steadily behind in the competition for the markets of the world.

It may be that the Administration is deliberately delaying all promotion of our commercial interests until the ratification of the Treaty without reservations or amendments. It may be that we are not to be permitted to improve our commercial opportunities until we have assented to the abrogation of the Monroe Doctrine and the ham-stringing of the Constitution. But we cannot help wondering what it would profit us to meddle in the politics of every nation under the sun and lose our place in the markets of the world.

Work for the Legion

THE American Legion has done its work, in war. There remains for it a work in peace no less important and no less urgent. Its members went abroad when German hordes were invading France and threatening her overthrow, and without them there was no force sufficient to defeat the menace. They have come home to find Bolshevism invading the United States and threatening its overthrow, and without them there is no force sufficient certainly to defeat the menace. What are they going to do about it?

Here is the situation, depicted without camouflage: Nearly a year has passed since the armistice was signed and the President declared the war at an end. Our Expeditionary Forces have been brought home and dismissed to civil life. Not a single effective thing has been done to reorganize the army into an adequate force for domestic service in an emergency. Congress has not agreed upon any measure for a Federal army, and the States have not reorganized their National Guard units. We are practically without a military establishment worthy of the name or equal to the demands that may at any moment be made upon it. Moreover, no matter how promptly and wisely Congress and the States should now act, much time, probably months, would elapse before there could be an adequately dependable establishment.

Meanwhile every day discloses more ominous menace and potential need of a saving military force. Bolshevism, the worst enemy of government and of civilization, has invaded the United States in force, just as surely and as maliciously as the Germans invaded France. Every day brings further proof of its presence and of its pernicious activity and formidable power. Strikes multiply, with openly revolutionary aims. Riots are organized in our largest cities, under the cries of "Down with the Government! To hell with the Constitution and laws!" It will do no good merely to rail at those who through wicked neglect of duty have permitted and even encouraged these conditions to arise. We can expect nothing from them toward suppressing the evils they have fostered. The people

must act for themselves. If the national Government has failed us in this emergency, the individual States must act, with the powers which have been reserved to them.

Nothing could be more fitting or more reassuring than for each State through its Governor to organize at once a State Constabulary of commanding proportions. Every returned soldier, officer or private, should at once enroll in the American Legion and actively associate himself with one of its posts, and these would provide an abundant number of trained and competent men to fill the ranks of the constabulary in any emergency. The men would respond to the call, be sure of that. They did their full duty abroad, but they have no mind to sit down at home and see Bolshevik ruin come to the country which they saved from the Hun.

Arms and munitions for this work, so far as needed, would not be lacking. There is an abundance of them stored in arsenals and warehouses all over the country, which the citizens of the States have paid for. If the Federal Government will not itself utilize them, it could scarcely refuse to let the various State Governments have them.

During the war, the Administration at Washington decreed the dissolution of one of the finest patriotic organizations ever formed in this country, because it feared that, in its zealous working for loyalty against disloyalty, it would disclose some facts discreditable and embarrassing to high officials or their favored friends. It is scarcely to be anticipated that the Administration would venture to decree the dissolution of the American Legion on like grounds.

There is no use in being mealy-mouthed or pussy-footed in the matter. We had enough of that a few years ago, and paid the penalty of being drawn into the war unprepared. The cuckoo cry then was, "He is keeping us out of war! We have not been unmindful and we are not unprepared! If a million men were called for at daybreak, we should have them all in battle array by sunset!" We know now what infernal folly or worse than folly that was.

It would be worse folly to-day to shut our eyes against the peril that is within our gates, and to the imperative need of immediate action against it. America is not Bolshevik. But it may rest with the American Legion to save it from being Bolshevized.

I would stand—if I stood alone—for an America with the right to choose from time to time the company she keeps; for an America at liberty to follow her own conscience as the events of the future transpire; for an America which all the nations of the earth are powerless to order from right doing or command to wrong doing; for an America concerned for the world but devoted first and always to the protection and welfare of her own people.

In the anthology of noble utterances in the Senate of the United States, those words of Albert Baird Cummins must have a place not far from the most famous words of Webster and Clay and the other giant patriots of the past. No sane and loyal American citizen can rehearse them without a thrill of pride and of warm approval. No man can find in the Covenant against which they were directed a passage comparable with them in patriotic inspiration, in elevated ethics, in true benevolence toward all humanity.

The Swallowing of Persia

PERSIA next. We have seen the partition of China, cynically effected through secret treaties in the sacrosanct name of territorial integrity and open covenants openly arrived at. But Persia has not been partitioned. She has been appropriated whole. The rival Power which a little while ago claimed a "sphere of influence" over half of Iran is now so shattered and Bolshevik as to be at least temporarily out of the competition, wherefore the entire rich prize goes to the remaining claimant. From the Caspian Sea to the Gulf of Oman the realm of Kai Khosrau is tinted a fine British red.

We would not judge wrongly, nor hastily; nor on insufficient testimony. But here are the texts of the treaties—or, no: not treaties, but two "agreements" and two "separate letters" which are tantamount to treaties—and here are frank and authentic British commentaries upon them. What better basis of judgment could be desired?

In the first place, then, the British Government begins by reiterating, "in the most categorical manner," its former and repeated undertakings "to respect absolutely the independence and integrity of Persia." Of the sincerity of that assurance we can of course have no doubt; any more than we had of the sincerity of Great Britain's former pledge to evacuate Egypt, or of Japan's more recent pledge to respect the independence and sovereignty of Korea. The future of Persia is therefore abundantly assured.

How, in addition to and in fulfilment of the pledge which we have cited? The British Government is to supply, at Persia's cost, all the "expert advisers" that the Persian Government may need in any of its departments; it is to supply, at Persia's cost, all the officers, arms, munitions and other equipments that may be needed for the Persian army; it is to lend to the Persian Government "on adequate security" all the money which may be needed for the purpose of financing the proposed reforms to be effected by the British advisers and officers; it is to provide railroads and other means of transportation in and for Persia; and it is to coöperate with the Persian Government in examining, revising, and reconstructing the Persian tariff. In brief, practically every department of Persian administration and every Persian interest is to be placed under British direction and control, about as completely as, let us say, the affairs of the County of Kent, or the city of Calcutta. Still, as we have observed, Great Britain will continue "to respect absolutely the independence and integrity of Persia."

Lest we be suspected of misinterpreting, in a pygmy-minded and insectile manner, the purport of this altruistic and benevolent arrangement, let us quote a most respectable British authority concerning it. Says the *Nation*, of London:

The Treaty, as we read it, places Persia in the same position toward this Empire that Egypt occupied before 1914. We do indeed pledge ourselves to recognize its independence, much as we had pledged ourselves to evacuate Egypt. It is independence qualified by the fact that we alone are to appoint the "advisers" who will control its policy, and we alone are to appoint the officers who command the forces which will execute the "advice." . . . Persia is tied to us, fatally and completely. . . . No other Power can

trespass without committing an unfriendly act. . . . We have a lien on the customs. We acquire the rights of railway building and control the alternative means of transport also. We already had the oil fields. Persia, in short, has placed all her assets in our hands.

Now if we should concede that British administration will be for the practical advantage of Persia, as it has been for Egypt, and as Japanese rule has been for Corea, what must still be said of the making of such an arrangement for practical British annexation of Persia at the very moment that the Covenant of the League of Nations was being formulated and urged as a measure for the protection of just such countries as Persia from just such appropriation as is now designed—"for the purpose of affording mutual guarantees of political independence and territorial integrity to great and small states alike"? On this point let us again quote the *London Nation*:

This transaction . . . has exposed the vanity of the hopes—or, shall we say, of some of the hopes—that were reposed in the League of Nations. If we can, without consulting the rest of the civilized world, assign this great region, with its high though fatally impractical civilization, if we can escape in Persia even the few limitations implied in a formal "Mandate," if we can shut the door of the World's Court to any weak suitor whose case runs counter to our interests, we have succeeded in demonstrating that the critics are deplorably right who say that the League of Nations means nothing but the consecrated hegemony of three or four Great Powers. We, by self-interest, the Americans by weakness and incapacity, are destroying the ideal for which both profess to have fought. From crisis to crisis, always in Russia, lately in Hungary, and now in Persia, idealists repeat the warning yet hopeful phrase, "The League of Nations is passing through a test." It takes a series of tests to extinguish so great a hope. There will come a moment when men will no longer indulge it.

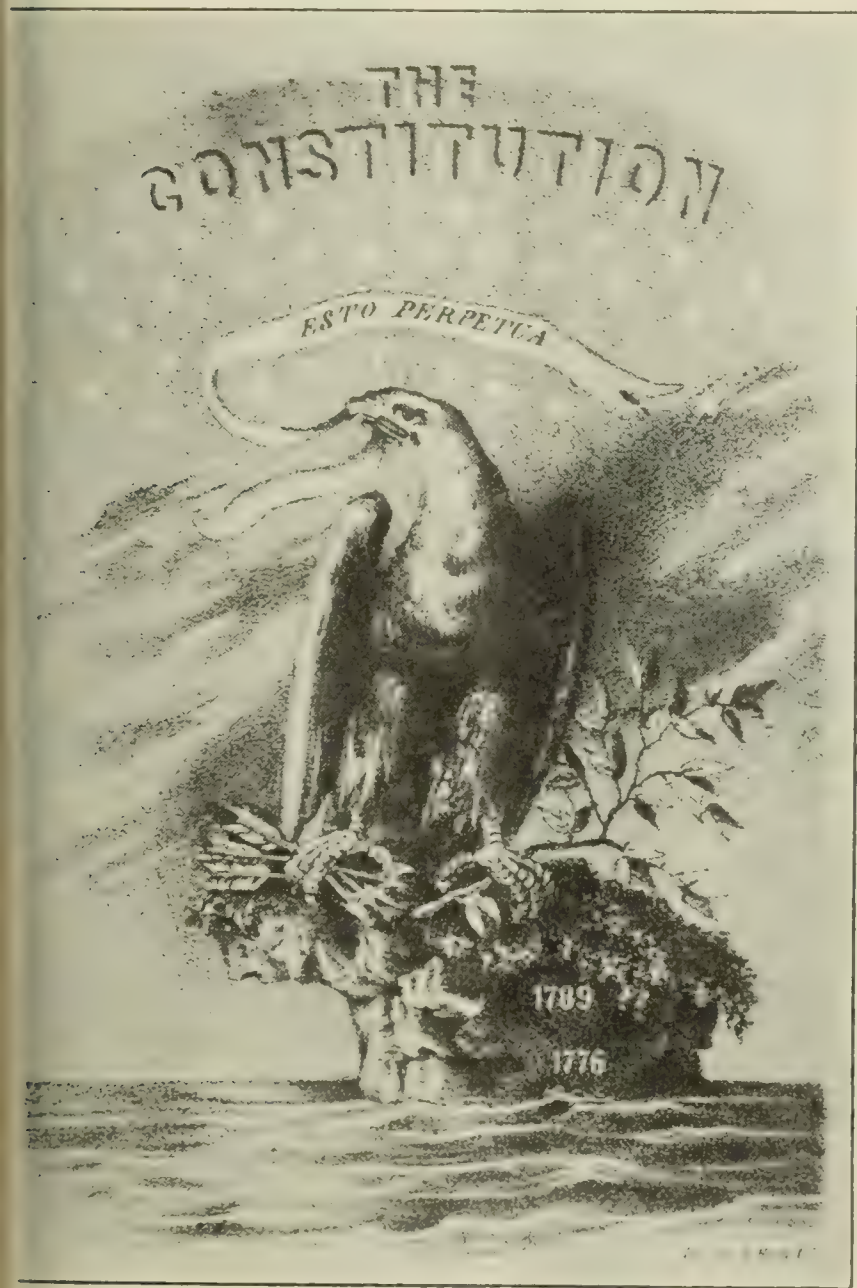
We would not, as we have said, judge wrongly. But if we cite a serious and deliberative British judgment upon the acts of the British Government, we must at least be exculpated from mere Anglophobia. And unless this British judgment be monstrously unjust to Great Britain, Persia is being made a mere appanage to the British Empire, and the vote of Persia in the League of Nations, of which she is to be a charter member, will merely increase the British votes from six to seven, as against the one vote of the United States.

The Mexican Government displays at times almost human intelligence. Some time ago it received from Colonel House and Lord Robert Cecil, on behalf of the "Executive Committee of the League of Nations," a request that it furnish to them a complete compilation of all the laws now in force in that country, complete statistics of the industrial development of the country, and goodness only knows what not other information. To this the Mexican Government replied that it had no information that the League of Nations had yet come into actual existence, the Covenant creating it not having been ratified by any of the chief constituent Powers; and that, in any case, Mexico was not a member of it and had not been invited to become a member. For which and various other good and sufficient reasons, the Government of the United States of Mexico must respectfully beg to be excused from furnishing the information so courteously requested, with assurances of most distinguished consideration. A sense of humor is really a valuable thing in international affairs.

Letters From Our Readers

NOTHING ABOVE THE CONSTITUTION

SIR,—I have before me a copy of the Constitution which, pursuant to a resolution of the Senate of the United States passed on the 5th of January, 1853, was given to my father as a member of that body,—being the sixth edition, published by W. Hickey, Philadelphia, 1853. You will find herewith a photograph of the frontispiece which precedes the text of the Constitution in that book. You will observe that the picture shows nothing on earth above the Constitution; guarded and protected by it, the galaxy of stars representing the States then in the Union, thirty-one, the motto "*Esto Perpetua*"; and a distinctly American eagle, white-headed, (or, as we used to call them in the country, "bald-headed") firmly seated on a rock in the midst of a calm sea, grasping in his right talons a sheaf of arrows, representing our military power, and in his left, the olive branch of peace. On the rock are inscribed the dates, "1776" of our Independence, and "1789" of our form of Government under the Constitution.



Now that so many, including the one in supreme executive power, are endeavoring to put something above the Constitution, and something other than the Constitution above the Government of the United States, would it not be well to publish this as a cartoon?

The book shows that many thousand copies of the various editions thereof were ordered printed by resolutions of the Senate, issued on the following dates: Feb. 18, 1847; April 14, 1848; April 27, 1848; Mar. 2, 1849; Sept. 23, 1850; Jan. 22, 1852, and Jan. 5, 1853. The book contains an analysis of the Constitution, the "Farewell Address," etc., etc.

I enclose also a copy of the title page, and of the Dedication, which, as you will observe, is "To The People, The Congress, The President, and the Supreme Court of the United States," in the order here named.

New York City.

STUYVESANT FISH.

[THE TITLE PAGE]

The
CONSTITUTION
of the
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
With an Alphabetical Analysis;
THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE;
THE ARTICLES OF CONFEDERATION;
The Prominent Political Acts of
GEORGE WASHINGTON;
Electoral Votes for All the
PRESIDENTS AND VICE-PRESIDENTS;
The High Authorities and Civil Officers of Government
From March 4, 1789, to March 3, 1847;
Chronological Narrative of the Several States;
And Other interesting matter;
With a Descriptive Account of the
STATE PAPERS, PUBLIC DOCUMENTS,
and other sources of
POLITICAL AND STATISTICAL INFORMATION
At the Seat of Government.
By
W. Hickey.
Sixth Edition.
Philadelphia:
1853.

[THE DEDICATION]

To
THE PEOPLE,
THE CONGRESS,
THE PRESIDENT,
and the
SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES,
This Sixth Edition of the Constitution
is Dedicated by
W. HICKEY.

A CANNY SCOT

SIR,—Being a devoted admirer of your *North American Review* and WEEKLY, and regarding the dissemination of their contents as good missionary work, I was much interested in something I learned while on a visit a few weeks ago to one of the small farm villages with which Iowa is dotted.

This particular place, Traer, the home of the former Secretary of Agriculture, Mr. James Wilson, is in the midst of a Scotch settlement, which is in general strongly Republican.

On one of the larger farms is an old Scotchman, gnarled and deaf, who has served as the chief hired hand there for over thirty years.

Not long ago this canny Scot came into the Traer Public Library and, laying the proper amount of his hard-earned bawbees on the counter, requested that they be used for four subscriptions to HARVEY'S WEEKLY for the library, because he thought the best charity he could do would be to give everyone a chance to read it.

I believe they induced him to compromise on two subscriptions to the WEEKLY and two to the *North American Review*, but in any case the story warmed the cockles of my heart.

The knowledge that your sound sense and sterling patriotism is so appreciated by a Scotch farmhand that he is willing to part with his hard-earned money to share them with others, speaks well for your paper and for our farm communities.

Evanston, Illinois.

F. W. H.

FROM A BLIND PATRIOT

SIR,—Some month ago an old Illinois friend presented me with a copy of HARVEY'S WEEKLY, and as I am practically blind and unable to read, my daughter does my reading for me. After hearing your paper read, I had her subscribe for it. I thank you for the grand American sentiments expressed in it and for the fight that you are making against the League of Nations. I wish to say that the reading of your paper has been of more good cheer to me than any and all other published news that has been read to me.

I would love to see General Wood our next President. I have never met the General, but a friend read to me his tribute to Colonel Roosevelt published in *The Ladies' Home Journal* of October.

Yours appreciatively as an American,

Oakland, California.

P. W. BELLINGALL.
(Per L. B. S.)

Letters From Our Readers

WHY IT STANDS ALONE

(From the October "North American Review")

SIR,—The July and August issues of THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW appear to me to afford striking justification for the comment which I hear from intelligent men and women of my acquaintance—who seek truth and not simply a smug confirmation of their cherished opinions—that THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW stands almost alone among American magazines in the force and directness of its editorials and articles on current affairs.

I am moved to offer some comment upon this comment, because, in my judgment, there has never been a time when firm declarations by serious students of politics, whether or not one agrees with their content, could perform a greater service to the nation, or when loose thinking and vague expression have had a greater power than they now have to set up a train of consequences so pernicious or so irremediable.

I do not, of course, agree with all your views on national polity, or with all those of your contributors; but it is when I am farthest from complete assent that your editorial policy confers upon me the greatest benefit. This policy I interpret to be one of furnishing your readers not merely with a series of brilliant, didactic statements but also with the facts upon which these statements rest.

When these facts supplement, as they must often do, the reader's own stock of information, it is a clear gain to him; when your deductions from the facts are at variance with those of the reader the clarity and vigor of your style compel him, if he is an honest student, to re-examine his position. If, at the end, he rejects your conclusions, this rejection is due to those temperamental differences which represent the gyroscopic principle in the philosophy of politics, and which give us, on the basis of accepted facts, a pull in one direction towards conservatism, and in the other towards radicalism.

The commonest form of attack to which you are subjected in the press and in the conversations of the politicians is of a character which furnishes a strong inferential guarantee of the accuracy of your facts and of the soundness of your judgments.

Any editorial you write, any article you publish, can be honestly assailed only upon two grounds: one that your facts are not facts, the other that, though your facts are facts, your reasoning from them is unsound. In the adverse criticisms of you which have reached my eye and my ear there is, in the main, a singular absence of either charge. For the most part your facts are not denied; your deductions from them are not challenged. Your guilt seems to lie in your failure to set up in front of your opponents' artillery an edifice constructed of misinformation and adorned with false reasoning, which at the first cannonade of truth and logic would crumble before the approving gaze of all men.

But, since truth is your bastion and logic your portcullis, your antagonists have to content themselves with marching round the fort and proclaiming to the world at large that the Knight within is a most malicious, prejudiced and vindictive person.

The situation reminds me of a conversation I heard some years ago at a very formal dinner in London. A young Englishman, just returned from New York, was endeavoring to entertain an elderly spinster, bearing with great dignity a name highly distinguished in the home counties, whose travels had been limited on the north by the hydropathic establishments of Harrowgate and on the south by the creameries of Devonshire. The young man, amply endowed with that admirable hatred of exaggeration which is one of the noblest traits of the Briton, remarked that the Woolworth building was higher than Windsor Castle—"Oh, quite!"

This disadvantageous comparison led the elderly spinster to express her fear that the young man had become Americanized; but when this horrid charge failed to change the young man's conception of relative altitudes, the elderly spinster brought the discussion to an end by remarking:

"Well, Sir Henry, you have convinced me that, in your opinion, the Woolworth building is higher than Windsor Castle; but I hope you will not mind my saying, as an old friend of your dear mother, that, holding such an opinion, it is rather unpatriotic of you to express it."

There you are!

But the Woolworth building is higher than Windsor Castle—"Oh, quite!"

It seems to me that your great contribution to the current discussion of public affairs is that you avoid, on the one hand, that dripping sentimentality which in the exercises of a young ladies' seminary is pleasing to some and harmless to all, and, on the other hand, that vague babbling which, whether or not it is employed for the purpose of achieving those aims, poisons the well of thought and paralyzes the arm of action.

No one has described with greater succinctness and fidelity the dangers which spring from the kind of public utterances with

which the country has been flooded during the past few months than has Lord Macaulay in the following passage:

Whatever Mr. Gladstone sees is refracted and distorted by a false medium of passions and prejudices. His style bears a remarkable analogy to his mode of thinking, and indeed exercises great influence on his mode of thinking. His rhetoric, though often good of its kind, darkens and perplexes the logic which it should illustrate. Half his acuteness and diligence, with a barren imagination and a scanty vocabulary, would have saved him from almost all his mistakes. He has one gift most dangerous to a speculator, a vast command of a kind of language, grave and majestic, but of vague and uncertain import.

When propositions have been established, and nothing remains but to amplify and decorate them, this dim magnificence may be in place. But if it is admitted into a demonstration, it is very much worse than absolute nonsense; just as that transparent haze, through which the sailor sees capes and mountains of false sizes and in false bearings, is more dangerous than utter darkness. Now, Mr. Gladstone is fond of employing the phraseology of which we speak, in those parts of his work which require the utmost perspicuity and precision of which human language is capable; and in this way, he deludes first himself, and then his readers. The foundations of his theory, which ought to be buttressed of adamant, are made out of the flimsy materials which are fit only for perorations.

Whom the cap fits let him set it on his head.

With apologies for the length of this letter, and with my sincere thanks for the clean-cut, unequivocal material you are giving your readers of THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW and in HARVEY'S WEEKLY, I remain,

Catskill, N. Y.

ALLEYNE IRELAND.

ABOUT A CITIZEN OF MONTANA

SIR,—As one of many thousands of Montanans who know and admire John D. Ryan as a great and useful citizen of their State, a neighbor, and a square-shooter in all of his dealings, I venture to offer my strong approval of your convincing reply in the WEEKLY of September 20th to the false, vague, and biased conclusions in the majority report of the partisan sub-committee to investigate the work of the Spruce Production Division.

Nearly always, the purpose of a Congressional investigation just before a campaign is to "get" somebody; and often the work, as in this instance, is so coarse and the purpose so obvious, as to leave a stiff recoil to the gunners.

Montanans do not require an alibi from Mr. Ryan. His word goes here for anything. He came to the State many years ago, as a traveling salesman for an oil company. His ability to do big things was discovered by the late Marcus Daly. His rise to high places was rapid, but due at every stage to merit. He untangled the mess into which the copper industry had been plunged by the late F. Augustus Heinze. He was the founder of the Montana Power Company which furnishes light and power everywhere in this State, and to 550 miles of railroad. He harnessed the waste water power of our rivers and, as a result, Montana has the best-lighted cities in the world. To no other single source may be attributed so much of the rapid development of this State within the past 15 years. His career later when he was called to New York as president of the Anaconda Copper Mining Company and, later, chairman of the board, is, of course, very well known.

Out here in Montana, which Mr. Ryan claims as his residence, we are deeply resentful of the political partisanship that would smear his fine name. He is the soul of honor, in the smallest things. In the length and breadth of this State there could not be found one man who would testify otherwise. We have no fear of injury to Mr. Ryan from the attack of the chairman of this sub-committee who went so far out of the way to display his venom.

Missoula, Montana.

MARTIN J. HUTCHENS.
Editor of the *Daily Missoulian*
and *The Missoula Sentinel*.

CONCERNING PETTIFOGGING

SIR,—It is with the greatest satisfaction that I have read your article in a recent HARVEY'S WEEKLY entitled "Pettifogging Investigation."

I am glad to see a man big enough to stand up for the right as you have done in this case. It's splendid!

Mr. Ryan has a reputation for truth-telling and honesty which cannot be shaken in the community which knows him best.

Anaconda, Montana.

E. E. MOORE.

FROM AN OLD FRIEND

SIR,—I have taken THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, with one short intermission, since 1889, and the WEEKLY beginning with its first number.

Your great talents have never been so well employed. I am proud and glad that we have a patriot like you to tell the people of the dangers that beset the Republic. Go to it! There are few like you.

Battle Creek, Mich.

C. E. KOLB.

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The Day of Settlement

UNLESS we wholly misconstrue three highly significant happenings of the past week, the prospect of final action upon the Peace Treaty by the Senate at an early date is far less favorable than is commonly supposed.

The first of these incidents bears upon the attitude of the Administration. Although inclined at the outset to scoff at Senator Hitchcock's threat to prevent ratification of the Treaty if binding reservations should be incorporated, we are now disposed to regard it seriously as a possible factor at least in delaying consummation. The proposition itself was so illogical, so stultifying and so fantastic that its mere consideration seemed likely to be circumscribed by the airy intellectuals from which it sprang. True, Mr. Tumulty was consulted and gave his personal approval, but without pretense of speaking for the President. Democratic Senators, moreover, betrayed a marked disinclination to follow their leader along so tortuous a path and treated the whole scheme lightly as only part and parcel of the childish tactics to which they had become accustomed.

But the situation changed completely the moment Senator McCumber made the fact plain by his votes in committee that the "mild" reservationists had become the most vigorous, if not indeed the least reconcilable, of all. Even Mr. Hitchcock was no longer able to deny that adoption of drastic modifications was a certainty. The best he could do was to question the ability of the majority "to get the necessary votes to

ratify the Treaty with these reservations." Confessedly he was facing this last ditch; so again he declared that "enough Democrats will stand together to defeat ratification of the Treaty with any such reservations as those projected by the majority."

Three weeks ago, for reasons which we have indicated, this identical assertion was negligible; but, proclaimed on October 22, it was important. The President had then regained sufficient strength to sign bills, to dictate a message to the Industrial Conference and to confer with Mr. Tumulty upon the state of the Union. It is inconceivable that, under these circumstances, Senator Hitchcock would have put forth so definite a pronouncement without authority from his chief; he is too prudent at any rate to take the chance of being subjected to the humiliation of being subordinated a second time to the Hon. Claude Augustus Swanson.

The position taken by Mr. Hitchcock may be assumed almost surely to be that of the Administration—and that is important for the simple reason that, unlike the Senator, the President can undoubtedly control a sufficient number of votes to prevent the ratification of the disagreeably modified Treaty. Whether he will actually do so at the finish remains a question quite likely even in his own mind, but all evidences point clearly to the adoption of a procrastinating and obstructive policy in sheer desperation. That means time and much of it, not merely in discussion of the reservations themselves, but in

debate upon the unprecedented parliamentary tangle bound to ensue.

The second obstacle to prompt action may be read between the lines of a striking leading editorial in the *Sun*. For the first time, on October 22, the very day upon which Senator Hitchcock proclaimed the President's determination, this most resolute opponent of the League stamped a heavy heel upon the popular call for haste.

"At no time in its history," declared the *Sun*, "has the United States Senate had to deal with a matter so far reaching and so dangerous to the very life of the nation as an independent entity as it now has in the Wilson League for transferring our sovereignty to the superstate it would create." Consequently, it solemnly adjured the Senate "to take all the time necessary, to take all the time in the world, if need be, to get to the bottom of this dangerous compact, and to trace out with infinite care every word, every little hidden word that could in any circumstance work to our disadvantage as a free and independent people. This would, in very truth, mean being wise in time."

"Failure," it concluded, "to take the necessary time to fathom this monstrously impudent thing, and to acquaint the American people of its meaning in all its hideous possibilities for injury to America, would be to be false to the responsibility accepted by United States Senators and imposed upon them by the Constitution of the United States."

To the casual reader this impressive utterance may have conveyed only the customary appeal of an earnest public journal. To the initiated, however, it signified much more. The *Sun* has led the daily Press of the country in a mighty struggle. Its accurate presentation of the constantly changing conditions in Washington has demonstrated beyond question its full understanding. Its work has been intelligent and skilful. Its course has conformed precisely to that of Senator Lodge—keenly judged, neither too rapid nor too slow, but shrewdly timed to the essentials of ultimate achievement. To imagine that now in the homestretch it is speaking without assuredness of effective official co-operation would be absurd.

This can mean but one thing, namely, that a strong group of Senators has resolved to demand further searching inquiry into and fuller exposition of the terms of the Treaty itself, following the adoption of the reservations agreed upon. There is nothing surprising in this. When Secretary Lansing told Mr. Bullitt that if the Senate and the American people should ever "really understand what the Treaty lets them in for" they would "unquestionably" reject it, he un-

wittingly impugned the intelligence of the country, and when he added that Senator Knox "might instruct America in the real meaning of it" he challenged the ability and courage of the man best equipped to do that very thing.

It would be strange, indeed, if that erudite and experienced Senator from Pennsylvania should refrain from trying to justify the complimentary allusions of his successor as Secretary of State and to fulfil to completeness his highest expectations. We should be greatly surprised, in point of fact, if such an analysis as Mr. Lansing felt would be both illuminating and damning were not already in process of construction and, if by chance the alert *Sun* is aware of the circumstance, we can readily understand its disposition to re-examine the whole proposal from Alpha to Omega.

This, too, would take time.

The third happening which to our mind possesses peculiar significance escaped public notice. It was the adoption by unanimous vote of a simple resolution introduced by Senator Borah calling upon the Secretary of the Treasury to supply to the Senate whatever information he might have respecting the number and ownership in this country of bonds of foreign nations. What this portends we would not now venture to surmise. Mr. Borah himself gently replied to a question from Mr. Hitchcock that such information might lead to an interesting inquiry into the real motives actuating certain powerful international bankers in their fervid advocacy and financial support of the League.

This phase of the great question now confronting America has been touched upon several times both here and abroad, but no adequate elucidation hitherto has been attempted. That Senator Borah has such a purpose in mind may, we have reason to believe, be accepted as a certainty. It may also be safely assumed that he is not wholly destitute of information upon the subject. His inquiry of the Treasury is, of course, only an entering wedge. Where and how far, if once begun, it may reach is a matter of speculation, at least to those who have not observed closely the trend of affairs. Into many highways and byways leading to the future, we suspect, to say nothing of dark recesses in which are hidden colossal gains whose acquisition has induced the false impression abroad that the whole American people, and not a self-chosen few, are the greatest profiteers of the war for civilization.

Again, time and more time!

Wherefore, as we remarked at the outset, the day of settlement, whether for better or for worse, appears dim and distant. Let us hope that we err!

A Significant Failure

WHATEVER else some of the recent or current strikes indicate, they certainly denote the egregious failure of governmental control of great industries and even of public utilities to avoid such disturbances. We may pass by some of the stricken industries over which the Government has only an indirect authority, though even in them it might well have been thought that under some part of the war-powers to which the Administration clings with a leech-like adherence there would be found some way to avert the calamities which have occurred. But there are those in which the Government's authority is direct and paramount, yet in which that authority has quite failed to prevent the dissatisfaction, the disturbances, and the incalculable public loss which might have been characteristic of private control.

The bituminous coal situation is one case in point. It must not be forgotten that the Federal Government, through its Fuel Administration, is an authoritative and responsible party to the negotiations and agreements between the operators and the operatives. It knew long ago that there was danger of a strike of almost inconceivably disastrous consequences, and that the best if not the only hope of averting it lay in governmental intervention. But nothing was done. At the last moment the Fuel Administrator made a plaintive little plea against a strike, which the operatives ostentatiously flouted; whereupon he threw up his hands in helplessness.

Even more to the point was the ferry strike in New York harbor. For these strikers were direct employees of the Government. The ferries were integral parts of the railroad system, and were as much under the authority of the Railroad Administration as were the rail lines themselves. Every passenger that came by rail, and every piece of freight that was shipped by rail, was as much entitled to be carried across the river from Jersey City to New York as to be carried by rail into Jersey City. It was a strike of the Government's employees on an integral and essential part of the Government's railroad system; and the Government's Railroad Administration was unable to prevent it; or at any rate did not prevent it.

We all know perfectly well what would have happened had such things occurred under the old system of purely private control and administration. There would have been a nation-wide clamor against a state of affairs which made it possible for half the nation to be threatened with deprivation of fuel at the beginning of winter, and which threatened the metropolis with famine and caused the waste of vast stores of food at a time when scarcity of food was sending prices to an almost prohibitive height. There would have been general and strenuous demands that the coal mine operators and the railroad managers either keep business going without interruption so as to serve the public needs, or else surrender their control to the Government so that there would be no more such foolery.

Those demands were not made in this case, because they were granted in advance. These great industries or utilities are under Government control. Yet the trouble happens all the same. It is a costly lesson, but it may be

worth the price if it teaches the nation the vanity of the much-vaunted panacea of government ownership.

From an editorial in the *World* of October 22:

Congress assembled more than five months ago, on May 19. The situation demanded reconstructive financial legislation, and there has been none. It demanded the creation of a budget system preliminary to any fiscal legislation, and there is no budget system.

From the news columns of the *World* of the same date:

Washington, Oct. 21.—A bill creating a national budget system and an independent audit by Government accountants passed the House to-day, 284 to 3. The opponents were Representatives Stegall and Blackmon, Alabama, and Moon, Tennessee, all Democrats.

Mr. Cobb seems to resemble a distinguished predecessor who once informed the late Joseph Pulitzer that he would write for his paper "to make a living for a family," but that he would "be damned if he'd read it."

VISCOUNT ASTOR DIES IN ENGLAND.—Herald headline.

Be that as it may.

Evidence

SIR: As a faithful adherent of your outspoken journal, I consider that I have a right to raise a question concerning your article entitled "Mendacious Covenanting," in which you accuse the President of the United States of "deliberately and knowingly deceiving the country" as to the pledges given by Great Britain and France, to induce Japan to enter the war. I have read your paper from its beginning and have never known you to be wrong on statements of fact, although many have seemed startling when made; but this is so grave a charge that I think you should produce the evidence.

Rock Island.

H. C. HENSHAW.

We have received several communications to like effect. The record speaks for itself. On September 5, addressing the people of St. Louis, the President said:

Great Britain and, subsequently, France, as everybody knows, in order to make it more certain that Japan would come into the war and so assist to clear the Pacific of the German fleets, had promised that any rights that Germany had in China should, in the case of the victory of the Allies, pass to Japan.

On the following day Senator Norris directed attention to the fact that the secret treaty conveying the promises of Great Britain and France to Japan was not made until March 27, 1917, more than two years after Japan entered the war. On September 12, Senator Norris received the following telegram:

GARRISON, MONT., September 12.

HON. G. W. NORRIS,
United States Senate, Washington:

I thank you for correcting an unintentional inaccuracy in one of my recent speeches.

(Signed) WOODROW WILSON.

Nevertheless, speaking at Los Angeles on September 20, Mr. Wilson said:

In the meantime, after this present war began, England and France, not at the same time, but successively, feeling that it was essential that they should have the assistance of Japan on the Pacific, agreed that if Japan would go into this war and take whatever Germany had in the Pacific, she should retain everything north of the Equator which had belonged to Germany.

Again, on September 22, at Reno, Nev., the President used this language:

Not only that, but, in the meantime, since this war began, Great Britain and France entered into solemn covenants of treaty with Japan that if she would come into the war and continue her operations against Germany in the Pacific they would lend their whole influence and power to the cession to Japan of everything that Germany had in the Pacific.

Again, at Salt Lake City, on September 23, the President used this language:

At the beginning of the war and during the war Great Britain and France engaged by solemn treaty with Japan that if she would come into the war and continue in the war, she could have, provided she in the meantime took it by force of arms, what Germany had in China.

Again, at Cheyenne, on September 24, the President said:

Before we got into the war, Great Britain and France had entered into solemn covenant by treaty with Japan that if she would take what Germany had in Shantung by force of arms, and also the islands lying north of the Equator which had been under German dominion in the Pacific, she could keep them when the peace came and its settlements were made.

The excerpts quoted are taken from the official compilation of Mr. Wilson's speeches published as a Senate Document at the instigation of Senator Hitchcock. Taken in conjunction with the President's telegraphed acknowledgment of his error, they constitute the sole basis of our assertion.—EDITOR.

The Nation Protects Itself

DESPITE the obvious circumstance that it was the belated act of a Frankenstein, the course of the National Government in sending troops to New York to deal with certain phases of the harbor workers' strike is most heartily to be commended. It was one of the most creditable things that the Government has done in connection with the prevailing epidemic of industrial unrest. Because it was so excellent a performance, however, it is desirable that its exact purport should be rightly understood, and the too-prevalent misinterpretations of it be corrected.

It was not primarily intended as strike-breaking intervention. The prompt denunciations of it as such which were put forward by Bolsheviks and I. W. W. were deliberately false. Neither was it intended to protect the State of New York from invasion, or to maintain its republican form of government—though these are legitimate functions of the National Government, to be exercised in case of need through its military forces. Although many of the strikers were opposed to republican government and admittedly aimed at its overthrow, it does not appear that their menace was sufficiently grave to require such suppression.

The purpose was to protect the United States Government itself in the orderly conduct of its business, and to facilitate the uninterrupted progress of that business. It was necessary that the operation of the transport service should be maintained, for carrying supplies to our troops in France and for bringing home troops for demobilization or repatriation. The strike was mischievously interfering with it, and it was intolerable that such interference should be permitted. We can understand the reluctance of the local authorities to have troops sent to the city. It seemed like a reflection upon the city—and perhaps votes of a certain class were to be gained by protesting against it. But the Government was right. The business of the nation cannot be sacrificed for the sake of local susceptibilities. If New York did not want the sol-

diers there, she should not have permitted the need of their coming to arise.

There has been, indeed, need of a further application of the same salutary process. Vast quantities of foreign-bound mail, much of it of urgent importance, have been delayed in transmission by the strikes. That may seem a negligible trifle to Mr. Burleson. But most intelligent Americans consider it to be the duty of the Government to carry the mails, and they remember with gratitude—and with another strong feeling, too—the words and acts of a former Democratic President who, when great railroad strikes threatened to stop transportation of the mails, promptly announced that he purposed to have the mails carried as usual, if it took the whole United States Army to do it.

We remember, too, that during the war the Government strenuously intervened for the conservation of food, and to prevent and to punish waste. Well, vast stores of food have been going to waste along the New York water front, because of the strike, and that at a time when scarcity of food supplies has been sending the cost of living to a monstrous height. Seeing that the Administration holds that war conditions will not end until we have ratified the Treaty and our ratification has been filed in Paris, it is difficult to understand why the Food Administration, backed if necessary by the Army and Navy, should not at once have intervened to prevent such waste.

It has from the beginning been an approved practice of this Government to land troops in foreign ports whenever they have been needed to protect the lives and property of Americans or the offices and functions of the Government. We know of no reason why they should not be similarly employed for such purposes whenever necessary in this country as well as in foreign parts. The Administration is at the present time trying to get us to consent to the sending of our troops to the uttermost ends of the earth, whenever they are wanted to suppress a ruction between alien Powers. Certainly their first duty is to serve our own needs here at home. It was for the protection of the Government in the doing of its necessary business that the troops were sent to New York. There could have been no more legitimate purpose; though it is a pity it was not, as we have indicated, far more comprehensively extended.

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Danger Ahead

THE unceasing and, in many cases, exorbitant wage demands of organized labor may or may not be justified by the increased cost of living. That is a question on which there are wide differences of opinion. But, whichever view of the matter is correct, the wage demands go on, the increases are granted, the extra burden is passed along to the consumer, and the cost of living rises to correspondingly higher levels.

Labor, both organized and unorganized, has gained, not lost, by the war. Higher wage standards once established do not come down. Once up always up, is the rule. And while labor has thus been the gainer and not the loser by the war upheavals, the same is true of the farmer. The prices of farm products, particularly cotton, grain and live stock, have gone up by leaps and bounds. The farmers have more money to spend, more luxuries within their reach than they had known for decades before the war broke out.

Neither are the very rich nor the bankers war sufferers. Such bankers as handled foreign government business and invested in munitions manufacture are heavy gainers. Many of them, as well as thousands who engaged in miscellaneous manufacturing, have piled up enormous war fortunes. The very rich, even though taxed as high as from 50 to 75 per cent on their incomes, still have so much left that they need not and do not deny themselves anything. In all these quarters money-spending is going on at a prodigious pace. Hotels demanding enormous rates are crowded to capacity. The theatres of New York and all over the country are doing a record-breaking business. So are the high-priced restaurants, the dealers in jewelry and in the most expensive kinds of men's and women's apparel, the purveyors of all the infinite varieties of things unnecessary and of high cost. It has been and is a riot of money-squandering such as the country has not known for years.

Are there, then, any real sufferers from the war and the war's aftermath reactions? Ask the teachers, the clergymen, the clerks, the writers, the editors, the tens and tens of thousands of professional and semi-professional men, the men and women of small incomes sufficient for their modest needs before this orgie of high prices, but now cut to half and less than half in purchasing power, and at this day spelling deprivation to the verge of want where before they spelled a modest independence. These are the real after-the-war sufferers. Their name is legion.

Compared with current living expenses, the salaries paid to clerks, to teachers, to writers, to editors, to clergymen are derisory. Likewise they are an infamy.

Where other salaries and other wages have gone up, here they have either stood still or increased by figures that are niggardly. Men and women of learning, of the highest attainments, those on whom depends the education of American children, the moral guidance of the American people, are paid salaries that a hodcarrier or bricklayer or a stevedore would scorn. It is this submerged, unorganized, inarticulate middle group, the very flower of the country's intelligence, the group on which we all depend to maintain the Republic through clear thinking and staunch fidelity to basic Amer-

ican principles and traditions—it is upon these that the present-day burden of living-cost falls with crushing weight. It is they who shoulder their disproportionate share of the ever-increasing load shoved upon the consumer's and the rent-payer's shoulders by the granting of extortionate labor union demands; by conscienceless profiteers; by reckless waste of Government funds wrung from the country's overburdened taxpayers.

They have been a patient lot thus far, these real sufferers from the war's inevitable consequences. Their voices are seldom heard in complaint. They are inarticulate and unorganized. But the thing cannot go on forever. Either salvation must be worked out in some way and soon for this vast group, or we shall pay the penalty by seeing them join the turbulent forces of unrest and disintegration. And when that happens, sheer ruin will not be far away. When such Americans as these cannot earn enough money to live their frugal lives and educate their children, then indeed is there danger ahead.

Washington, Oct. 14.—Appointment of Gen. March, Chief of Staff, and Major Gens. Hunter Liggett and Robert L. Bullard to the permanent rank of Lieutenant General in recognition of their services during the war, would be authorized under a bill introduced to-day by Chairman Wadsworth of the Senate Military Committee.

In view of the report that Admiral Mayo is to be promoted in recognition of his services in preparing the fleet in home waters, may it not be fitting to ask what is the matter with the shelved General Leonard Wood, who trained the best divisions sent to the front? Is chairman Wadsworth less resolute for the army than Chairman Page for the navy?

Burleson the Miraculous

FAR be it from us to dispute Mr. Burleson's statement that his administration of the Post Office Department has been "miraculous." We admit it. The whole country admits it. The facts of record are so numerous, so overwhelming in volume that the matter is beyond controversy. Instance after instance covering every State in the Union may be cited to support the contention that nothing short of miraculous intervention could account for them.

Letters from New York to Connecticut have got through to their destination within the same time-interval as have letters from China to the same address. Letters have reached their addressees within less than two years after the persons who wrote them were dead and buried. City delivery letters have been known to reach their destinations, as much as six blocks away, within not over a week after they were mailed. By the combined use of the telegraph and telephone, when those utilities were under the miraculous Burleson standards of efficiency, a message in a case of life-and-death emergency got through from Philadelphia to New York inside of two days. The patient in the case died, to be sure, but the miracle of Burleson's electric wire efficiency is there just the same.

Mislaying his own postmasters is one of the most miraculous of Burleson's miracles. But he has also mislaid

whole centres of population. He has wiped large cities off the post-office map. Sioux Falls, the largest city in South Dakota, was thus exterminated. Letters addressed there were returned to their writers bearing the stamped Burlesonian assurance that there was no such place in the State. The same thing happened to a Wisconsin post-office town of forty years standing. One wave of the miraculous Burleson wand, and it vanished into thin air.

But why pile up proofs of the obvious? Mr. Burleson's standards of post office efficiency *are* miraculous. Anybody trying to maintain the contrary would not have a leg to stand on. To attempt to contend that, by anything short of miraculous intervention, such exploits of varied and intricate incompetence and stupidity could have been accomplished, is preposterous.

The Negro Soldier

EVERY plan proposed to Congress as the basis for a system of universal military training contains the War Department's estimate that approximately 690,000 boys will be available for instruction annually. At least ten per cent. of this number are negroes. So far as we have been informed, the advisability of training the negroes as combat troops has not been questioned at the War Department or at the Capitol. Secretary Baker has said nothing on the subject. Nor have General March and his advisers at the War Department. Consideration of the legislation is proceeding upon the assumption that no reason exists for differentiating between the races.

Much has been said and much has been written in praise of the exploits of our negro troops in France. Newspaper and magazine writers have found in "Young Black Joe" a ready vehicle for exploitation. Race propagandists (with a purpose) featured him. Estimable ladies and gentlemen, imbued with a praiseworthy desire to minimize racial antipathies, have found in his patriotism the base for many heroic stories.

We wish these reports and stories were accurate. We wish there were no compelling reason for revealing the truth. But there is. Distasteful as the task may be, it is essential that the facts be presented. Legislation based upon the hypocritical unwillingness of assessing the true value of the negro as a fighting man, must inevitably lead to waste of great sums of Government money in training men whose record proves them incapable of meeting the demands of modern warfare.

The Ninety-second Division was organized in November, 1917, and was composed of the best negroes drafted. It was the only negro division sent to France. Originally all company officers were negroes. The commanding officer and the field officers were regulars, assigned to the division because they had seen service with regular negro regiments. As the training proceeded, the negro officers in the artillery and engineer regiments were relieved by white officers, because of inefficiency.

The average period allotted for training white troops in France was four weeks. The Ninety-second was kept in

the training area seven weeks. On August 20 or thereabout, the division, minus its artillery, was ordered to a quiet sector in the Vosges, where it remained one month, and then moved on to the Argonne as part of the great concentration preparatory to the last major action of the war.

With the exception of the Three Hundred and Sixty-eighth Regiment, which was ordered to the front line, the division was held in reserve with the First Corps. The Three Hundred and Sixty-eighth was assigned to the Thirty-eighth French Corps, and directly flanked the Seventy-seventh American Division. When the advance was ordered, the French and the Seventy-seventh moved forward on schedule. The Three Hundred and Sixty-eighth broke. The French commander and the commander of the Seventy-seventh reported that their forces were being attacked on the flanks because the negroes did not go forward.

The negroes refused to obey orders, but in several instances the white field officers forced small groups of them to go forward. As a result of this action, thirty-one negro company officers were immediately removed for cowardice and inefficiency. Five of them were tried for cowardice, and, while the decision of the court is not available, it is understood that they were sentenced to be shot.

The regimental commander reported as follows:

In general, the second and third battalions disintegrated without reason, and failed to go forward. The officers [negroes] and men, with exceptions as noted, fled to the rear in a disorganized mass. No colored officer or non-commissioned officer exercised any command at the time, and could not be distinguished from the enlisted men.

The commanding officer of the First Battalion reported:

I have worked night and day to the very best of my ability since the time I took over the battalion on the 29th of July, and I have conscientiously tried to make a real battalion. I am utterly discouraged at the results. Not a single negro officer has shown any desire to get at close quarters with the Germans. It is my sincere opinion that only with white officers in command of every platoon can any sort of an organization be made, and I am equally of the opinion that the colored troops will never be of any fighting value. I should dread to have to advance under really heavy fire with the expectation of having a colored battalion, even under white officers, follow me. The fighting spirit does not exist among the men; they are rank cowards; there is no other word for it.

The commander of the Second Battalion reported:

The condition of the individual soldiers mentally during this time was awful. On several occasions when I had these men in the trenches, their one thought was of their certain death; any idea of getting into the Boche had absolutely departed from them. They were crouching low in the trenches, reading their Bibles and praying. I looked into their faces and saw an agony of fear in almost every case. I believe this mental condition has been brought on to a large degree by the actions of the negro officers.

The commanding officer of the brigade made this comment:

I gave to the training of the officers and men the very best that was in me, and I was bitterly disappointed.

Following this disgrace, the division was withdrawn from the Argonne and assigned to a quiet sector on the Moselle, where it remained until after the armistice was signed.

This, then, is the record of the only negro division sent to France. It is the most shameful chapter in the history of America's participation in the war. We would gladly have left it behind the veil drawn over it by the censor, but to do so would merely help make a mockery of our future system of preparedness. Of course when Secretary Baker, mindful of the large negro vote in his home State, commissioned negroes, we knew it was a crime, and we are quite sure that

it will never be repeated, so we are not particularly disturbed on that account.

But the quality of the negro enlisted man must be thoroughly understood. He cannot face a grilling fire. He is fitted only for the staff branches, where he will be far from the range of the artillery. This much has been proved by the experiences of the war.

We trust that before the Senate committee disposes of the subject of military training the entire question will be threshed out. General Pershing has all the reports. Let them be laid before the committee. We have not the space for them. Negroes must of course be trained for military service under whatever system is finally evolved. They must be prepared to do their part. But it must be a part for which they are fitted: it must be in the auxiliary branches, and not in the combat forces.

Isn't Oklahoma, where a candidate opposed to the League of Nations ran eighth in a primary election for the nomination of a Congressman, the same State where the voters had eggs to spare when Senator Reed was there to oppose the same covenant?—*The World*.

Yes, the same; still running true to form.

Penalizing Railroad Strikes

SENATOR STANLEY, of Kentucky, was the only one of fifteen members of the Senate Interstate Commerce Committee to vote against the provision penalizing strikes of railroad employees. In casting his solitary opposing vote, Mr. Stanley explained that he did so because he did not believe the anti-strike provisions could be enforced.

This will hardly commend itself to public opinion as sufficient ground for opposing the committee's effort to put every possible obstacle in the way of such a disaster as a general, or even a restricted, railroad strike. That there would be difficulties in inflicting the penalties proposed is undeniable. The unions themselves have no corporate existence making them responsible under the law as are the railroad companies. The opportunities for evasion of strike penalties are obvious. The right of every individual employee to quit work when he chooses is incontestable. If several thousand of them exercise this right simultaneously the burden of proving organized action under the direction of recognized leaders would be upon the prosecution. It is hardly beyond the resources of labor union ingenuity, under adroit legal advice, so to cover things as to make the proof of concerted strike action a matter of no little difficulty. The problem would be tantamount to that of proving a conspiracy, one of the most difficult of all in legal procedure.

And on whom would the strike penalties fall in default of establishing a conspiracy or of producing a strike order from recognized leaders? A thousand or more railroad employees could hardly be penalized individually for having quit work. In default of incontrovertible proof of having issued a strike order, labor leaders would be equally beyond the reach of the strike-penalizing law. It is not difficult to imagine the maze

of difficulties in which a prosecution would be involved, or to picture the embarrassments which skilled legal defense might throw in the way of such prosecution.

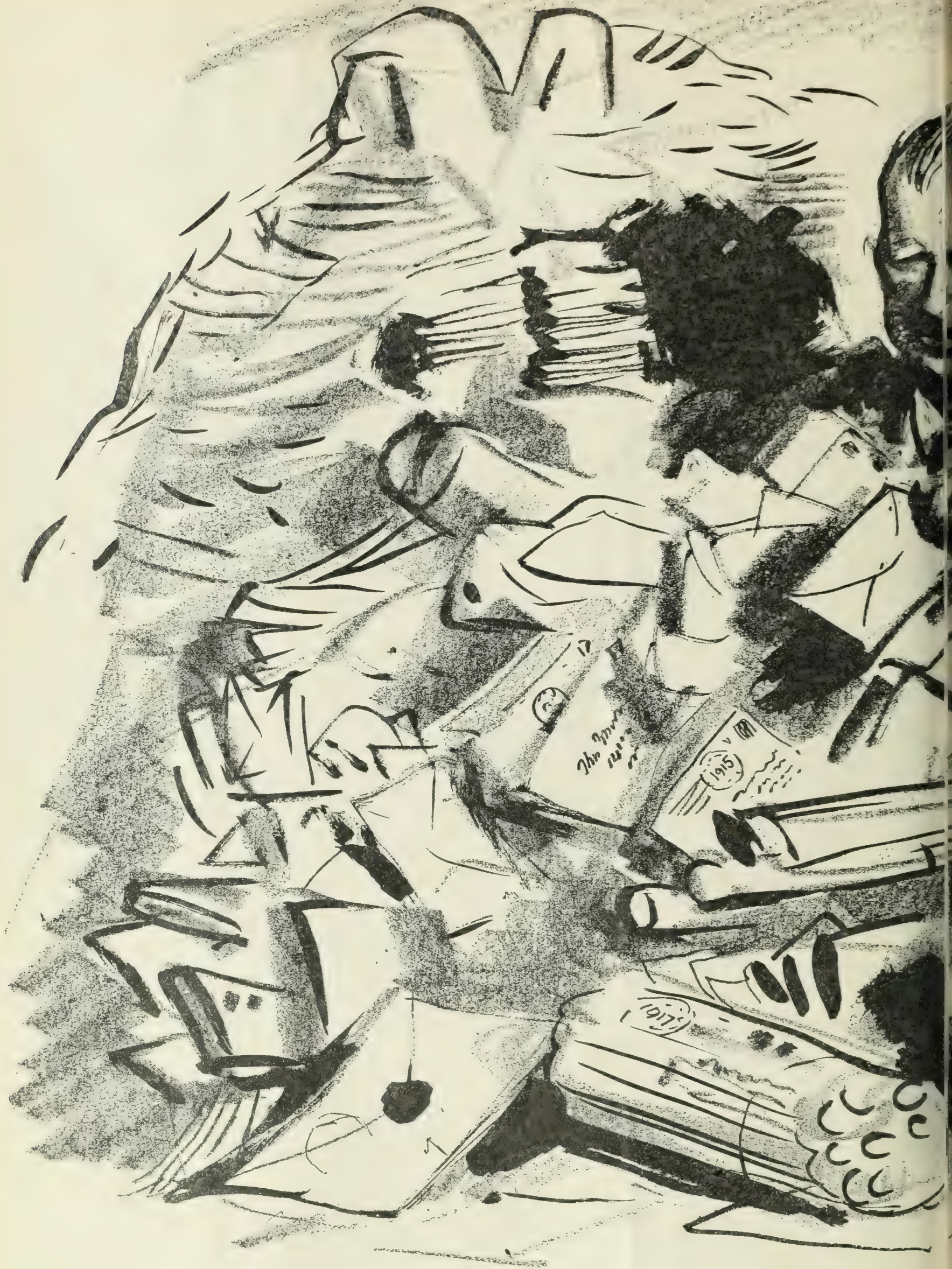
All of which fails as convincing argument against the enactment of laws penalizing railroad strikes. Granting all that may be said as to the difficulties of enforcement, the fact remains that under the cloud of such laws the strike-precipitating machinery would be greatly embarrassed. Railroad employees, by and large, are as self-respecting, law-abiding a body of citizens as the country possesses. Collectively and individually they would hesitate a long time before taking action, however successfully covered, which would automatically put them in the catalogue of law-breakers and enemies of the public welfare. The inclusion in the permanent railroad legislation of a provision penalizing railroad strikes would thus be a deterrent at least, if not an absolute preventative. Such legislation is entirely in line with the overwhelming public opinion at this day and hour. The public's patience with strikes is worn to a frazzle. He will be a very injudicious labor leader and a sorry friend to organized labor who does not recognize this fact. Above all, the public is in no mood to tolerate a railroad strike. The passengers and the commodities of this country have got to be kept moving and they have got to be kept moving on railroads. It will be an unfortunate day for any men, or organizations of men, who get in the way of that necessity.

A Sound Decision

SECRETARY LANSING takes the position that the innumerable threads which tie the Peace Treaty to the League covenant may not now be woven into ties that bind. Until the treaty with its staggering Covenant load is dealt with by the United States Senate, these much-vaunted threads have not even the tensile strength of cobwebs.

The United States Senate takes the position that the Covenant load shall not be strapped to this country's back until it is so lightened by reservations that Uncle Sam will be able to straighten up and stand erect in all his stalwart, unshackled American strength.

Whether the Secretary's and the Senate's minds match other minds in this respect is a psychological question wholly academic and quite inconsequential in its bearings on a fact of actual and not theoretic existence. It required no straining of logic for Mr. Lansing to reach the conclusion that neither United States Commissioners nor United States soldiers may act under a treaty and covenant which, so far as this country is concerned, is no treaty at all. Without the illumination of will-o'-the-wisp "visions" or the confusing counsels of "voices in the air," he could have reached no other conclusion. He is not matching minds with the framers of the Constitution. They did the mind-matching when they produced that still esteemed document. In the tumultuous seas of the present day and hour it is a pretty reliable compass to steer by, and the Secretary of State proves himself a sagacious mariner when he heads up the craft in strict alignment with its guiding directions.



“THE POST-OFFICE SERVICE H



EN MIRACULOUS"—*Mr. Burleson*

The Week

WASHINGTON, October 28, 1919.

THE improvement in the President's condition, evinced by his renewed participation in public affairs, has been a source of sincere gratification to all; a feeling which is deepened and confirmed by the reasonable expectation that his progress toward complete restoration to health will continue and that his resumption of executive activities will be possible on a steadily increasing scale. These fortunate circumstances still further emphasize, however, the two salient considerations which have arisen as a result partly of the President's illness and partly as a result of the extraordinary conduct of his attendants.

It cannot be too strongly repeated—and indeed it would be a serious lapse of duty not to record and to emphasize it in the strongest possible manner—that the air of secrecy, mystery, and seclusion which has been persistently maintained concerning his condition was an intolerable wrong to the American people and equally if not even more to the President himself. The moment it became known that the President was stricken, the voice of contention was stilled. The President was no longer a political controversialist, giving and taking hard blows. He was a sick and suffering man, and as such was to be regarded with sympathy and tenderness. In such circumstances, obviously, the closest confidence should have prevailed between him—or, rather, his attendants—and the public. To conceal his actual condition, or by affected reticence to cause the impression that there was some mystery in his case which it was not fitting that the common herd should know, was an impropriety and an injustice so gross and at the same time so stupid as to defy temperate description. Such things may not be regulated by statute law. But some unwritten law of courtesy, of propriety, let us say frankly, of decency, should make it impossible for superserviceable functionaries ever again to treat the President of the United States, in sickness or in health, as though he were (as the Chinese used to say of their emperors) “as solitary as a god.”

The other matter is perhaps to some extent susceptible of legal treatment. That is the eminent desirability of some more lucid and practical definition of the meaning of Presidential “disability” as named in the Constitution as a condition in which the Chief Magistrate's duties are, temporarily or permanently, to be performed by the Vice-President. There should be no uncertainty as to the meaning of the words “disability” and “inability”, both of which are used. They mean any condition in which the President cannot discharge the powers and duties of his office. In such an emergency, whether brief or protracted, the Vice-President is to act. Reluctance to invoke this provision has undoubtedly arisen from the entirely mistaken notion that upon such assumption of powers and duties the Vice-President becomes or would become President. That is not the case. He would remain merely Vice-President, acting for the President until the latter was able to resume his activities.

Such is indeed the plain intent of the Constitution even in case of the permanent disability of the President through resignation, removal, or death. The Constitution gives no warrant for the assumption that Tyler, Fillmore, Johnson, Arthur and Roosevelt became or were entitled to become President. The Constitution does not say that in case of the President's death the Vice-President shall become President, but merely that, as Vice-President, he shall exercise the powers and duties of the Presidential office, which remains vacant. If this fact had been recognized and acted upon, instead of being ignored and practically annulled, there would have been no such hesitancy over temporarily relieving the President of his labors in case of illness. It may well be considered whether, for the President's own sake as well as for that of the public business, some legal prescription should not be made upon the matter, as there was years ago upon the matter of the so-called—but improperly understood—“Presidential succession.”

In the President's own State of New Jersey there is a wise Constitutional provision that whenever the Governor is absent from the geographical boundaries of the State, if for only a brief period, the President of the Senate shall be Acting Governor, instantly relinquishing his functions as such upon the Governor's return; a procedure with which Mr. Wilson himself was practically familiar during his Governorship of that State. Moreover, upon the resignation, removal, or death of a Governor, the President of the Senate becomes Acting Governor for the remainder of the term, but he does not become the Governor in the eye of the Constitution and laws. It is quite possible that the Federal Government might to advantage take at least a part of a leaf from New Jersey's book. Certainly it is not well that in case of an illness of weeks or months the President should be harassed with the thought that essential public business was being neglected because of his inability to transact it; when there is a provision in the Constitution expressly intended to meet such cases.

The disaster which overtook the President's Labor Conference was brought about by the issue over which the steel strike arose. That was the question of “open shop or closed shop.” Gloss it as we may with Mr. Gompers's sympathetic rhetoric, it is undeniable that the American Federation of Labor is aiming and striving to compel all wage-earners and employees in the land to become affiliated with it; including, as recent incidents have demonstrated, such public employees as policemen, school teachers, and postoffice clerks and carriers; and to compel all employers to make terms and contracts not directly with their own employees, either individually or collectively, but with representatives of the whole nation-wide organization. However such a right may seem to be academically conceded in words, there can be no question that Mr. Gompers and his associates are inexorably opposed not only to the right of the individual to remain outside of any union and to bargain individually with his employer, but also to the right of all the men in any one establishment to form their own local union and through it to bargain collectively with their em-

ployer, and to remain outside of the American Federation of Labor.

In that we must regard the leaders of the American Federation as mistaken. All that they should ask, it seems to us, is that men in all establishments shall be permitted freely and without discrimination to join that Federation if they wish. If then through moral suasion, through education, or through demonstration of the superior advantages of membership in the Federation, they can induce all men to join them, their end will be attained. Certainly they cannot pretend that it is right for them, by the exercise of any coercive influence, to force men into the Federation against their will, either individually or collectively; any more than employers have a right to forbid their men to belong to any organization which does not unfavorably affect their loyalty or their efficiency.

It is lamentable that the Conference should have ended in failure. But it would have been still more lamentable to have had it adopt a wrong principle.

There are those who regard "twenty-three" as an unlucky number. Whatever ground there may be for the superstition, it is to be noted that on October 23 there were simultaneously disclosed three pretty big scandals connected with the Administration. One was, the hoarding by speculators of millions of pounds of sugar in New York, in order to get for it about twice the legitimate price, at a time when grocery stores throughout the city were unable to provide to their regular customers enough sugar for the most imperative domestic needs. The second was a conspiracy by some of the Government's own agents to connive with liquor sellers at violation of the wartime prohibition law, for the consideration of heavy bribes. The third was alleged wholesale fraud in war contracts at Chicago, running up into many millions of dollars. There was, as we recall it, strenuous and vociferous opposition from many sources against a Congressional investigation into the conduct of the war. The motive of some of it is now apparent.

The Administration is now trying to find out how it was that Edsel Ford's father didn't get elected to the Senate, as the President wanted him to be. The fact that he didn't get votes enough doesn't seem sufficient to some folks. But as it was sufficient to satisfy the Senate, and as the Senate is the supreme authority in the case, we don't know that it matters how long little pussy chases her own tail.

The dissolution of the French Parliament is a reminder that in spite of the tradition of French mercuriality the Government of that country has been more stable during the war than that of any other. The Chamber of Deputies which has just been dissolved was elected two or three months before the war began, and it continued in office until after France had finally ratified the Treaty of Peace. No such record was made in Great Britain, or in the United States. It is true that there were several changes in the French Premiership, five different men having filled that office in the five years. But those changes were changes of men rather

than of purpose or policy. "Fickle France" has been the most steadfast of the nations.

The world will regret the retirement of Georges Clemenceau, which will occur upon the assembling of the new Parliament, according to his own announcement. Beyond all rivalry, he has been the "Grand Old Man" of the war, and he will probably far outrank in history any other civilian connected with the great struggle. He has abundantly earned the retirement which he seeks, and it is comforting and reassuring to believe that his work has been so well done that it will abide after he has relinquished his control of affairs. The last important act of the expiring Chamber was to give him a magnificent vote of confidence, and we shall hope to see the new Chamber begin its career by continuing his policy by virtue of a majority of similar strength.

The suggestion which was made recently in these columns, that the men who had been persuaded by Foster, the revolutionist, to go on strike in the steel industries were largely aliens, appears to be strongly confirmed. Thus one big concern near Pittsburg had 2,800 employees, of whom 900 were aliens. Of the whole, 1,500 went on strike. Of the strikers, 900 were aliens and only 600 Americans. Thus every alien in the place went on strike, while fewer than one-third of the Americans did so. While the Americans in the place outnumbered the aliens more than two to one, the aliens outnumbered the Americans among the strikers by of affairs in this country generally, who in the old country were accustomed to look upon violent revolution as the only means of gaining any reforms, are naturally more easily made the dupes of designing revolutionists than are intelligent American citizens.

The Lord High Cockalorum of the Anti-Saloon League in New York is urging all Prohibitionists in that State to enroll with the Republicans, since it is only through that party that he sees any chance of electing good teetotallers to office. In the South, on the contrary, he regards it as necessary for the Apostles of Aridity to be Democrats, in order to get a look-in at the polls. Thus political Prohibition runs the whole gamut: At one time non-partisan, at another time partisan, and now bi-partisan.

The law for enforcing prohibition has at least one title to distinction. It for the first time reverses the fundamental principle of Anglo-Saxon law, that the burden of proof rests upon the prosecutor and that the accused is entitled to the presumption of innocence until he is proved guilty. But we cannot regard that as an admirable distinction.

German experts report that it will take from two to eight years to restore to their former condition the mines in the north of France which were spitefully wrecked and devastated by the German armies. Thus do Huns bear witness to their own evil efficiency.

An Object-Lesson

IT seems scarcely worth while for the assurance to be repeated, as it is from day to day, that the President will lift the wartime prohibition ban the moment he is assured that he is legally empowered so to do. Those who give us that assurance do it with tongue in cheek and drooping eyelid, while those to whom it is given receive it with emotions ranging from weary incredulity to curt contempt. Everybody who knows anything about it at all knows, of course, that the President has been playing ducks and drakes with the spirit and intent of the law, and ingeniously utilizing its technical letter for purposes of his own.

The law provides that prohibition shall prevail "until the conclusion of the war and thereafter until the termination of demobilization, the date of which shall be determined and proclaimed by the President." There is not a word about the treaty of peace, or the ratification of it, or the filing of the ratifications, or the receipt of acknowledgment of such filing—circumstances which we are now told must be awaited. On the contrary, there is an unmistakable indication that nothing of the sort was to be awaited. If the ban was to be lifted at such date of signing, or ratifying, or filing, that would have been a specific date, determined as a matter of fact, and not at the discretion of the President.

The undeniable facts are that the measure was adopted as a means of conserving food—the grain that would be used in distilleries and breweries—while it was needed for our troops abroad, and was to be in force only while the actual fighting lasted and thereafter until the troops were brought home and mustered out, and it was left to the President's discretion to say when the troops had been brought home in sufficient numbers to warrant the lifting of the ban. In the meaning and intent of the law, "the conclusion of the war" occurred on November 11 of last year, when the armistice was signed, when fighting ceased, and the President officially and formally announced to Congress that "the war thus comes to an end." In the meaning and intent of the law, "the termination of demobilization" occurred many weeks ago, when the War Department officially and formally announced that the process was completed. The meaning and intent of the law was that the President should then proclaim the ending of wartime prohibition.

It has been possible for the President to delay such proclamation, on various technical and artificial pretexts, just as, in palpable violation of his pledge, he delayed the introduction of the French treaty until long after the introduction of the Treaty of Peace, which it should have immediately accompanied. But if he supposed that thus he could drive the liquor dealers to exert pressure upon the Senate and thus expedite the ratification of the Treaty without amendments or reservations, he was greatly mistaken; as much mistaken as the American people were when they supposed that the law in question would be executed according to its unmistakable intent.

It now matters little whether the ban is lifted at all or not. If it were lifted today, there could be no general resumption of the liquor trade, because most of the places in which it was conducted have been dismantled and devoted to

other purposes, and nobody would think of opening new places for the short time before Constitutional prohibition will become effective. The chief remaining interest in the subject is in seeing to what extent faith will continue to be broken and specious and insincere pretexts invented and exploited for the palpable evasion of the intention of the law. Perhaps the greatest value of the incident will be in the object-lesson which it presents and the warning which it gives against too greatly confiding important determinations of law to the discretion of the President.

The Red Cross League

WITH the passing of the menace of a league of potential mischief, it is a refreshing relief to welcome the coming of a league of practical beneficence.

Like the other, it is an international league. It was formed indeed by the identical "Big Five" which was intended to dominate the affairs of all the rest of the world. Unlike that, however, it impairs no nationality, it subjects no nation to alien dictation, it provokes no embarrassing entanglements. As one of its promoters has expressed it, it is a league of peoples for sympathy and mutual help, which promises actually to do what the League of Nations promises merely to aim at.

The League of Red Cross Societies, which during the next ten days will have its world-wide roll call and rally, is an outgrowth of the war. During the war the nations were socially organized as never before. People got together for mutual good. Creeds and classes were forgotten for the sake of an accomplishment which immeasurably transcended them. Primarily seeking to succor the war-stricken and to promote the personal welfare of the soldiers in camp and hospital, the Red Cross naturally developed into a universal agency of social service, combatting disease and poverty, caring for child life, solving the economic problems arising from the mobilization of so many men for war, and mitigating suffering of all kinds.

During the war, the local and national Red Cross organizations worked with a resolution and an efficiency that were born of the necessities of the time. But there was danger that with the coming of peace and the disappearance—or at least the very great abatement—of the necessity, there would be a general lapse of effort, the societies would disband just as armies demobilize, and the unprecedented and inestimably valuable impetus of the wartime spirit would wane, perish and be lost.

It was for the purpose of preventing such a lapse, and of preserving at least a large measure of the knowledge and the application of knowledge and of the helpful effort which had been developed, that the League of Red Cross Societies came into being last Spring. It comprises the national Red Cross societies of the principal countries of the world, but it leaves each one of them quite independent to do its work in its own way. It seeks to encourage and to aid all such organizations to labor, voluntarily, for the improvement of health, the prevention of disease and the mitigation of suffering; and to

promote the welfare of mankind by providing an authoritative and trustworthy medium for bringing within the reach of all peoples the benefits to be derived from the great advance of medical, sanitary and social science which was effected in and through the stress of war.

During the war it was a duty and a privilege to commend and to assist this and other movements for the sake of winning the war. It is no less a duty and a welcome privilege now to commend and to promote a movement for the sake of retaining and indeed enlarging in peace what we won in war. In this view of it, we must hope that the third Red Cross Call, from November 3 to 11, will meet with a cordial and universal response. To be enrolled with the Red Cross is to be enrolled under the standard of humanity.

Mr. Baker's Timely Warning

SECRETARY BAKER'S speech in Cleveland was admirable—admirable in tone, in diction, and, above all, in its virile Americanism. More than that, his deed is as good as his word. He has notified Governors of all States wherein disorder threatens to get beyond local resources of control, to call freely upon the armed forces of the United States for assistance. And, simultaneously with this notification, he has telegraphed to each Army Department commander to respond instantly with the aid of Federal troops to any call from a Governor who finds himself unable, with the means at his disposal, to repress disorder and enforce local laws.

"Our newspapers," said Mr. Baker, "are daily filled with accounts of violent agitation by so-called Bolsheviks and radicals, counseling violence and urging action in behalf of what they call 'social revolution.' The American people will not exchange the solid foundations of their social order for any of these fantastic programmes."

Right there Secretary Baker's was the voice of all true Americans between the two oceans. It will be well for every traitorous agitator, alien or native, to grasp this fact with all the implications of stern, inflexible resolution which are behind it. Let the Secretary's words, too, soak well into the brains of the followers of these agitators.

Secretary Baker meant, and the American people endorse, every word that he said in this timely warning. It will be a sorry day for those who translate any doubts as to this fact into overt acts. Public patience with these apostles of revolution and anarchy has just about reached its limit. The days of their unbridled license to preach their creed of free and unlimited murder, arson and loot are coming to an end. Secretary Baker has spread a handwriting upon the wall for the enlightenment of those who would act upon these preachments. It will be well for them if they read, mark, learn and inwardly digest that mural message and very ill indeed for them if they do not.

"We have an army of tried soldiers, of true Americans," said Mr. Baker. "They have seen too much of disorder in the world to undervalue law and order in their own country. They will see to it that Federal laws are enforced and Federal agencies left unobstructed, and they will respond

instantly to the call of any Governor to suppress riots and disorder in any part of the country."

Here at least is one Department of the Government rising up to its full responsibilities towards this propaganda of treason and its logical consequences. When the propaganda puts forth its fruits in practice, then the Army, an American Army, is there to strike, and the blows of an American Army are not love pats.

Now let another Government Department, the Department of Justice, get in swift motion. The preachers of riot and revolution are within reach. The laws are there to lay them by the heels. Enforce those laws. Jail and deport the incendiaries under processes of civil law, and that may avert the more peremptory procedures of martial law. Under martial law there are such things as firing squads.

There is a fine theme for an imaginative poet in the fact that Germany is now surrendering, as a part of the war indemnity which she must pay, the identical gold pieces, old fashioned "Napoleons," which she extorted from France in 1871. How much more than its mere face value will one of those coins be worth to a Frenchman! It is a golden embodiment of fifty years of history, a golden token of "La Revanche."

Clarifying Frankness

THE speech of Comrade William Karlin, at a meeting of the Tenants' League of New York's great East Side, had the merit of absolute frankness. It cleared the air of all obscurity as to Socialistic aims and purposes in the reconstruction of our American economic and political fabric as now existing. The remarks of the learned gentleman—he must be learned, for he is a candidate for Justice of the Municipal Court—were specifically addressed to the contentions of the Tenant Leaguers in their resistance to landlords, but as they embody the fundamental principles of the Socialism now so widely urged throughout the country, they are of general application as well. With entire propriety they may be taken as forecasting the accepted Socialistic programme.

By way of indicating his unwavering adherence to the law and the facts in every case brought before him, Comrade Karlin gave his hearers this unqualified assurance: "If I am elected, I always will give the tenants the advantage in a decision." In other words, no matter what may be the merits of any case brought before him involving an issue between landlord and tenant, the tenant will always win and the landlord always lose. This clears the ground absolutely. For once we shall have a court from whose decisions, absolutely unswayed by law and evidence, we shall always know what to expect.

But Mr. Karlin went even farther than that: He said:

The Socialist Party does not say you should pay less rent. It says you shouldn't pay any rent. The Mayor doesn't know that we want the world. It is in the Socialist programme that the people shall take the homes and all the land and keep it.

If the Mayor of New York and the people of the United States did not know what the William Z. Fosters and the

other Socialistic leaders who have promoted and are maintaining the steel and so many other strikes, want—well, they know it now. They want the earth. That's all. William Karlin, a candidate for judiciary honors in the City of New York, has said it.

No mincing of words by this putative interpreter of our private property laws. There are to be no private property laws under his jurisdiction, for the excellent reason that there is to be no private property. Private property is going to be wiped out. The people en masse are going to take possession of all of it, and they are going to keep it.

Of course there is nothing novel in this exposition of the Socialistic programme. Socialists rampant, couchant, whirling and static have been proclaiming it with renewed vigor of late from soap-boxes, in parlor "conferences," and with all the insidious power of print publicity. But in the case of Mr. Karlin there is this that is exceptional: He is the first candidate for the judiciary, so far as we know, who has with such entire frankness made public proclamation of this feature of the platform on which he is soliciting votes to elevate him to the bench. Furthermore, he has set an example which cannot be too highly commended. He has announced what his decisions are going to be in one large group of cases, even before the cases come up before him.

If we are going to elect men to be judges in our courts the people have a right to know in advance how they are going to decide things. If they are going to be swayed by antiquated prejudices in favor of law and fact, we have a right to know it. If they are going to decide cases as groups of people think they ought to be decided, we are entitled to know that also. Let them come out openly and pledge themselves to decide all cases one way, as Mr. Karlin has done. Let us have open pre-election covenants openly arrived at, engaging every candidate for a judgeship to cast off all entangling alliances with mere law and evidence and to decide every case in strict accordance with open public emotions openly expressed. Then, indeed, shall we have Daniels and Karlins come to judgment!

Washington, Oct. 21.—Democrats on the House Foreign Affairs Committee to-day charged Republican members with trying to embarrass the President by tying his hands in the matter of naming delegates to an international conference for discussing plans to improve the systems of communication between nations of the world.—*The World*.

Shocking! Why not abolish Congress altogether?

Perils and Triumphs of Flight

THE aviatory achievement of the Rev. Lieut. Maynard could scarcely be praised too highly. The speed made in the double transcontinental flight was marvellous—exceeding, we imagine, all expectations. The spirit of the man, in intrepidity, resourcefulness and resolution, was supremely admirable. The value of his example to the nation, in inciting emulation and the development of a numerous company of similarly competent aviators, is above all estimate. Nor would it be gracious or just to ignore his less fortunate competitors, or to withhold from

them the tribute which is their due, seeing that their purpose of public service and their spirit of daring were comparable with his own. The whole great performance reflected unmeasured credit upon its active participators.

The competition was, unfortunately, marred and saddened by a large number of fatal accidents. Of the victims we cannot say, as has been said of some who have perished in useless but sensation-mongering exploits, that they died "as the fool dieth." Rather must we testify, gratefully and reverently, that they died as heroes and martyrs in the nation's service, no less truly than their comrades who fell upon the plains of France. Like those who perished on the field of battle, "they passed in one tremendous deed of daring." Their example will be an inspiration rather than a deterrent.

Nevertheless, these too numerous fatalities must not be permitted to pass without a thorough searching of hearts, and of something more than hearts. As yet we have seen no excuse offered for them, nor any explanation that was not an indictment. It is impossible to overlook or to dismiss lightly the scathing strictures made by Major La Guardia, who speaks with the expert practical knowledge of a veteran in military aviation. Declaring what everybody will admit to be true, that the toll of death was far too great, he unequivocally charged the blame upon those responsible for the machines used in the flight. He said:

The same people who disregarded war in order to develop and help their own industries, now send boys across the continent with an obsolete, discarded machine in a vain hope to save their face. . . . It was discarded by the English at the time that we started building it, and now the Administration, in the hope of hiding its utter failure and the squandering of nearly a billion dollars, stages this flight. It is time to call a halt.

Time, indeed, if Major La Guardia's bitter words are true, as their responsible and informed authorship presupposes them to be. The force of his charges is enormously enhanced, too, by remembrance of all the shiftiness and delay and false pretences and camouflage—briefly, the bakerisms and creelisms—which disgraced the Aviation Administration—not the field service, thank God!—during the war. It is well within bounds to say that men who would act as some influential civilians in the War Department did two years ago, might naturally be expected to do precisely what Major La Guardia now charges them with doing.

The matter calls for searching inquiry; for the sake of the memory of the men who perished; for the sake of the many others who are being subjected to the same risks; and for the sake of a most indispensable branch of the public service. Aviation, both in war and in peace, is entirely too useful and too important an art to be discredited by the imposition of unnecessary perils. Aerial flight is unavoidably dangerous, even in the most favorable circumstances. But that is no reason for recklessness. Rather is it the strongest of reasons for insisting upon every possible precaution and preparation that human ingenuity can devise and human vigilance provide. To send men into flight with unfit machines is like sending them into battle unarmed. It is potential murder. It would be gratifying to know that Major La Guardia's damning indictment was unfounded. He himself would doubtless rejoice at being proved to have been in error. But the truth of the matter must be made known.

Letters From Our Readers

"PETTIFOGGING INVESTIGATIONS"

SIR: Thank you for the article in your Weekly exposing the unjust criticism of John D. Ryan by the Congressional Committee which is investigating the expenditures of the war, of which Committee Mr. Frear seems to be the spokesman.

Those of us who know John Ryan require no evidence as to his character and integrity. I hope those who do not know him may have the same opportunity of reading your article as they did the unjust criticism by Mr. Frear.

I have rarely known of an instance where men of both parties feel so strongly the injustice of an attack, and I fear that unless proper amends, based upon the facts, are made by the Committee, it will do the Republican organization substantial harm.

John Ryan went to Washington to give his great ability to the service of his country. No one cared then or now about his politics; they wanted results, and he and his organization produced those results, and it does not behoove any political organization to-day to try to capitalize such service for their own benefit or notoriety, and I am writing this as a pretty strong Republican, too.

JOHN R. MORRISON.

New York.

SIR: I read with great satisfaction your article condemning the partisan animus actuating the Graham Committee in its investigation of war expenditures. It is most unfortunate that such an inquiry should not be conducted in a fair and judicial manner, and as a Republican, I would welcome the findings of an unprejudiced tribunal. I deprecate, however, the obvious intent to discredit reputable men who sacrificed their time and interests in a spirit of pure patriotism to serve their country, simply because they happen to be Democrats.

The attack on Mr. Ryan, whom I have had the privilege of knowing very intimately for a number of years, is particularly vicious and unjustified, and I commend your courage in protesting so emphatically against the methods employed by the Graham Committee in imputing improper motives to him in his meritorious work as Assistant Secretary of War.

New York.

WALTER DOUGLAS.

SIR: I have read with great interest your article on "Pettifogging Investigations." I feel that I must write to tell you what a splendid article I thought it was. It would be hard to condemn too strongly the attitude of both the Graham and Frear Committees. I had already known something of their doings. I entirely agree with you that it seems a pity for the Republican Party to make such unjust and unwarranted attacks which will only react against their party in the end.

R. L. AGASSIZ.

Boston.

SIR: I have read with interest your editorial entitled "Pettifogging Investigations," and am in hearty accord with the sentiments therein expressed. It is unfortunate that some of our Congressmen have become so engrossed in relatively unimportant matters that they seem now to be entirely oblivious to momentous questions that should long since have had their undivided attention—notably the deplorable plight of the railroads, daily growing worse—and it is to be hoped that a continuance of these very illuminating editorials may result in a more intelligent course of action upon the many stupendous problems that confront them than has been evidenced in the past.

WILLIAM E. COREY.

New York.

SIR: I am enclosing herewith a self-explanatory editorial taken from the *Gazette*, in which I took the liberty of reproducing your article on a man both universally known and beloved in this State—John D. Ryan. Your remarkable tribute to him is merited, and I am sure that his friends in Montana, who are legion, are duly grateful for your considerate handling of the unwarranted and unjustified attack on him. I might add that on several previous occasions, this paper has taken a similar stand, because of the contemptible manner in which the small fry have attacked Mr. Ryan.

LEON SHAW,
Managing Editor, the *Gazette*.

Billings, Montana.

SIR,—I read with the greatest satisfaction your article in the WEEKLY for September 20th, "Pettifogging Investigation."

Evidently Representative Frear was not sufficiently interested in getting at the truth to take the trouble to investigate Mr. Ryan's record. If he had known Mr. Ryan and was at all interested in making an honest investigation he never would have charged him with being careless in the expenditure of Uncle Sam's money. Apparently a man's work for the past thirty years is no protection when he comes in contact with the political machine.

Anaconda, Montana.

E. J. BOWMAN.

SIR,—Just a line to express my appreciation of the article in your last issue bearing upon the charge against John Ryan. As he and I lived together in the same house for nine months during the time he was on the War Council of the American Red Cross, I learned to know him, to admire him, to respect him and to love him, and I therefore am more than pleased at your most excellent exposé if such it may be called, indicating as it does an appreciation of him upon your part.

New York.

H. P. DAVISON.

A MESSAGE FROM SEATTLE

SIR: Your *Weekly* is a national asset. I don't give a tinker's damn how many wiseacres and asses have told you so before. Persistent "talking behind your back" is in itself proof that the influence of your WEEKLY is a big factor in the firing line. Of course your work—the Harvey pen—will go on. My point is with the audience it reaches, and your duty to them. All pose aside, on this chance situation there is such a thing as your duty, your moral obligation to them. And, through them, Sir, to America.

That work—the Harvey pen—should be kept at its highest efficiency. We need it. The America of Americans needs it, no matter how spreadeagly my words sound. You are in a place, on a great housetop, where your voice carries. Carries far. Little fish, little prophets, try to be heard above all the Washington-made din, and ruin the air for their trouble. Some even write novels of satire, lampoon, and guffaw, and have only themselves for readers. You, Sir, reach an army. More than you yourself know. In justice to them, and the downright good you may do them and your country, pin a label on hypocritical "journalism." And then, Sir, hang the label out in your WEEKLY where all may see and take heed.

I feel I am justified in interrupting you this sunny day, Sir.

Seattle.

MAVERICK TERRELL.

NEBRASKA ANSWERS THE ROLL CALL

SIR,—On September 16th, 1919, in the city of Lincoln, the Nebraska League for the Preservation of American Independence was organized in a mass meeting of citizens, and the officers were elected whose names appear upon this letterhead.

On September 25th, 1919, the officers and executive committee met at the Hotel Pathfinder in the city of Fremont for the purpose of taking measures to organize the State in sympathy with the purposes of this League.

The resolution was adopted directing and empowering the president and secretary to proceed with this work of organization, aided by all of the other officers of the League, and this work is now rapidly progressing. Already the local branches of the State organization have been formed in many of the towns and cities of Eastern Nebraska, including Omaha and Lincoln, and the work will be pressed with vigor.

It is our judgment that seven out of every ten of the citizens of Nebraska are opposed to the adoption of the Covenant of the League of Nations unless there be effective and substantial reservations, and most of us have been residents of this State for nearly half a century. Our organization is entirely non-partisan, being composed of both Democrats and Republicans.

I thought you might be interested in knowing of our organization. We feel grateful to you for your able and patriotic editorials on this subject.

Fremont, Neb.

W. M. CAIN, Secretary.

METROPOLITAN CHEER

SIR,—I am a constant reader of your very excellent paper, and wish you every success. You are certainly doing a great and good work.

New York.

DAVID V. SUTTON.

Letters From Our Readers

NEGLECTING OUR DISABLED SOLDIERS

SIR,—I note that the barrage laid in a recent issue of your WEEKLY, in which you attack the Public Health Service, citing St. Elizabeth's hospital as a typical and flagrant example of the inefficiency of that Department, has had the effect of greatly worrying some of the gentlemen on the Treasury Department pay-rolls holding sinecure positions. I believe that one more good blast through the medium of your WEEKLY is all that is needed to bring about definite reforms.

In my capacity as a correspondent, I set about some months ago to ascertain what the Public Health Service was doing in the way of providing treatment and medical care for the discharged soldiers, sailors and marines entitled to such attention. I discovered that there were over a thousand letters containing applications and requests for information from wounded and ailing soldiers and sailors which had never even been opened, due to a shortage of clerical help and doctors. I laid my information before the proper authorities, with the result that the chairman of the Hospital Board was superseded by another man who, it proved, was little better than he, and a new staff of doctors and clerical help was taken on.

This is merely a minor example. I believe that there has been the dirtiest game of politics and graft carried on in this hospital work that has been played hereabouts for some time.

As you know, the Act of Congress authorizing the taking over of hospitals, sanatoria, etc., specifically stated that there should be no new construction. This was a perfectly natural stipulation, for common sense would tell one that new construction would take up a lot of time, and that what we want is the provision of hospital facilities immediately. But no, this would never do. Here was no opportunity for making money at the expense of the returning soldier. Something must be done. Contractors and grafters in various States immediately began exerting pressure upon their obliging friends in Congress, to the end that action by the Treasury Department might be delayed until there was time to amend the Act with a proviso authorizing new construction. Why should these hard-headed sons of industry disturb their poise over thoughts of the welfare of these boys? Was it not important that they should construct entirely new hospitals, while in the meantime the soldiers and sailors who had made the great sacrifice, instead of being placed in comfortable hospitals and well treated, were farmed out to private individuals and institutions? There are hundreds of cases that the Public Health Service cannot handle at the present time because there is no place to treat them, and the lack of such places is caused by conscienceless politicians who want to have the Act amended so that they can get the jobs of building new hospitals.

With a few minor exceptions, the only hospitals so far taken over for the treatment of these boys are cantonment hospitals, and these are practically all gathered together in the South, in miasmatic and mosquito-ridden areas—delightful spots for recuperation. What have they done in the West? I will cite you an example.

There is not a single hospital in the West between Chicago and California except at Iowa City, where about 50 men can be accommodated. There are several nice, beautifully located, reasonably priced places that the Public Health Service finally recommended that the Treasury Department purchase. The matter is now squarely before that Department. At the Star Ranch, in Colorado, fifty men who had been farmed out revolted and walked into Colorado City, declaring that the food which they had been given was not fit to eat. They were taken over and fed by the Red Cross. At Albuquerque, N. M., 300 men revolted, and the same was true of some men who were being kept in a private institution at Houston. These men were finally shipped to North Carolina. Within an hour the Treasury Department could o. k. some of the places already recommended as suitable from every standpoint, and the problem would be solved.

There is widespread complaint. I am perfectly satisfied in my own mind that in the various hospital transactions money has changed hands. I do know that these boys are not being given a square deal, and I regard the whole thing as a reflection on the present management of things. I have taken the matter up with the American Legion, which organization is going to act. I also think that a Congressional investigation of the whole affair will shortly be made.

Washington, D. C.

B. S.

EXTRAVAGANCE AND NATIONAL DEBT

SIR,—In treating of extravagance it is to be borne in mind that at the beginning of Mr. Wilson's first term, June 30, 1913—
The Public Debt, less cash in the Treasury was..... \$1,028,564,055

And as near as may be at the time when we went into the war June 30, 1917, it had already grown to 1,908,625,233
Just what it is now I don't know, but about..... 26,000,000,000
So also with Total Government Ordinary Receipts, (i. e. Taxation), which in the year ended June 30, 1913, were 724,111,230
In the year ended June 30, 1917, were..... 1,118,174,126
(See Statistical Abstract of the United States, pp. 704 and 709 respectively.)

Moreover, such Ordinary Receipts in 1917 were, per capita, already \$10.74, which was more than they had been in any single year since 1867, when they were \$12.78 in depreciated currency, having in 1866 been \$14.65 in like depreciated currency. Throughout the Civil War they never rose to \$10 per capita. What are they now?

As to National Debt: Why is it, if not on account of extravagance, that our debt has increased some 26 times, while the debts of the other warring nations, France, England, Italy, etc., increased, in the main, less, and relatively, vastly less? How much did Mr. Baker's policy of giving out war contracts on cost and a per cent., and giving them out largely in the South, have to do with this increase?

New York City.

STUYVESANT FISH.

LASHES FOR TRAITORS

SIR,—Yesterday I mailed to you a packet of old campaign papers, chief of which is the Col. Roosevelt speech. I hope you know that I am not trying to make a Republican of you. The simple fact is that I am one of your most appreciative readers, and if I may have helped you to help further this dangerously situated country of ours I shall have done a duty only. I have only a pygmy mind, but with that, such as it is, I am lashing the TRAITORS all along the line, from Texas to New York. Wilson has not the people with him as he thinks or says he has, and for that we owe you much.

Muskogee, Okla.

A. A. COUPLAND.

WORTH MORE THAN CHARGED

SIR,—I enclose my check for \$7.00 to cover renewal subscription to both *The North American Review* and HARVEY'S WEEKLY.

I appreciate your offer to save me a dollar on this subscription, but I do not want to save it: your two papers are worth more than you charge me for them, so I try to get even with you by having a newsdealer buy a number of copies of HARVEY'S WEEKLY, and any that he does not sell I take off his hands and place them where I hope they will do good.

This would indeed be a dreary world at the present time if it were not for the two Magazines I am paying you for.

Newark, N. J.

JOHN N. TAYLOR.

"LONG NEEDED"

SIR,—I believe you have founded a journal that has long been needed—one that will discuss national politics and policies with an intimate knowledge of facts and doings in Washington, without personal bias, with independence of party restrictions, with a ready and interesting pen, but withal working for the interests of this country. The American people must be made to think, and it is your type of journal that is going to make them do it. I'll probably be against you in a few years as I was when you ran *Harper's Weekly*, but we need someone who will impress upon us that Washington is a pretty large spot on our map.

Philadelphia, Pa.

J. R. F.

BELGIUM AND RUSSIA

SIR,—In your issue for the 25th inst., in the stirring article entitled "The Man Who Saved His Soul," you state that King Albert and Belgium have suffered "such woe and tragedy as no other sovereign and nation have ever known."

Without meaning to detract one whit from the praise that is justly due this king and his people, I protest that your statement above quoted is absurdly extravagant. Neither on the average nor in the aggregate have King Albert and Belgium suffered a tithe of the "woe and tragedy" that have been visited upon the late Czar and his family and the Russian people.

Washington, D. C.

J. CAMERON.

CARTOON: "OUR ARTIST IN WASHINGTON"

HARVEY'S WEEKLY

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VOL. 2 WEEK ENDING NOVEMBER 8, 1919 No. 45

What About the Railroads?

THIS is the first week of November. Will four-fifths of the railways of the country be in the hands of receivers in the first week of February? The mere question seems startling, the mere possibility appalling; but the prospect, as we perceive it, is one that must be reckoned with and faced squarely without loss of time.

Circumstances have created a condition before which all theories, good, bad and indifferent, fade into insignificance. Three weeks ago optimists were cheerily anticipating a Congressional recess for this entire month pending the commencement of the regular session on the first of December. "There is a movement," wrote Senator Cummins to Director General Hines on October 9, "not yet well defined nor very strong for adjournment about November 1." Later the date was pushed forward to November 15; now it has disappeared altogether.

The probability of a deadlock on the Peace Treaty noted in these columns last week has since been strengthened materially by the President's substantial recovery, by the insistence of Senator Knox that action by this country is no longer vital from either a legal or a practical standpoint and by the apparently authoritative announcement from Paris that, despite the machinations of Colonel House, the settlement with Germany will be put irrevocably into effect not later than November 15. A call for urgency, therefore, whether menacing or appealing, such

as may appear any day now from the President is likely to fall upon deaf ears, and final action may not be taken by the Senate during the calendar year.

This would leave the railway problem high and dry and makes poignant the question respecting general bankruptcy. The properties are to be returned to their owners on January 1 and, with few exceptions, they must default inevitably and almost immediately unless accorded financial aid. Operation by the courts would follow operation by the Government for an indefinite period pending costly reorganization upon a scale such as has never been dreamed of, the savings of millions would be swept away and actual ownership would be transferred in due process of time either to the Government or to bankers and underwriting syndicates.

Spoliation through the country's breach of faith with its own citizens or confiscation under pretexts of law,—by a choice between these two alternatives the people may soon find themselves confronted without recourse unless they awake to a sense of the peril.

There is no occasion or just cause for attempting to fix blame upon anybody. It is a condition existing,—a part of the distressing aftermath of the great war which must be grappled with as promptly and as resolutely as the Huns were gripped in the forest of Argonne.

Fortunately the representatives of the executive and legislative branches of the Government

upon whom direct responsibility for guidance rests are awake to the dangers and requirements of the situation and in full accord. Writing to Senator Cummins on October 7, Director General Hines said:

I write this letter to point out that delay in legislation will seriously impair the public service by virtually suspending improvements and the acquisition of equipment and by seriously imperiling the morale of the railroad organization.

Pending the passage of railroad legislation uncertainty naturally exists. Such uncertainty makes it impossible for the Government to plan or carry forward necessary additions and betterments and to acquire essential new equipment. And such uncertainty likewise makes it impossible for the railroad companies to make such preparations.

A vast amount of work now remains to be done which the intervention of the war has necessarily delayed and accumulated, and the result is that during the year 1920 very large capital expenditures ought to be made to make up for the interruptions inevitably due to the war and prepare the railroads to serve adequately the increased traffic throughout the country.

Responding in kind, Senator Cummins expressed his appreciation of the need of promptness, but could not escape the fact that "it is impossible to secure consideration for railroad legislation until the Treaty has been disposed of."

There the matter stands and there it is likely to stand for an indefinite period. After having announced that he should oppose adjournment until action could be had, Mr. Cummins, on October 23, formally presented a bill providing for sweeping reorganization of the entire transportation system of the country. More he could not do while the Treaty held the right of way. Meanwhile, Mr. Hines had refused definitely and apparently finally to exercise his power arbitrarily to increase rates.

So, as plainly as can be, the country is simply drifting toward the rocks of calamity. Senator Cummins is helpless. Even though he could get his measure before the Senate during the present month, its passage before January is a virtual impossibility. While it affords perhaps the best basis yet presented for suitable legislation, its scope is so vast and its complexities so many that innumerable amendments are certain to be proposed, debate upon both majority and minority reports will necessarily be prolonged in both Houses and, when all shall have been said and done at the Capitol, the as yet unexpressed and probably unformed views of the President will have to be reconciled at a time when reconciliation will not be easy. Three months from the beginning of consideration to final enactment of such a statute would be the minimum of time required.

What then is to be done? What can be done? Turn back the railways to their owners as

planned? Assuredly. As to the wisdom of doing that there cannot be in reason and apparently is not a dissenting voice. The prime need of the country today is a return to normal conditions and this would be the longest imaginable step in that direction. Nothing else conceivable could do so much to inspire confidence, not in the industrial field alone, enlisting capital for essential development notably in manufacturing lines, but in the good faith of the Government itself.

The question is not wholly practical and only in part theoretical; it is above all moral. Director General Hines does not attempt to beg or to evade it.

"The Federal control act," he declares frankly and squarely, "and the contracts which the Government has made with the majority of the railroad corporations imposes an obligation to return the railroads to their owners in substantially the same condition as they were in when they were taken over."

No less positive and binding is the President's official and practically personal pledge to the same effect. To fail to keep it to the letter would not only grievously wrong millions of investors but would disgrace the country irretrievably.

There is but one fair, wise and right thing to do. That is to turn back the railways to their owners and continue the present guarantee for a definite period,—preferably a year to avert the possibility of a purely economic problem being injected as a partisan issue into a Presidential campaign.

It would be no more than fair because whatever portion of the guaranty might be required to repair the ravages and make good the Government's pledge is and of right ought to be regarded as a part of the cost of the war, to be borne by all the people and not imposed upon a single class.

It would be wise because it would still uncertainty, restore confidence, inspire faith in new undertakings and afford time for that observation and study of direct operation which are essential to formulation of just and adequate legislation.

It would be right because the word of the United States must ever be jealously held inviolable.

And it can be done. Happily no question of politics is involved. Mr. Hines is wholly free from suspicion of partisanship, Senator Cummins is the last to be influenced in such a matter by political considerations and Representative Esch, we are informed, is no less independent.

A plan such as we have indicated, agreed upon by these three who bear the chief responsibility, would not only be accepted without question, but would be welcomed with a sense of deep relief by the entire country.

I shrink from naming that one proponent of the covenant who has thanked God that Roosevelt is no longer here to join in the debate on the league covenant, and yet this is true.—*Senator Medill McCormick.*

If the Senator will kindly give us the name of that proponent, we will not only refrain from shrinking but will print his picture.

Peace Without America

SENATOR KNOX has thrown a most informing and suggestive light upon the present and prospective status of this country in relation to the Treaty of Versailles. Some of his statements and inferences may seem a little startling to those who have been listening to and believing the plausible patter about peace necessarily awaiting our ratification of the Treaty just as it stands, but we should be interested to see even the most ingenious of the Sign-Here Covenanters disprove them.

The gist of the whole matter resides in the very unequivocal prescriptions of the final Article, No. 440:

A first proces-verbal of the deposit of ratifications will be drawn up as soon as the Treaty has been ratified by Germany on the one hand, and by three of the Principal Allied and Associated Powers on the other hand.

From the date of this first proces-verbal the Treaty will come into force between the High Contracting Parties who have ratified it. For the determination of all periods of time provided for in the present Treaty this date will be the date of the coming into force of the Treaty.

In all other respects the Treaty will enter into force for each power at the date of the deposit of its ratification.

Now we have been told that at least three if not four of the "principal Allied Powers," beside various minor Powers, have ratified the Treaty, just as it stands. Therefore the Treaty has come into force among them and between them and Germany, just as it stands, and all the periods of time provided for in it have already begun to lapse. The other Powers, including the United States, may come in when they are ready, but their doing so can have no effect whatever upon the fact already accomplished. When, therefore, the United States ratifies the Treaty, with plenipotent reservations, it will determine its own relation to the Treaty and its conditions of peace, but will not in the least degree affect those conditions or the provisions of the Treaty as they are already in force among the other powers.

Moreover, if we had been more prompt, so as to be one of the first three Principal Powers to ratify the Treaty, our essential reservations would probably not have modified the original purport of the Treaty among the other Powers, because, by adopting the reservations, we should have placed ourselves apart in a separate class, and it might reasonably have been held that the going into force of the Treaty must await its ratification by three Principal Powers without amendment or reservation.

The logical conclusion is, therefore, that it is not and has not been in our power either to expedite or to delay

the ultimate conclusion of peace and going into force of the Treaty; unless by the quite unthinkable course of "signing here" without reservations. From the moment when our delegates committed the monumental blunder of signing the Treaty without making the necessary reservations such as their predecessors had made at The Hague and at Algeiras, it was assured that the instrument would have to go into effect without the participation of America. If that be a detriment to us, theirs must be the blame.

Senator Knox draws from this syllogism, and from some recent incidents, the inference that the President and His Colonel (we thank thee, Knox, for teaching us that phrase!) have been trying to connive with some foreign Power or Powers at a tricky game to inveigle, seduce, bulldoze or otherwise get the Senate to "sign here" without amendments or reservations. He quotes the press reports to the effect that "the President's Colonel" was quietly working for weeks to prevent the League from starting without the participation of the United States, and to prevent the League plans from proceeding too rapidly. He did that so long as there was any room for hoping that the United States could be got to ratify the Treaty before Italy or Japan, so as to be third of the Big Five; and when his latest hope to that effect was fled, he—came home.

The scheme apparently was to delay the drawing up of the proces-verbal provided by the Treaty, so as to produce the impression here that peace was waiting upon our action, and that the deliberation of our Senate was alone delaying the going into operation of the Treaty and the resumption of normal relations by all the other Powers of the world. Indeed, it will be recalled that precisely that intimation was very directly made by the Covenanters, by way of reproach to the Senate, and in hope of thus arousing a pressure of public opinion against that body which would compel it to ratify at once without reservations.

Seeing, then, that the conclusion of peace has not depended upon America, and that the Treaty is bound to go into effect without our participation, the duty of this country is plain. It is to proceed—as expeditiously as is compatible with care and prudence—with its disposition of the Treaty, with its acceptance of such of its terms as are favorable to our interests, and the rejection, through amendment or reservation, of all which are unfavorable to us. Thus in our own time and according to our own pleasure we shall enter into the compact. In thus seeking our own welfare we may seem to some to act selfishly,—as selfishly, indeed, as other signatory Powers have already acted in regarding their own interest above all others,—but we shall certainly not incur the reproach of injuring others, since we have not in the least restrained them from adopting and enforcing the Treaty without us.

As for the acceptance of our reservations by the other Principal Powers—and minor Powers, too—we have no serious apprehensions. If they do, well and good. If they did not, it would obviously be because they wanted to use our military forces at their will as an international police, or to break down the Monroe Doctrine, or to meddle in our domestic affairs; and we should not hesitate

to say that if it was only for such purpose that they wanted us in the Treaty, it would be better for us to stay out. But we decline to impute such motives to them, and assume that they will unhesitatingly accept our ratification with whatever necessary reservations we may make.

In any event,—and this is the conclusion of the whole matter,—as Senator Knox cogently points out, the Treaty is going into effect through the ratification of three Principal Allied Powers, and the moment it does so, “we shall be on a basis of peace with all its attendant rights and privileges. We shall be in the same position we were in before the war, and this will happen when the Treaty goes into effect, whether we ratify this Treaty unamended, whether we ratify it with reservations and amendments, or whether we do not ratify it at all.” That sane and authoritative judgment should clear away the last miserable remnants of pettifoggery with which it has been sought to fool the people and to coerce the Senate, and should leave this nation free and bold to pursue the course dictated by its own integrity and honor.

Legislation By Strikes

THE 400,000 railway shopmen represented at the recent Pittsburgh convention will be badly advised if they act in accordance with that convention's resolutions. Those resolutions propose a general strike the moment the Cummins Railroad Bill, with its strike penalizing provision, reaches its second reading. The resolutions further provide that the strike so inaugurated shall continue until the Cummins Bill, as now drawn, shall have passed its third reading and been defeated.

This, of course, is an attempt to coerce the Legislative Branch of the Government by direct threat. It is an attempt by threats to enforce legislation in the interests of a class, comparatively small numerically, in defiance of what the great law-making body of the American people may, in their natural judgment, think best for the welfare of the country as a whole. It is tantamount to a demand that Congress abdicate its legislative powers and that these powers be transferred to any group, or class, powerful enough, by strategic position in the nation's industries, to make a serious threat of national disaster unless its own views, and not those of the American people's representatives in Congress, are embodied in legislation.

Not that there is anything novel in this form of legislative hold-up. Unhappily it is not novel. Still more unhappily it is a club that has been successfully swung in the past over the head of Congress until the desired class legislation was extorted. The railway shopmen are only acting upon the precedent established when the Railway Brotherhoods, with the support of the Executive on the eve of a Presidential election, forced the Adamson law down the throats of a Congress at that time quite cowed and submissive to the crack of the White House whip. The threat of the railway shopmen now is the logical, the inevitable result of the triumph of the Railway Brotherhoods then. The issue then raised and not met by Congress but avoided by a tame submission, was bound to be raised again

and again until there came at last a Congress sufficiently freed from cowardice to meet it and to settle it once and for all.

We have had threats, somewhat veiled, from Mr. Gompers of what would happen should Congress enact the Cummins Bill with its anti-strike provisions. Now we have those threats reduced to concrete form. If Congress holds views as to what is best for the country which differ from those held by the organization of railway shopmen, and if it even attempts to put those views into legislative enactment, then the railway shopmen will paralyze the railway transportation system of the country. Our laws are not to be written and enacted in the halls of the United States Congress, in other words, but in the hall of this labor union. Our laws are not to be made by Congressmen, but by Walking Delegates.

That is the issue, clean-cut and sharply defined, which the convention of railway shopmen has challenged the American people, through their representatives in Congress, to meet. They were badly advised in embodying such a challenge, with its accompanying threat, in the resolutions they passed. They will be still worse advised if they attempt to carry that threat into execution. The American people are not now in a temper to tolerate any more experiments in legislation under duress of strike threats. The conviction is abroad that if we have got to meet this issue there never will be a better time to meet it than right now—to meet it and to settle it definitely at this present and for all time. If Congress is to enact our laws unintimidated by threats, let us know it. If labor unions are to enact them by strike threats, let us then know that fact. The merits or demerits of the anti-strike provision in the Cummins bill are foreign to the question. They are matters for Congress in its wisdom to decide. If Congress in the exercise of that wisdom adopts those provisions, or even if it goes so far as to advance them to a second reading, then the railway shopmen warn us that their threat of transportation paralysis will be made good. Then the real issue involved will be precipitated. Then the question of whether we are to have legislation by strikes or by Congress will come to a final show-down. And a final show-down on the eternal public nuisance of strikes and strike threats is just about what the country is now longing for more than for any other one thing that could be named.

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Governors to the Fore

THERE is a renaissance of Governors, actual and potential. A dozen years ago or less, it will be recalled, there was organized a sort of Yearly Meeting at which the executive heads of the States got together for conference on all sorts of governmental topics. There was much promise and some fulfilment in the movement, though in the last few years less has been heard of it than at first. The present manifestation of gubernatorial activity is not a revival of that, but a new thing, and not a collective out—which is much more significant—an individual movement.

Note, for example, Governor Frank O. Lowden, of Illinois. Memory of his fine patriotism all through the war is gratefully fresh in mind; and it is complemented with observation of the course which he is pursuing in the no less serious domestic problems which have succeeded the war. In suppressing sedition, in providing for home defence, in supporting the military measures of the National Government, in planning even during the war for reconstruction after the war, he reminded us of the famous "war Governors" of 1861-65. To-day he stands like a rock against oppression of the people by either capital or labor, declaring that "Whenever any organization becomes so powerful as to be able to give or to withhold from the public the necessities of life, such organization must come under the control of the Government. . . . A general strike would mean an effort to substitute Soviets for the duly constituted authority of the land. *The people are not yet ready to abandon their form of government.*"

Then there was Calvin Coolidge, of Massachusetts. Confronted in the Boston police "strike" with one of the most serious situations a Governor ever had to deal with, he thrilled and heartened the land with his terse phrases: "There is no strike. There is desertion of duty. *We cannot think of arbitrating the Government.*" The value of his perb example in preventing the nation-wide spread of the madness which broke out there, is above all estimate.

Now comes James P. Goodrich, of Indiana. Men have instinctively looked to the Hoosier State for stalwart leadership. They have even thought that it contained at times more politics than patriotism. But here is a Governor speaking right out in meeting and, viewing police strike, railroad strike, mine strike, printers' strike and all the rest, declaring that "In any contest between employers and employees there is concerned a third party—the hundred million American people—who as consumers are affected by the outcome of the game and who have a right to sit in it. . . . There is no more dangerous force operating among us to-day than the class-minded man, whether he is a laborer, capitalist, or farmer—who demands a privilege for his class at the expense of the American people." These are words worthy of the heroic days of American Governorships.

These, as we have said, are individual utterances; not the product of conference or co-operation among the Governors. They show us the temper of these three heads of States; men who are closer to the people and more repre-

sentative of community sentiment than the National Executive can be. And they embolden us to trust that the other forty-five Governors average well up to this fine standard. There could scarcely be anything more auspicious than that State Governors should thus make of themselves vital forces in public affairs. We speak of these forty-eight Commonwealths as "sovereign States." If they are indeed that, then their Governors must be the supreme representatives and exponents of that sovereignty, the sovereignty of the people. It is a heartening and an inspiring circumstance that they thus make manifest their worth to represent that sovereignty, and show that the American spirit is not a doctrinaire abstraction of the National Government, but that the closer we get back to the people themselves the stronger and more vital it is. There is more than nominal significance in the fact that while the chief executive of the Nation is merely a President, the chief executive of a State is a Governor. There is a difference between presiding and governing. Times have been, happily few, when some State Governors have been in opposition to the integrity of the Nation. Today, in the actuality of such as we have cited and in the potentiality of their fellows, they give an inspiring promise of being its strongest bulwark.

The Army's Responsibility

THE strike is lost," says one of the labor leaders at Gary, "and the Army is responsible."

The responsibility of the Army is not merely for the defeat of the strike. That is a minor matter. There are other deeds for which the Army is responsible which are of immeasurably greater importance.

One is the maintenance of law and order and the protection of property and life, to a degree which every thoughtful man must realize would have been beyond reasonable expectation without it. We have only to recall memories of the appalling incidents of former strikes, in which passions were not as high nor conditions as ominous as in this one, to appreciate from what the Army is "responsible" for having saved us.

Another is the vindication of the "open shop," meaning the right of free American citizens to work when and where they will, subject only to mutual agreement between themselves and their employers, without the dictation of any outside third party and without being compelled to pay, as a condition of earning a living, tribute to some organization not of their own choosing. For this, too, the Army is doubtless "responsible."

A third "responsibility" of the Army of the United States is for the detection, uncovering and thwarting of a treasonable conspiracy against the Government and against the integrity of the Republic itself. An Army officer has officially reported to Congress the discovery of an extensive propaganda at Gary and elsewhere, directed by Germans and Russian Bolsheviks, the purpose of which was to foment resistance to and violation of the law and the ultimate overthrow of the American Government; in a word, An-

archism. For this it is to be cheerfully admitted that the Army is "responsible."

"Months ago," testified an Army officer who knew whereof he spoke, "an attempt was made to organize the Russian Red Guard in Gary. When the strike came it was to be the Communist or Red army."

"Was that for the forceful overthrow of the Government?" asked Senator Hoke Smith.

"Yes, sir; that and that alone."

The Army is indeed "responsible." It is a responsibility which it is proud to bear, and for its bearing and execution of which the American people are profoundly grateful.

Thank God for the American Army; and for General Leonard Wood!

"Shoot 'Em Or Ship 'Em"

THAT was the remedy Farmer Sandles, of Sandusky, Ohio, proposed for our preachers of anarchy. "Shoot 'Em or Ship 'Em, that's the only way to handle 'em," said Farmer Sandles, and when he said it all of the 1,500 delegates to the Farmers' National Congress at Hagerstown joined in a mighty shout of approval and in an outburst of vociferous cheers.

"Shoot 'Em or Ship 'Em!" They want direct action, these I. W. W., William Z. Foster and Trotzky anarchists, and there they have it. Good, hearty, American direct action. It has the true American out-of-doors ring, this Sandlers prescription for anarchy preachers. It smells of the soil. There is the true vigor of American farm-bred horse sense about it, suggestive of the bracing tonic of that New England air on which so much of our stalwart Americanism has been nourished. No splitting of argumentative hairs. No fine-spun theorizing over a plain case. There is no room for anarchists here. Still less is there room for preachers of anarchy. They have got to be got rid of. How are you going to do it? Farmer Sandles answers the question. He suggests two ways, both effective and both swift and direct. If your anarchy bawler is entitled to the privileges of American citizenship with the attendant responsibilities, Shoot him. If he is an alien, Ship him. And there you are. Neat and expeditious and everybody satisfied except the anarchist, and he doesn't count. Of course, except under a martial law status, there might be some obstacles in the way of applying the firing squad remedy. But that difficulty the anarchists themselves may readily remove. A reduction of anarchy preaching to anarchy practice would quickly do the trick. That at once would open the way to a removal of the legal technicalities. The American people would be indulgent. They have about reached the point where they are not going to voice cavils over a clear case of anarchist extermination provided the law and the facts are with the exterminators. And as for "Shipping 'Em," that can go on right along. There has been by far too much haggling and dillydallying in the application of this wholesome anarchy remedy. Round them up and "Ship 'Em" as fast as they can be corraled,

these alien anarchy preachers. They are not quite so vile a lot as the native-born ones, but they are all vile and they all have got to go. There are about 12,000,000 American farmers, and we venture the opinion that Farmer Sandler's "Shoot 'Em or Ship 'Em" doctrine would be endorsed up to the hilt by every last one of them.

The Planetary Epidemic

THERE seems to be ground for a cheerful hope that we shall escape any considerable return of the "planetary epidemic" of influenza which so greatly scourged us a year ago. It is now a year since that plague was raging at its deadly height throughout this country. Beginning in Spain at the end of May, it had reached England in June and India in August. At the end of the same month it began its ravages here, and within three months caused probably more than 350,000 deaths in our civilian population, and 17,000 in the army. By the end of the year the estimated mortality from this cause throughout the world was 6,000,000, while in the United States no fewer than 25,000,000, or one-fourth of the entire population, suffered from a more or less severe attack of it.

There are several reasons for thinking that we shall not be seriously afflicted with it this Fall and Winter. One is that according to the usual rules of periodicity it should have appeared before this if it is to appear at all. Again, all great outbreaks of it manifest themselves in three distinct waves. Thus the noteworthy epidemic of 1890, the first known to the present generation, made its first campaign in 1889, the second and worst in 1890, and the third and last in 1891-2. This latest epidemic, or pandemic, both here and elsewhere showed three distinct waves, but all within a single year. We have said that it began in August. That was when it was first recognized as an epidemic of influenza. But physicians and sanitarians are generally agreed that there was a preliminary outbreak of it in the Spring of last year, which was marked not so much by the usual symptoms of influenza as by a greatly increased mortality from pneumonia. At the time physicians were at a loss to account for the prevalence and virulence of the latter disease, but when similar but still more marked manifestations of it occurred in the Fall in connection with the explosive outbreak of influenza, the explanation was obvious. There had been an unrecognized epidemic of influenza in the Spring; the great outbreak in the Fall was the second wave; and the third was that of the early Spring of the present year. It may be added that the three waves were even more clearly defined in Great Britain and other countries. And the rule has hitherto been that in three waves an epidemic spends its force.

Over-confidence in these encouraging circumstances would however, be a deplorable mistake. Our fingers are crossed. There will no doubt be some influenza this season. Indeed cases have already been reported. And the thing is communicable in a high degree. Every sporadic case is therefore a potential centre of contagion and therefore a potential source of epidemic.

"The Right to Strike"

IT sounds well—"the right to strike." At first blush it seems almost worthy to be included with the "natural and inalienable rights" of "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." It means, or seems to mean, simply the right of a free man to quit working. True, it is most often and most vehemently asserted by those who seek to deny the right of a man to work unless he complies with some artificial and alien condition which neither he nor his employer desires. But let that pass. On the face of it the right to strike is a natural corollary to the right to work.

We may concede that to be the case in private employment when no violation of contract is involved. If John Doe is working for Richard Roe, at bricklaying or at type-setting or any such occupation, and is not satisfied with his wages or hours or other conditions, he has a right to quit work until he can secure satisfaction. If there are a thousand John Does working for Richard Roe, they all have the same right to quit work; that is, to strike. The issue is between them and Roe, and if he cannot make satisfactory terms with them, they may go and he must seek other workmen.

So far, so good. But when from private employment we proceed to public employment, either under the Government directly, as policemen or postal clerks, or in those private employments which are indispensable public utilities, as railroad hands or lighting-works employees, the case becomes essentially different, because there enters into it the third and really dominant factor of the public and its needs, of which both the employers and the employees are in the last analysis the servants.

A railroad is chartered primarily for the public service. It is understood that those who build and operate it are entitled to make a reasonable profit out of that service. But the service to the public and not the profit to the owners is the primary object of the Government's action in chartering the road and giving it the privileges which it enjoys. Consequently it is required to maintain a certain standard of service, whether it pays or not. It is compelled to run certain trains which do not pay but are a dead loss, simply because they are needed for the accommodation of the public.

Now if the owners of a road should demand the right to increase rates of fare, and in default thereof should go on strike by refusing to run trains, we all know what would happen. They would be universally denounced, and they would lose their charter. That would be because they were refusing to render the service to the public for the rendering of which their road was chartered.

What, then, are we to say when the employees demand higher wages, and in default thereof go on strike and thus stop the running of trains? They are preventing the rendering of that same service to the public.

In the former case everyone would say that the owners ought to keep the roads running, so as to serve the public, even if the rates are too low. They might keep on nego-

tiating for an increase until they prevailed upon the Government to permit it, but meanwhile they should keep the roads running.

In the latter case, likewise, it may well be argued that the men should keep the trains moving, so as to serve the public. They may keep on agitating for higher wages, until they secure them by demonstrating the justice of their demand, but meanwhile they should keep the trains moving for the public's sake.

And if in the one case the owners would be penalized for stopping the operation of the road, it may well be argued that in the other the men should also be penalized for stopping the operation of the road. In each case the wrong is done to the public, and the public is entitled to redress or, better still, to protection against its occurrence.

The largest corporations and the humblest wage-earners engaged in public utility service need alike to realize that their first duty is to the public; to render it satisfactory and uninterrupted service. They incur that obligation automatically, by the very act and fact of their engaging in that service. Their right to withdraw from that service may not be denied, but it is incumbent upon them to effect such withdrawal in a way which will not militate against the interests of the public. For them to do so in a way purposely calculated to discommode the public by depriving it of the service to which it is entitled,—after the fashion of those who were recently threatening to "tie the railroads up so tight that they would never be untied,"—is simply intolerable. The time is past when either employers or employees could say with impunity: "The public be damned!"

Open and Closed Shop

THE employer does not own labor and never again will own labor where the American flag waves. The day of that infamy has passed forever. It cost hundreds of thousands of precious lives and millions of money to wipe out that foul stain upon our country's good name. But the task was done, and thoroughly done. Labor is no longer the employer's property. It is the laborer's property, his to dispose of when, where and how he pleases.

No man nor any group of men may dictate to the American what disposition he may elect of what is his own, unless he voluntarily assign that authority to others. If he does not make that assignment then he is forced to labor for whom he will and on such terms as he will, and in the exercise of this fundamental right of the American citizen to work for a living at any lawful employment he is entitled to protection in his person and property, even if it be necessary to call in all the armed forces of the Republic to afford him that protection.

All this ought to be axiomatic, but somehow there seems to be a good deal of confusion of thought on the subject. An impression seems to prevail that when a number of men of a certain craft organize they become dictators as to who shall or shall not work in that craft. If they are

dissatisfied with their terms of employment they abandon that employment in a body, thus bringing pressure to bear upon their employer to compel him to meet their terms.

All of which they have a perfect right to do. If they stopped there their position would be impregnable. But, unfortunately, in many, and, indeed, in most cases, they do not stop there. They refuse to work themselves and they refuse to let others work. They assume a continuing proprietorship in the opportunity to labor which they voluntarily relinquished when they abandoned that opportunity. They undertake to maintain a proprietary right in "the job" which they have abandoned. They accuse others who would work of taking away their "job." The "job" that is the opportunity work, was never theirs. It is the employer's; it is as much the employer's as is his own labor the laborer's. The striker assumes a title to what never lawfully was his. The laborer who would gladly take the abandoned opportunity to work is reviled, threatened, his wife and children terrified, he himself assaulted, maimed and often murdered.

But the field of coercion does not stop there. It is extended and expanded to the "closed shop." In the closed shop no man may labor until he has affiliated himself with the union in control of that shop and subjected himself to its dictation and its penalties. He may not want to join the union. He may be bitterly opposed to relinquishing his industrial freedom. But it makes no difference. Until he has relinquished that freedom he cannot work in that shop.

So, here we have an organization rising superior to the law. It forbids what the law declares shall be the American citizen's privilege. It forbids the American citizen to earn his living by lawful employment, free from coercion and on such terms as may meet his approval. It refuses to the employer permission to give work to such a free applicant. That is the closed shop.

The open shop is one wherein neither membership nor non-membership in a labor organization is essential to the American citizen's right to work. There is no discrimination for or against the labor union. The opportunity to labor is free and open to all who are equal to the task and content with the terms. The closed shop is a direct assault upon fundamental rights of the American citizen, whether employer or employee, under the laws of his country. The open shop is a full and free recognition of those rights. The open shop is American. The closed shop is utterly un-American in principle and traditions. It has no right to existence under American concepts of right and wrong.

Striking Against Production

WE shall not say that the threatened anti-production strike in Great Britain would be characteristic of the spirit of labor agitators and of organized labor in general. We cannot believe that they are generally capable of such folly. But it would be to do voluntarily what organized labor too often does unintentionally.

Here is the bedlam-logic of these British revolutionists: They want higher wages.

Why?

Because the cost of living is so high.

Why is it so high?

Because of the scantiness of supplies.

Why are supplies scanty?

Because of insufficient production.

And therefore, in order to compel the paying of higher wages, they purpose still further to diminish production; which will make supplies still more scanty; which will make the cost of living still higher; which will make necessary still higher wages; and so on, *ad infinitum—et ad insanitatem*.

In other words, in order to secure abatement of a grievance, they purpose to aggravate the very conditions which caused that grievance.

The madness of such a course is apparent. We are sure that American workingmen must see it as clearly as everyone else. We cannot imagine that the American Federation of Labor would in terms make such a threat or announce such a programme as the British agitators are putting forward. Yet whether they mean it or not and whether they realize it or not, in their strikes American workingmen are doing that very thing. Every strike lessens production, whether or not it is intended to do so; and every degree by which production is lessened increases the cost of living.

Surely it is not too much to ask that these fundamental facts be recognized and acted upon. This country is today in an abnormal and distressing condition, because of the war. Everybody feels the stress. The rich man feels it when he pays half of his income in taxes. The members of the great "middle class" feel it when, with salaries or other income not increased, they find the cost of living greatly increased. The wage earner feels it, despite his higher wages, when he has to pay more rent and bigger market bills.

All are alike interested in abating these distressing conditions and getting back to a normal basis, and everybody knows or should know that one of the prime requisites for that achievement, and perhaps the most urgent of all, is an increase of production of all important lines of goods—food, clothing, houses, fuel, everything of which the increased cost is now a burden upon the people.

If the time which has been worse than wasted in striking had been devoted to pushing production to the highest possible degree, we should now be largely relieved of the high cost of living, and there would be no need of striking for higher wages.

What is needed in our present emergency is the ideal of the King of Brobdignag, to make two blades of grass, or two ears of corn, grow where only one grew before. He who by wanton or unnecessary cessation of labor does the opposite, and causes only one to grow where two grew before, is wittingly or unwittingly, but certainly, adding to the distress of the land and to the difficulty of the problems which we are trying to solve.



OUR ARTIST IN WASHINGTON

At The Industrial Relations Conference

The Week

WASHINGTON, November 4, 1919.

PYRRHIC victories continue. The Covenanters beat the Johnson Amendment in circumstances that demonstrated two things: That a majority of the Senate was invincibly for exactly the same principle in the form of a "reservation" rather than an "amendment," there being, despite the late Romeo Montague, something in a name; and that it would be impossible to muster a majority to ratify the Treaty without such a reservation. If that be comfort for the Covenanters, let them make the most of it.

Seldom if ever has an important or supposedly important international conference met in more inauspicious circumstances than that now in session in this capital. It suffers the intrinsic anomaly of having been called under the auspices of a "League of Nations" which itself has not yet come into existence. It follows close upon the heels of another conference on precisely the same general subject which has just gone out of existence in circumstances of depressing failure. It meets to enter at once upon a wrangle concerning its own constitution, as to whether German and Austrian delegates are to be admitted. In spite of these untoward circumstances there will be hope that it will accomplish at least a little good; hope, void of confidence. The President autocratically insisted that it should be held as per schedule, League or no League, ratification or no ratification; and has had his way. So—absit omen!—he had his way in insisting that the Covenant and the Treaty should be like Liberty and Union, "one and inseparable." There are those who venture to think that it might have been better to postpone a conference under the League until the League came into existence; and that it might also have been more auspicious for this Government to get its own industrial relations into better shape before playing sponsor for readjustment of such relations throughout the world.

The protest of Rumania and Serbia against some provisions of the Covenant can scarcely be disregarded by the Covenanters, seeing how directly they touch the root of the matter. The Fourteenth Commandment decreed that the League of Nations should afford "mutual guarantees of political independence and territorial integrity to great and small states alike." Yet here are two small states pointing out that under the Covenant the Big Five purpose to play ducks and drakes with their political independence. And they are not, either, two of the newly-formed states for the maintenance of a protectorate over which there might be some shadow of excuse. They are the two old-established states, with long and honorable records of creditable self-government, and the very two to which, after Belgium if not equally with her, the world owes most consideration. Their temperate but powerful protest makes the "League of Nations for the Preservation of Peace" look much like a "League of Big Powers for Bossing the Rest of the World."

Mr. Thienen, the Secretary of the Netherlands delega-

tion to the International Labor Conference, has made a very circumstantial statement concerning the attitude of his Government toward the extradition and trial of William Hohenzollern. While he points out the gross slovenliness and imperfection of the article of the Treaty dealing with the subject, he unmistakably intimates that the Netherlands Government, as the Queen has already proclaimed, purposes to accede to the provisions of the Treaty. He declines to specify the result upon the status of the former Kaiser, but there can be little doubt on that point. The world's arch-criminal must be surrendered to justice. If a man committing a crime against national law can be extradited from another country, much more must one be who has sinned against international law. It is not too much to say that the establishment of the principle that a responsible ruler is to be held personally accountable for crimes against international law would be an achievement for good government and justice among nations second to no other in the civil history of the world.

The Kaiser is reported recently to have gone through "the solemn ceremony of loading his revolver in the presence of his family," especially including the former Clown Prince, with the declaration that on the day when the Powers demanded his extradition he would shoot himself. It would have been impossible for him to do such a thing save in the most theatrical manner, and it's dollars to doughnuts that he carried out the whole theatrical scheme by using a "property" pistol and blank cartridges.

Senator Hoke Smith, a sturdy Grover Cleveland Democrat, says that Senator Hitchcock's scheme for rejecting the Treaty after the reservations have been made is "as ridiculous as anything he ever heard, utterly indefensible, and without a trace of wisdom." As to the President's threatened refusal to accept the Treaty in that form, Senator Smith's opinion is "emphatic, but not for publication." Such reservation of it is even more significant than publication of it, however "emphatic," could be.

It would be a joy to the world to see M. Clemenceau return to the French Chamber a Deputy from that Strasbourg constituency which elected Gambetta in 1871, nor could anything be more fitting. But the old Tiger knows best. If he persists in his determination to retire, his course will be without fear and without reproach. There is not a man in the world who could thus retire from public life with a more satisfactory record of duty wholly and nobly done.

That should be an entirely incredible report, that our Administration is actively opposing a French plan for having Marshal Foch retained as the international generalissimo of whatever military forces may be necessary to constrain German compliance with the terms of the Treaty. It would be impossible to select a more appropriate commander for such a task. Moreover, it would be difficult to imagine

anything more uncalled for and improper than for the United States to assume to be dictator in a matter in which it has so minor and remote an interest. We should say that it was a matter for the European Powers to settle for themselves, and for France to have the chief voice in, seeing that she is of all the most directly and vitally concerned.

The French Government has evidence that German agents have been fomenting disaffection and trouble in Alsace-Lorraine, and our own Government has discovered that the revamped German-American Alliance in this country is diligently propagating Bolshevism and revolution in our labor controversies. Thus does the gentle Hun demonstrate the good faith with which he seeks restored fellowship among the nations.

That was a significant declaration which was made by the miners in the bituminous coal fields of Eastern Ohio, that they did not want to strike, that they wanted to keep on working forty-four hours a week, and that they would do so if adequate protection was afforded to them. They added that they were being forced into a false position by a union from which they threatened to secede. It would be interesting to know how many other miners, in other regions, feel the same way. What is certain is that these men have a right to keep on working, and that it is incumbent upon the government, State and National, to protect them in that right.

The disclosure of extensive "graft," to wit, bribery and corruption, in the enforcement of the war-time prohibition act, is a warning of what may be expected hereafter under the prohibition amendment. It also gives point to the protest of the National Civil Service Reform League against the ignoring of the merit system in the administration of the law, and the employment of agents who have not been subjected to examination to determine their character and fitness. The bill which the President vetoed and which Congress promptly repassed over his veto provides practically for suspension of the Civil Service law, so that the army of bottle-smellers and keyhole-listeners to be appointed to meddle with the personal habits of the people and to be paid out of a \$3,500,000 appropriation of the people's money, will not be selected under that law for merit, but may be the political favorites and heelers of the appointing powers. A system better calculated to produce scoundrelism, corruption and oppression, it would be difficult to devise. If any public agents are to be subjected to careful scrutiny to determine their fitness, they should be those who are to be entrusted with this extraordinary power to interfere with the domestic life of the people.

The Elections Committee of the House of Representatives decided all but unanimously to exclude from membership in the House a person who publicly declared that the declaration of war against Germany was a crime, that he

purposed actively, continuously and publicly to oppose the prosecution of it, that sabotage in war industries should not be forbidden, and that workingmen should be called upon to refuse to support the Government. For the Committee to have decided otherwise would have been to declare its own unfitness for membership in the House.

There is much good in Senator Harrison's bill authorizing the War Department to issue arms to the States for home guard defence. The most obvious amendment would be, that the arms should be issued, at least primarily, to the organized American Legion, which would form the best possible home guard, as competent to deal with Bolsheviks here as it was to dispose of Boches over there.

Democratic Senators are credited—or charged—with the statement that the question whether they will vote for or against ratification of the Treaty after the reservations have been adopted will depend entirely upon the President. Yes. The Constitution provides that the Senate shall ratify treaties "by and with the advice and consent of the President;" does it not?

The candidacy of Lady Astor for the seat in the British House of Commons which her husband has been compelled to vacate through his succession to his father's peerage is much commented on as promising to make an American-born woman the first woman member of Parliament—or of the House of Commons, seeing that her American-born husband is already a member of the House of Lords, as his American-born father was before him. That will, if it occurs, be an interesting circumstance. Still more interesting, from the British point of view, will be the fact that husband and wife will both be in Parliament, he in the one House, she in the other. Since peers are excluded from the House of Commons, but their wives are not, it may be that the example will be followed by other peeresses (not in their own right), who will occupy the seats which their husbands would like to occupy but cannot.

Cannot our patriotic and historical societies, even in the short time that remains before the auction, raise by their own means and by public appeal and subscription the sum necessary to preserve the Monroe house, to save New York and the United States from the shame of allowing the destruction of this relic and remembrance of a great American and a vital American policy? It should be saved. It should continue to stand among business buildings, a historical and patriotic monument too precious and too sacred to lose.—*The New York Times*.

Cannot the paper which makes this fine suggestion, even in the short time which remains before ratification of the Treaty, lend its voice and influence to preserve the Monroe Doctrine, to save the United States from the shame of allowing the destruction of a vital American policy? Or does it value the material relic above the spiritual force that gives it its only value? Without that house, the Monroe Doctrine would still remain "too precious and too sacred to lose." Without the Doctrine, the house would be only a pile of rubbish.

Technically at War

WHY need we object to continuance indefinitely in a state of technical war? Such an artificial status clearly has its uses. In the present strike-epidemic crisis, for instance, it puts in the hands of the Administration weapons of public defense against internal enemies of law and order which may be very urgently needed. That is a public benefit. It gives the President a leverage in his effort to jam his outrageous League of Nations blunder down the country's throat. That is a private benefit. It prevents bringing to an end the war prohibition enactment, of which the President is about as sick as is the country. That is a private annoyance and a public nuisance.

And so on down through all the list of restrictions based on a condition that is not a condition of fact but of theory. Of course we are not at war with Germany. The war with Germany is over. It ended just about one year ago. Our army and navy are practically demobilized to a peace status. We are trading with the late enemy almost as freely as with any other country. If we are constructively at war with her, we are very far from being destructively belligerent.

Being thus constructively at war in this instance is, of course, of no earthly consequence externally. The consequences are exclusively internal. Some of them are a convenience, some are a nuisance, some are of high potential value, as in the case of dealing with alien and native labor conspiracies to paralyze the country's industrial life. Not a few of them are laughably absurd, such as the Presidential dilemma over the war prohibition act and the conflicting pull of his League of Nations intrigues.

Of course it is all rather a ridiculous situation, taken by and large. But why not keep it up indefinitely? Why not be in a chronic technical state of war with somebody? It would be a convenience. We could use it in our business. It would not affect our foreign relations with anybody, of course. We could be at war and still remain sociable and neighborly with everybody, as our present experience demonstrates. Besides, there is the matter of habit. We have so long had a technical war on our hands that we would miss it if we were reminded of its existence by its being taken away from us.

What One Man Did

IF there is failure to reach some working international understanding whereby the dangers of war may be reduced to a minimum, the responsibility for that failure in this instance will rest upon the shoulders of one man and that man is Woodrow Wilson. Even prior to the war, with the exception of the brigand Empire of Germany, the world was open and receptive to such an understanding. With the war ended, with the obstacle of Ger-

man predatory greed swept aside, and with the hideous pictures of war's ghastly brutalities spread before all mankind, there was more than world receptiveness to some rational agreement among nations that such things should not be again. There was a yearning, all but an imperative demand among all civilized peoples that in some way, by some international understanding, by some international tribunal, all human resources of intercession and prevention should be exerted to the end that the savage insanity of recourse to ordeal by battle should not again be revived.

It was at this auspicious moment for erecting a foundation for continued peace on earth that Mr. Wilson, arrogating to himself an authority warranted by no precedent and in defiance of all tradition, in defiance even of the unwritten but plainly obvious implications of the Constitution itself, injected himself personally into international councils with the assertion, demonstrated to be false on a ballot test of his own selection, that he had the American people back of him; that he had a "mandate" from them.

He had no mandate from them. They were not back of him. They resented his intolerable egotism. They resented the injustice done their Senate and themselves when he surrounded himself in his self-appointed mission abroad with nonentities representative of neither the Government nor the people; representative of nothing whatever save abject submission to Woodrow Wilson.

But even then, the cause of international peace agreement was not lost. Even then Mr. Wilson, had he been gifted with even rudimentary notions of tact—even then, a mechanism for war prevention might have been evolved which would have met the enthusiastic approval of the entire American people, and which would have gone far towards obliterating that very resentment which the President's high-handed course had brought down upon him.

But there is that in Mr. Wilson's mental equipment which utterly unfits him for negotiations involving tolerance of the views of others. Indeed, views other than his own seem to present themselves to him as personal affronts. For persons holding such views he has nothing but scorn and contumely. This was exemplified in his scoldings and his vituperation of Senators of the United States who did not agree with every detail of the League Covenant which he was then engaged in constructing and to which he wishes to lash the country for generations to come. It was exemplified, fatally exemplified, in his arrogantly swaggering assertion that he would so tie his League to that treaty of peace, which the country was impatiently waiting, that the one could never be separated from the other. It was exemplified again, almost pitifully exemplified, in that last crusade across the country on which he left another wake of vituperation behind him growing more and more bitter every day, and at the last virulent to the very verge of hysteria and culminating finally in a nervous collapse which landed him on a sick-bed.

By tact, by a substitution of openness of mind for a stubborn conviction of personal omniscience, by meeting opponents with consideration and not with vituperative insults, by the admission to his own mind of the bare possibility that Woodrow Wilson might be wrong about something and somebody else right—in a word, by any one or more of half a dozen courses Mr. Wilson might have pursued, but is congenitally incapable of pursuing, peace with Germany might long ago have become an accomplished fact, and some sort of an international understanding for minimizing the chances of war and involving an international court of arbitrament and law interpretation, might even now have been well on the way towards consummation.

Instead of that, we have international hatreds accentuated, war threats all around the horizon, and a League of Nations that only ceases to be a farce where it begins to be a breeder of war perils. And all this from the stubborn, arrogant, grotesquely tactless blundering of probably the one man more hopelessly unfitted for diplomatic negotiation than any the country has ever before thrust into a great Government office.

Ajax and Mr. Lewis

WHATEVER may be the sufferings of the coal miners, the President of their organization shares them. Under a McAdoodled service, railroad travel and, particularly, Pullman parlor car travel, is vastly more expensive and far less luxurious than it was once upon a time. But Mr. Lewis meets the extra expense and the increased hardships of travel unflinchingly. His is a serenely philosophical soul.

That was a beautiful picture of this leader of the horny-handed sons of toil on his travels, given by the correspondent of the *Times*. He boarded Mr. Lewis's train at Bloomington, Ill. The great man was found in a Pullman parlor car. He was in training for the impending conflict. He was stimulating his combative energies by reading the exploits of Ajax and Hercules in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*.

"The world is much the same now as it was then," he remarked, smiling indulgently on the interveiwier as he closed the book, no doubt holding the place with his delicate fingers. He is quite right. Much the same kind of a world, and a pretty tough old world it is, at that. Here is an inconsequential little group of 110,000,000 people objecting to being frozen and starved to death while Mr. Lewis and his 400,000 miners take charge of the country. How about the sufferings of Mr. Lewis? With no coal to run engines, will not his travels become fraught with heart-breaking hardships? Will not his saunterings in parlor cars, relieved by perusal of the classics, be rudely interrupted? And yet we hear no complaints from Mr. Lewis. He will have his own coal fire, to be sure. The boys will see to that. And right by the side of that fire and with the classics for companions, he is prepared to sit with spartan fortitude while the rest of the country freezes and the

wheels of industry stop and gnawing hunger and killing cold work their will on the 110,000,000.

For Mr. Lewis is King of the Four Hundred Thousand. He is the Kaiser of Coal. And the Kaiser has issued an edict that there shall be a tax of from \$5 to \$8 imposed on every ton of coal the 110,000,000 use. At that edict he stops. Right there he washes his hands of the entire matter. The 110,000,000 can take his terms or leave them.

For there is one thing Mr. Lewis will not have, and that thing is popular interference with royal prerogative. Nor will he tolerate any attempts at class-rule oligarchy. If 110,000,000 people in the United States fancy they have any rights which Mr. Lewis and his Four Hundred Thousand are bound to respect, let them overhaul their classics and find out what happened to Ajax when he defied the lightning.

Needless Confusion

THERE seems to be some confusion in Senatorial minds about demobilization as bearing on the President's prohibition enforcement veto. Senator Walsh, of Massachusetts, for instance, says:

In my opinion the theory of the President is this: He asked Congress to repeal wartime prohibition, which was refused. The President cannot proclaim it ended because the troops are not demobilized.

But the President himself says in so many words, and in the very veto message Senator Walsh was discussing, that the troops *are* demobilized. We quote:

It has to do with the enforcement of an act which was passed by reason of the emergencies of war and whose objects have been satisfied *in the demobilization of the army and navy*, and whose repeal I have already sought at the hands of Congress.

The italics are ours; the sentiments are the President's. If the words above quoted do not constitute a direct, authoritative statement from the Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy that army and navy demobilization is an accomplished fact, then they do not mean anything.

If, as Senator Walsh and other leaders of the President's party assume, demobilization of the army and navy is all that is necessary to enable the President to proclaim war prohibition ended, then we have the President's own word for it that that solitary obstacle is removed. If, on the other hand, peace must be proclaimed before the President will feel at liberty to lift the war prohibition incubus from the country by proclamation, then of course the only present hope there is lies in repeal of the act by Congress itself—a repeal which the President urged Congress to pass long before demobilization was half accomplished. There were those who at the time regarded this little Executive effort to pass the buck to Congress as pretty shrewd politics—smelling of the cheap political junk-counter a little, perhaps, but still shrewd. The odor of the same variety of political sanctity hovers over the prohibition enforcement veto. Nothing of course was contemplated in the document further than another passing-the-buck exploit, and the result in this instance, so far as changing prohibition conditions is concerned, was precisely what it was in the former case and what the President knew it would be—precisely nothing at all.

The Balance of Trade

THERE can be no doubt that, as Mr. Dwight W. Morrow reminded the Trade Conference at Atlantic City, our favorable balance of trade is abnormally large, and we must expect and desire to see it materially reduced through the process of our selling less to Europe and buying more from the countries of that continent, for the sake of healthful commercial conditions. Neither, we may add, can there be much doubt that this matter will adjust itself, through natural processes, without resort to the artificial devices which some of the speakers at that Conference seemed to regard as necessary. We may be the more confident of this for the reason that our present balance of trade is not in fact nearly as large as it seems or as it is superficially represented to be. A review of the record will make this plain.

During the last generation, say since 1880, the balance of trade has with the exception of two years invariably been in our favor. But in actual and in proportionate size it has been subject to great and sometimes sudden changes. Thus, stated in round numbers, in 1881 it was \$260,000,000, in 1882 it was only \$26,000,000, and in 1883 it rose again to \$100,000,000. Again, in 1891 it was only \$40,000,000, in 1892 it rose to \$203,000,000, in 1894 it fell to \$8,000,000, and in 1895 it rose again to \$238,000,000. Since the Spanish War there have been no fluctuations so violent as those, nor has the balance ever fallen so low as it occasionally did in earlier years. Yet there have been marked changes. In 1908 the balance was \$666,000,000, in 1909 it was \$352,000,000, in 1910 it was only \$188,000,000, and in 1911 it rose again to \$522,000,000.

Compared with these figures, those of 1918, \$2,974,000,000, seem enormous. It is obvious, however, that the true measure is not the actual amount of the balance, but the proportion which it bears to the whole volume of commerce, and particularly to the volume of our exports. Thus measured, the large trade balances of recent years, and even the abnormal ones of war time, seem less formidable. At any rate, they are no more formidable than those of former years. Thus the huge balance of \$2,974,000,000 in 1918 was less than 50 per cent. of the value of our exports; while the comparatively moderate balance of \$615,000,000 in 1898 was also just short of 50 per cent. of our exports in that year. In 1913 the balance was \$652,000,000, while in 1895 it was only \$238,000,000; yet the two were proportionately practically the same, each being about 26.5 per cent. of the year's exports.

It is to be observed, moreover, that many of the marked fluctuations in our balance of trade occurred without any alteration whatever being made in our tariff rates and regulations. They were due to the operations of the law of supply and demand and of other natural causes. That these causes will promptly induce a recession of the balance in our favor to a much lower standard is not to be doubted. The ending of the war and the resumption of the activities and conditions of peace will be potent to that end. Indeed,

it would not be unreasonable to assume that the process had already begun. Our imports in September of this year were the greatest in any month on record, while our exports showed a very large diminution. A few months of that process would bring the balance down to the vanishing point.

It will be judicious, therefore, to go very slowly and cautiously in that "breaking down of American tariff walls to permit an influx of European goods" which speakers at the Trade Conference urged as necessary for the relief of Europe's financial distress and for the supplying of our own needs. The present prospect is that the economic affairs of Europe will right themselves in due time, without artificial aid. As for having American industrialists reduce our own production below the measure of our own needs through all sorts of ill-advised and dishonest strikes, and having the deficit in supply made up by the wholesale dumping of stuff "made in Germany," such a programme will not favorably impress the American people. The present Administration came in on a platform calling for "breaking down the tariff walls," and promptly secured the adoption of a new tariff law designed to effect that end. A thoughtful analysis of the balance of trade and other commercial conditions elicits no convincing evidence that any further extension of that process is needed.

The question arises, how and by whose authority these agitators are introduced into the Government service. If it were confined to one bureau or department, the thing might be laid to the individual idiosyncrasy of some local chief or commissioner. But there have been many Socialist and radical agitators in the service of the Government at Washington and abroad. How do they get there? Who is responsible?—*The Times*.

Can't you guess? Consult Article II, Section 2, of the Constitution of the United States.

One hundred thousand officers and soldiers of the German army deserted and fled to neutral countries, to avoid serving in the war. This fact of record raises some interesting questions. Were these honest men or cowards? Did they desert because they regarded the war as a wicked thing, which their consciences and honor would not permit them to support? Or was it simply because they were afraid of getting hurt or killed? If the former was a fact, it implied an appalling indictment of the German government. If the latter, it was a pretty bad reflection upon the character of the German people. We have seen no statistics of deserters from the Allied countries, but we should be mightily surprised if the grand total of them all was a tithe of these German figures.

A notorious Pacifist, who was once a university instructor in sociology, and who has lately completed a long jail sentence for evading the draft, announces that he is "going into the labor movement as an executive and organizer." Doubtless he expects to get a good salary for fomenting trouble. We should doubt, however, if honest American workmen, than whom there are no truer patriots, hanker after such a scalawag as a leader.

Letters From Our Readers

HAVE WE LEARNED OUR LESSON?

SIR,—Let us assume that we have made up our minds to join the League of Nations—of course, after we have passed the amendments. Before doing so, however, let us consider the following questions:

How is the commissioner, representative or agent (I shall use the singular in this letter when referring to our potential representatives—there may be many of them) who shall represent the U. S. in the League of Nations to be chosen?

By whom shall he be appointed?

From whom will he take his instructions and to whom will he report?

Whom will he consult upon the questions vital to the safety, honor and welfare of the American people?

Will he be a figurehead at one end of a wire, the American people through their Congress at the other end—as he should be? Or shall we receive the same detailed information of what is going on as we did concerning the doings in Paris when our President was busied with the League of Nations?

In other words, are we to know—step by step—what is being contemplated by the League, discussed and finally voted upon in our name, or are we to learn whatever the administration may care to tell us after the entire matter has been voted upon and settled, and has passed out of our grasp?

Shall our commissioner represent this nation or shall he represent the administration that appoints him? If the latter—if he be free to act as his appointer may direct and may report to that appointer or to the administration, then would there be placed in the hands of two men such power as has never been known in the history of Constitutional Government. A practical dictatorship. Are we ready to submit to this?

If when our representative votes silently and secretly, as was done in Paris, and if the American people, when his action has finally been disclosed to them, find that it displeases them, and they vigorously protest that his vote does not represent their views or wishes, will his colleagues in the Council of the League give heed, reconsider the vote as incomplete because the American Agent has not properly or truly reflected the sentiment of his country, or will they say, "This man is your agent, is he not? He has voted aye or nay. We are not concerned in your politics or discussions—aye or nay it is—so must it stand?" Will they or will they not do this?

I am writing all this because it appears that the friends of the League fondly believe that, once we join it, the President will appoint a representative for us—as he appoints an ambassador,—said representative to be confirmed by the Senate and to take instructions from the administration. Nay! Not so!

This the President will undoubtedly do unless we take steps not only to safeguard our future liberty of action but to prevent a recurrence of what took place at Versailles and save ourselves from ever again being placed in such a position of humiliation and impotency as we then occupied—as we still now, did we but know it, do occupy. For there is no such power vested in the Executive as would permit him to do as his friends expect.

No such contingency as this having been foreseen by our forefathers, there exists no method of meeting it either under the Constitution or through laws now on our statute books. Before we go ahead, it seems imperative that Congress should proceed to enact such legislation as will protect us from the dangers above outlined.

First, we must have a law by which the Executive shall be empowered to name a commissioner or representative, with the advice and consent of the Senate (only "advice and consent" must henceforth be taken literally and must be inexorably lived up to) to represent this country in the League of Nations. As above stated, no such power exists. . . .

If this can be accomplished under the Constitution as it now stands, well and good; if it cannot be so done, then, as the Constitution was made for the country and not vice versa, the sooner we alter the Constitution to fit the country's needs the better. We must have legislation that will enable us to have as commissioner or agent a man who will represent, not one individual, or one faction, or even one party, but a man who will represent the people of America; a man who will have to take his instructions from the representatives of the people. Above all he shall receive no instructions from the Executive that shall not first have been submitted to the Senate.

By such legislation we may be reasonably sure of two important things: that our agent will represent and voice the will of the nation as a whole, which is all we need, and that he will be a man of dignity and high standing in his community, one of whom the country need not be ashamed.

New York City.

G. CREIGHTON WEBB.

REPLIES FROM MESSRS. BIRD, PAINE, AND GOSHORN

HON. WILLIAM HOWARD TAFT,—

I have just received a telegram from the finance committee of your association asking me to help the cause by a substantial contribution.

As I understand it, your society favors the League covenant as it now stands, whitewashed, however, with soft phrases and useless interpretations which every other signatory will treat with ill-concealed amusement.

I favor the unadulterated reservations for which Senator Lodge has been making a courageous and patriotic fight. The League covenant which you ask me to support pardons the looting of the Chinese Republic, our traditional friend and ally, by the Japanese monarchy, a monstrous crime, which if ratified by the Senate will brand my country for all time as the faithless ally of a great but helpless people.

I refuse to contribute one dollar for such a purpose, and furthermore I request you to erase my name from your list of apologists for your un-American propaganda.

CHARLES SUMNER BIRD.

East Walpole, Mass.

HERBERT HOUSTON,

League to Enforce Peace, New York City, N. Y.,—

Answering your telegram asking for a contribution: In "this moral and political crisis" I believe it to be the duty of every loyal American to use his best efforts in securing amendments or reservations to proposed Peace Treaty which will preserve the honor, integrity, and future safety of the United States. I am absolutely opposed to ratification of Treaty as it now stands.

A. G. PAINE, JR.

New York.

HERBERT HOUSTON,—

Answering your telegram: If it will insure the absolute and complete rejection of the covenant of the League of Nations presented to the Senate of the United States by President Wilson I will gladly give double the amount you ask.

E. C. GOSHORN.

Cincinnati, Ohio.

A PROTEST FROM OKLAHOMA

SIR,—I enclose you envelope addressed to me at the Kansas City office of White and Myers, which is 724 Railway Exchange Building. The railroad offices of the city are all located down here. Yet you will see the mark on the envelope, and find that Burleson has wiped Kansas City off the map. Is this the latest geographical change?

If we have to have reservations, I am in favor of two more: That the League shall not take effect until after the next President has assumed office duties and taken his oath, and the next reservation shall be one specifically stating that Woodrow Wilson shall never be the President of the Super-State. My reasons are that if he has made the commitments he has made already in Europe, based only on the *hope* of a League, what would he do if he had any semblance of a League? He has a year and a quarter yet to serve, and in that time, if we judge him by the troops in Russia, Siberia, Dalmatia and so on, God only knows what he would do. It is apparent to thoughtful, thinking people that he would involve this country in a mess that would take us fifty years to get out of, if we ever did. I am absolutely against the League in any form. After four weeks lecturing in Oklahoma, I am satisfied that if this State had newspapers that would give more than one side of this question, and tell the people the truth the people would be overwhelmingly against any league.

We witness down here a feeling on the part of the people, who are mostly Democrats, that there is a sort of Divinity Mantle placed on Wilson's head by the God of Hosts, so that he cannot err in human judgment. The editorial policy of the newspapers is one of simon-pure Wilson-Autocracy in the name of the Democratic party.

DENTON C. CROWL.

Oakwood, Okla.

OUR CARTOONS

SIR, I see by a recent number of HARVEY'S WEEKLY that if you "don't bite" Colonel Harvey "he will do you no harm." However, I am about to try a little bit of biting and see how much harm comes to me.

First, let me say that I am heart and soul in accord with the principles set forth in your paper; that I read it from cover to cover and send it to intelligent people in the little country town in Connecticut, where we spend the summer. I wish a few more

people in this country had the strength of their convictions to the extent that you have.

I am interested in all you have to say, and when you run out of subjects I would gladly provide a few more for your discussion.

But—I hate your cartoons. They are cheap, badly drawn, and, to my mind, detract much from the dignified expositions in your paper.

There are cartoons and cartoonists in this country who do good work, whose work will live as has that of the Brothers Dalziel. I believe in the cartoon as a means of bringing out certain truths that words can never convey. But I do not believe in your cartoons, and I believe that many people, whose interest and sympathy you would like, are repelled by them.

This is plain talk to a man who gives plain talk to the country—and I know it is none of my business. I might add that my early life was spent among artists and designers—that I was a designer myself before marriage; but I do not draw cartoons, and I am not taking up a brief for any one who does. I simply regret that the dignity and interest of your paper should not be upheld in its cartoons.

L. G. HENDRICKS.

Cambridge.

A MATTER OF CONSCIENCE

SIR,—The Associated Press reports of September 29th make the following statement:

RESERVATIONS NECESSARY

Fifth—Leaders of the Democratic side signified their intention of informing President Wilson, as soon as he was able to receive a report from them on the treaty situation in the Senate, that, in their judgment, the treaty could not be ratified unless reservations of some sort were agreed to. They declared that *while they favored a compromise* in order to get the treaty out of the way as soon as possible, *they would stand by the President* if he continued to oppose incorporation of reservations in the resolutions of ratification.

Is there such a thing as conscience? Is there, with these servile followers of a man who at one time enabled them to gain political ascendancy for their party, no thought of the solemn oath they took to represent the interests of their country?

It is truly an elastic political conscience which allows a man on the one hand to accept such important reservations, or on the other hand to stand pat at the dictation of his master. This confession proves conclusively what most careful observers have believed from the beginning, that a large proportion of the Democratic supporters of the President *at heart believe in the reservations* but are willing to sacrifice their country's interests at the order of the President.

Columbus, Ohio.

C. F. CLARK.

AN EXPONENT OF AMERICANISM

SIR,—Now that you have asked me to give a reason for allowing my subscription to lapse for HARVEY'S WEEKLY, I am only too glad to reply.

I may answer all of your questions by saying that it is one of the most remarkable exponents of Americanism now in circulation, and were it not that I get the full advantage of its contents by it being delivered regularly to this office, through the subscription of R. W. Archer, State Treasurer, I certainly would have to come under my own name.

You are doing a wonderful work, and I wish HARVEY'S WEEKLY success.

W. O. JACKSON.

Treasurer's Office, State of Ohio, Columbus.

THE SYRACUSE ADDRESS IN PAMPHLET FORM

SIR,—Considering you one of our strongest Americans, and feeling that your Syracuse University address, or any other you may think desirable, should be sent abroad in the land, will you accept the inclosed check for that purpose?

Troy, N. Y.

S. T.

[We acknowledge with thanks this contribution, and when the present disturbed conditions in the printing world permit, we shall have ready for distribution the pamphlets which our friend seems to consider that it would be worth while to prepare.—EDITOR.]

WHAT FRANCE THINKS OF US

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THE PRESIDENT'S ATTACK ON THE SENATE

By DAVID JAYNE HILL

in the

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Mr. Wilson Goes Republican

WE can doubt no longer that the President is on the high road to complete and fairly quick recovery of that remarkable mental and physical vigor which has sustained him so notably in his unprecedentedly arduous endeavors during the past year. Ordinarily so severe an attack as he suffered as a consequence of excessive undertaking is followed by a period of grave depression, but happily in this instance there appear no evidences of such a happening. Not only does the abolition of daily bulletins afford a cheering sign, but the practical demonstration of his ability to consider and sign or veto legislative measures and to indite important official communications enhances to a marked degree the encouragement which seemed to be waning.

Yet more significant and gratifying perhaps is the authoritative testimony of the *World* respecting Mr. Wilson's full satisfaction "with results of Tuesday's voting." This clearly evidences at the least a renewed buoyancy of spirit and possibly, in addition, a change of heart. That is to say that in logic, if not in morals, Mr. Wilson seems to have gone Republican, along with the country—an inference plainly warranted by his handsome congratulatory message to Governor Coolidge.

True, the President carefully restricted his felicitations to the "victory for law and order," but the *World* hastened to demonstrate in its peculiar fashion that the League also was in-

involved. In order to make even a semblance of a case, however, Mr. Cobb was driven to the necessity which must have been most distasteful to his honorable spirit of deliberately deceiving his readers.

"The Republicans," he declared audaciously on Thursday, "not only made the cause of law and order their own, but paid their respects to Senator Lodge and his bushwhackers by demanding 'the prompt ratification of the treaty of peace without amendment.'"

Now that was not true. It was not a complete falsehood to be sure; it was one of those half lies which are universally recognized as being worse because they comprise the more detestable elements of hypocrisy and deceit. This is what the Republican platform contained and what the *World* knew it contained:

All are also agreed that the sooner a final disposition of this problem is made the better it will be for the peoples of the world. We therefore favor prompt ratification of the treaty without amendment, but with such unequivocal and effective reservations as will make clear the unconditional right of the United States to withdraw from the League upon due notice, as will provide that the United States shall assume no obligation to employ American soldiers or sailors unless Congress shall by act or resolution so direct, as will make it clear that no domestic questions, such as the tariff and immigration, will be taken from the control of the United States, and that the United States shall be the sole judge as to the interpretation of the Monroe Doctrine. There must be no abridgment of the sovereignty of the nation, of the control of its own domestic affairs, or of the maintenance of its national policies.

No argument or interpretation is needed to establish the mendacity of the *World* to which we have alluded with natural reluctance. The mere fact that it not only eliminated the main part of the declaration but shamelessly cut a sentence into two parts ought to and, we guess does, suffice. What we do maintain is that the *World* knew it was lying. As long ago as October 10 the observant *Sun* directed its attention to the fact with all the delicate but forceful gracefulness of the man who made Charles A. Dana famous; nevertheless, from lack of information we fetch no accusation against Mr. Cobb; he may have been away; Lieutenant Ralph Pulitzer may have been on deck; we would be the last to pry into the affairs of our neighbors.

The main point, so far as the trustworthy Bay States "goes," as Senator Lodge remarks, or "stands," as Senator Webster used to put it, is that Mr. Coolidge, thanks largely to the political sagacity of the Hon. Winthrop Murray Crane, carried it by 125,000 as against 17,000 one year ago and that President Wilson made graceful congratulations—after the event. An unduly meticulous person might wonder why, if his heart was so deeply imbedded in the result, he cautiously refrained from speaking when he might have helped; but all such speculations are for politicians, not for philosophers.

What does amuse us slightly is that, according to the *World*, on the same day on which the President congratulated Mr. Coolidge upon his victory for observance of law in Massachusetts he felicitated Mr. Edwards of New Jersey upon his success as a candidate pledged to prevent the enforcement of an amendment to the Constitution of the United States.

Let that pass! Let no minor considerations or seeming contradictions mar our pleasure. Mr. Wilson rejoices at the amazing Republican triumph in Massachusetts, at the reduction of the Democratic majority in Maryland from 17,000 to little or nothing, at the success of the lawbreaking "wets" of New Jersey and at the inevitable consequences of Constitutional evasion in Mississippi.

Of his feeling with respect to the result in Kentucky we have no authoritative information. There, again according to his spokesman, the *World*, there was no question of the issue. It was purely national.

"In Kentucky," declared the *World* in its most vibrant tone, "the League of Nations will receive what is practically a test vote."

And it did—something like 30,000 for the anti-League, anti-Wilson, candidate, in perfect consonance with the popular verdicts rendered by all other communities, not excepting New

York City, the most Democratic normally of all of our great municipalities.

Wherefore, as noted at the outset, in consideration of his relief and joy, if not in morals at least in logic, on Tuesday, November 4, 1919, Woodrow Wilson went Republican.

Loyal Massachusetts

"MASSACHUSETTS is American!" In those three words Governor Coolidge, as he himself said, told the result of the election. He might appropriately have added in the words of Webster, "I—I also—am an American!" Then the full story would have been told. For the issue was Americanism against Bolshevism, and the winning candidate won by one of the most tremendous majorities ever recorded in the Old Bay State because he unhesitatingly and unequivocally ran as the exponent and champion of Americanism, uncompromising and inflexible. That result was one of the most heartening and inspiring in all the history of American State elections. Indeed, though technically pertaining to the State alone, it was in its significance of vital import to the whole nation.

Let us briefly recall the circumstances which, however familiar, can never be too deeply impressed upon the public mind. A nation-wide movement was started to Bolshevize the Government. The first step was to "unionize" the police, so as to make them no longer impartial guardians of law and order but partisans of every strike or other disturbance that labor agitators might organize. The police of Boston were first used for this purpose, and their success was to be the signal for like performances in other cities all over the land. The Police Commissioner and Mayor objected and disciplined some of the men who had joined the Union. Thereupon the majority of the force went on strike, and delivered the city, so far as possible, into the hands of thugs and rioters. In this emergency the Governor assumed control, and used all the power of the State Government for the maintenance of law and order in the imperilled city, and for the filling of the places of the deserters with loyal men; in which he was splendidly successful. With admirable clarity of thought and directness of speech he declared that the recreant policemen were not strikers but deserters, and that their claim to reinstatement could not be considered because "Government could not be arbitrated." His competitor, on the other hand, was for arbitration of the right of Government to govern, and for the reinstatement of the men who had broken their oaths of office and betrayed their trust.

The issue, then, to which the whole nation looked for an indication of what was to prevail throughout the land, was Americanism against Bolshevism. But it was not Americanism in any racial or "nativist" sense. Tens of thousands of supporters of Governor Coolidge were of foreign birth, of foreign parentage. Nor was it Americanism in any class

sense, as of capitalist against wage-earner. Some of the greatest majorities for Governor Coolidge came from the armies of employees in factory towns, and from the ranks of "organized labor"—a fact to be commended to the careful consideration of Mr. Samuel Gompers. It was Americanism as a principle of ordered government, against Bolshevism as a principle of anarchy. The result of the election showed, to quote Governor Coolidge again, that—

The men of Massachusetts are not labor men, or police men, or union men, or poor men, or rich men, of any other class men, first. They are Americans first. They are for the Government.

That, we say, is heartening and inspiring to the whole nation, above and beyond all expression. Amid all the clouds and mist and miasm, and the doubts and fears and tumult, of a nation-wide epidemic of disaffection and unrest, the Massachusetts result comes like a "blast from Freedom's northern hills."

The Issue in the Coal Strike

WE are getting back to fundamental principles. A thousand questions might be asked and discussed concerning the coal strike. Only one is of real consequence. Has the Government power to safeguard the welfare of the people? If it has, it is incumbent upon it to exercise that power, and woe be unto those who stand in the way. If it has not, it is no Government worthy of the name. The President believes that it has that power; and Congress agrees with the President; and the overwhelming masses of people agree with Congress.

Let it be conceded that the Administration has been guilty of inconsistency, as is now complained. We have ourselves pointed that out. It was inconsistent to hold that peace was restored for purposes of foreign intercourse and trade, even with Germany, and that at the same moment of time war still prevailed for purposes of domestic manufacture and trade. It was inconsistent to hold that war conditions were ended for purposes of fixing the price of coal, but that at the same time war conditions still prevailed for purposes of regulating the wages of coal miners. That was, we say, gross inconsistency; for which the Administration must pay the penalty in embarrassment and loss of moral authority.

It was inconsistent, also, for the Administration to insist, and to insist that Congress should insist, that labor organizations should be privileged and exempt from the provisions and pains and penalties of laws which applied to all other business organizations, and then for it to insist upon ignoring that exemption and subjecting labor organizations to the laws on equal terms with others. That was gross and inexcusable inconsistency.

But these inconsistencies are minor matters compared with the one dominant issue, which is the power of the Government to safeguard the welfare of the people. If the President has erred, as it must be conceded that he has, his errors must not annul his authority when at last he takes the right course. The Nation must not suffer through the mistakes of its President.

Nor can it be maintained that the errors and inconsistencies are all on one side. If it were to be granted that

there was ground for the contention that the men's wage contract time had expired and that they were therefore free to demand higher wages, their summary termination of the contract could not be justified. A contract is not to be abrogated nor its termination to be declared, at the will of only one of the parties to it. The men were both morally and legally bound to observe the terms of the contract until its termination could be judicially determined.

Nor is it consistent for labor leaders to denounce the use of injunctions. They would themselves be the foremost to approve the use of injunctions, and to condemn any failure or hesitancy to resort to them, for checking the pernicious activities of a conspiracy or combination of capitalists. Of course the talk about "involuntary servitude" is sheer nonsense, or worse. There is and can be no thought of compelling any man to work who does not want to, either through the courts or through the army. An injunction does not command men to go back to work. It forbids agitators to conspire to coax or coerce them away from their work and to use accumulated funds to that end. The army will not drive a single man back to work which he wishes to leave. It will protect from hindrance or molestation every man who wants to continue at work or to return to it.

If, then, "honors are easy" between the disputants in point of consistency, there remains the one consideration which overshadows and dominates all others: the welfare of the people. That is at stake to a degree which we believe warrants the fullest possible exercise of Governmental power for its protection. The crisis is one which justifies the disregarding of mere technicalities in favor of those broad and fundamental principles of equity upon which indeed all technicalities worthy of respect must be based. If an earthquake or a pestilence brought suffering and danger of death to millions, there would be no thought of standing upon technical ceremony in putting forth all the powers of the Government for their relief and protection. No less serious than that was the menace of the coal strike. The former would be regarded as an "act of God." The latter was the act of man. We do not think that the Government is required to be more meticulous in dealing with the acts of men than with the acts of God.

PARIS, Nov. 5.—The first meeting of the Council of the League of Nations will be held in Paris, the Supreme Council decided today. It did not, however, fix a date for the gathering.—*Associated Press Dispatch.*

The first meeting of the Council shall be summoned by the President of the United States of America.—*The Covenant, Article 5.*

Apparently, then, the President is to be merely the mouth-piece or the amanuensis of the Supreme Council, and is not to exercise "in his own name and by his own proper authority" the august function with which he is invested by the Covenant.

Hollweg Calls Peace Treaty War Breeder.—*Tribune Headline.*
Even he has flashes of human intelligence.

Farmers and Labor

WE SHALL be much interested in observing the proceedings and indeed the composition of the great national convention which is being called for December 13 and which is to be representative of the American Federation of Labor, the Railroad Brotherhoods, and the Farmers. Especially shall we be interested in observing the attitude and course of the farmers toward the questions which are presumably to be discussed. It is apparently expected by the organizers of the convention that the farmers will be in accord with the Federation and Brotherhoods in demanding fewer hours of toil and larger pay; and indeed it has recently been stated that the farmers of the country generally are sympathizing and fraternizing with the trade unions. But we have our doubts.

There was a Farmers' National Congress at Hagerstown, Md., a little while ago, at which, according to reports, the prevailing sentiment was by no means in accord with that of "organized" labor. That body adopted resolutions condemning the short work-day and the "ever increasing wages demanded by industrial labor" as being "allies of the profiteer in keeping up the high cost of living. . . . The forty-four hour week," it added, "cannot feed the world, and cannot clothe it." And it drew a pertinent contrast between the workman who insists upon a forty-four hour week as the maximum of toil and the farmer who works "six hours before dinner and six hours after, with before-breakfast and after-supper chores thrown in."

The convention was not by any means opposed to organized labor *per se*. On the contrary, it pledged sympathy and aid to "honest organized labor." But it unsparingly condemned the "treason of false leaders who for pay and price would scuttle the Ship of State and raise the red flag of Bolshevism over the ranks of an outraged and fallen republic." The figures of speech may have been mixed, but the meaning was clear. The farmer realizes that the only way to do the necessary work of the world is to do it; and he is no Bolshevik.

Now it must be borne in mind that, despite the prominence in economic discussions enjoyed by "organized labor," of all the people in this country engaged in gainful occupations, those in agricultural pursuits form a decided plurality. They are more than 33 per cent of the whole. They very considerably outnumber those employed in manufacturing industries, in the building and other mechanical trades, and in mining, all put together. The value of the farm property is by far the greatest item in the schedule of our national wealth, being very nearly one-fourth of the whole. It is more than twice as great as that of all the railroads and street railroads.

Obviously, here is a gigantic economic force. It is a force which if organized and directed for the purpose could easily be dominant in the economics of the nation. In the very nature of the case it would be difficult if not impossible to organize it in the same manner as the industrial trades. Yet we should doubt the wisdom of too confidently reckoning upon its always remaining unorganized. Especially would

it be unwise for industrial "organized labor" to flout the interests of agriculture and to ignore such expressions as those which we have quoted from the recent convention.

Cant

THIS reiterated boast of the patriotism of labor in continuing to work during the war period is becoming shopworn. It has become the stereotyped formula at the head of almost every labor union statement in support of an existing or threatened strike. Mr. Gompers in his pronunciamento with reference to the outrageous bituminous coal miners' strike did not miss the opportunity to fall back into the familiar strain. He said:

Throughout the period of the war and during the nation's time of stress the miners of America labored patiently, patriotically and arduously in order that the principles of freedom and democracy might triumph over the forces of arbitrary authority, dictatorship and despotism.

All of which we have heard over and over again at nauseam. Of course the miners worked during the war. They worked and they were exceedingly well paid for their work. The country was in no condition to permit a close weighing of the justice or injustice of wage demands. The miners made their demands and they got them, and very far from moderate demands they were at that. Coal mines made more money during the period of the war than they ever did before. They broke all their wage-earning records. They got enormous wages and they were exempted from military service. Millions of Americans just as good as they faced death, maiming and hideous war hardships for less pay in a month than a coal miner could earn in three days with his home and his wife and children about him into the bargain. Furthermore, these men in khaki did not cant arrogantly and snivel about it, either. They did their duty in the army just as other good Americans did their duty on the farms, in the workshops and in the mines. The only ones who did not do their duty in those dark days were the traitors, the slackers and the blithering Bolshevik anarchists. And now it would seem from this persistent proclamation of coal miner patriotism during the war that these particular workingmen take unto themselves some special virtue, were entitled to some notable and peculiar gratitude because they did not ally themselves with either of these three groups of undesirables.

The miners did work during the war. Nobody denies that. They stood by the Government. They were for the old flag and a stupendous wage scale. So were a great many

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others in all walks of our industrial life. There is no use splitting hairs over war profit patriotism. We had to have the work done. We got it done. We paid enormously for it and the workers kept on the job and pocketed the pay. That is all there was or is to the entire subject.

But now the suggested implication of all this cant about the workers continuing to work for their unheard-of wages is that we are under some singular and tremendous debt of gratitude to them for not stabbing the country in the back when it was fighting for its life!

We did start to keep count of the different "solutions of the Fiume question" which were offered, but when it became necessary to use a double entry system of book-keeping to do it, we quit; in the interest of conserving paper and pencils.

Just a Plain Fact

THE Government will assume," says a Washington dispatch to the *Herald*, "that the right to strike carries with it the right to work." Now we venture to believe that the right to work is nothing whatever in the nature of an assumption. It is just simply a plain fundamental fact. Either a man has a right to work for a living at any lawful employment and on such terms as are to him satisfactory, or he has no rights whatever which any lawless person is bound to respect. If an American citizen, or an alien in our country, is not entitled to earn his bread by labor and to be protected in person and property while he is doing it, then we no longer live under a Government of law and order but are already projected into the millennial bliss of red anarchy.

The Government does not assume this proposition. It is a basic, fundamental fact. Nor, as the telegram we have quoted puts it, does "the right to strike carry" this fundamental fact with it. It is there of its own vitality. It got there on its own legs. It was not carried there by right to strike nor by Governmental assumption. It is of the very essence of Government itself, if Government means the maintenance of law and the preservation of order.

The dispatch also says that this "assumption" on the part of the Government "enforces the principle of the open shop." It remains to be seen in the great strike orgie through which we are passing whether the Government will have to "enforce" the open shop or not. If enough men wish to work in the mines to warrant mining operations, and if the only deterrents to their so working are the threat and the fact of bodily injury to themselves, terrorization of their families, and destruction of their property by men who do not want to work, then either the mines will be worked, or we have anarchy and not Government. The proposition of the Administration, of the Congress and of at least 105,000,000 out of 110,000,000 American people is that we do live under a Government and not under anarchy. The persons who may contest that proposition are the only ones against whom the physical and moral forces of the United States are now, and forever, we trust, arrayed. The issue is

simplicity itself. It is merely a question of whether a man has a right to work with or without the consent of some organization unknown to the law. Whether you call it the open shop issue or give it some other name, that and that alone is what it comes to. If it is the open shop, then the forces of the United States Government and of the American people are back of the open shop. As to "enforcing the principle of the open shop" under these circumstances, the matter would seem to simmer down in the present instance to whether or no there is going to be such overt opposition to the principle in question as to make enforcement necessary.

A Timely Demonstration

OUR wartime plunge into Government Ownership has averted a peril which otherwise at this time might have been imminent. We know now what Government Ownership and operation of public activities is. We know what it means to the utilities and to the country. We know it, not from theory, but from practice. On a large and comprehensive scale we have tried the experiment—tried it on our railroads, on our telegraph lines, on our telephone lines and on our trans-oceanic cables.

What the result of that experiment is need hardly be asked. It has taught the country for once, and probably for all time, that we want none of Government ownership and operation. We have had it. We want no more of it. Even in those States of the Middle West where, prior to this beneficent experience, the Government ownership idea had taken strongest root, the dream has now dissolved. The Middle West has had its fill of Government ownership. Were a vote taken today in those very States where, prior to the war, sentiment was strong and growing for this form of Socialism, the result would be an overwhelming defeat for the proposition. And what holds true in this respect for the Middle West holds equally true for the East, the South, the Northwest and for the Pacific Coast. A proposal to put our basic utilities under Government ownership and operation would be snowed under in each and all of these sections of the country.

This is a result that could hardly have been brought about by argumentative discussion. The sorry records of the results in foreign countries, except in bayonet-ridden, autocratic Germany, would have been of little avail as warnings. There was that in the idea theoretically which to certain minds was too alluring to be dispelled by reasonings or by horrible examples. Nothing short of actual demonstration would have availed. Ultimately, in one way or another, nothing short of actual experiment would have served to dispel the allusion and very likely that experiment would have been made.

And then suddenly came the war, and with the war the assumed necessity, and with the assumed necessity the opportunity for which the Socialistic dreamers had been so long hoping and scheming. They had their day in court. The tragedy of the railroads has been put in evidence. The roaring farce of the Politicalmaster General's exploits has

been enacted with the continent and the high seas for a stage and the entire population for an audience. The curtain has been rung down on the farce; the expiring agonies of the railroad tragedy are drawing to a close. The verdict has been reached and that verdict is "Never Again!"

Fortunate indeed is it for the country at this particular time that the air is thus cleared. Whether or no the gigantic strikes in two of the most vital of our basic industries had behind them a latent plan to force Government Ownership of all such industries upon the country is a legitimate subject for speculation. Coupled, as they have been, with veiled threats of a paralyzing railroad strike, and coupled also with the mad Socialism of the so-called Plumb plan to purchase the railroads at public expense and make a present of them to the railroad employees—all this, together with a number of other ominous signs and portents lately made manifest, lend distinct color to the suggestion that some more or less concerted Socialistic movement in the Government Ownership line is associated with recent labor upheavals. Be that as it may, there is only too much reason to believe that but for the vivid demonstrations of Government Ownership failure, so recently spread before the country, we would be in danger of having the experiment again thrust upon us, and with consequences more disastrous and requiring longer time to get over, than those from which we are even now but slowly recovering.

And to no other man is this country so much indebted for the absolutely incontestable demonstration of the utter hopelessness of Government operation of great utilities as it is to the Politicalmaster General. In this respect Mr. Burleson was in the nature of a godsend to the country. It seems little short of Providential that a man gifted with so wide a range of subtle and far-reaching incapacities should have been called to a position where his endowments were calculated to throw into searchlight clarity the intrinsic impossibility of anything but failure in Government administration of any of our great public utilities. Mr. Burleson is entitled to the gratitude of the country.

In Darkest Delaware

THE revelations which the New York *Sun's* correspondent has been making of certain conditions in Delaware read like records of the Middle Ages. The plain facts that the correspondent has set forth as to educational and some of the social conditions in that ancient State—one of the original thirteen—are simply staggering. They place Delaware almost beyond the pale of our American civilization. Slavery in its worst form, the slavery of helpless orphaned children, is not only an established State institution, but the penalizing provisions which go with it are a fair match for similar provisions applicable under the worst days of negro slavery.

Under the euphonious term of being "bound out," children, boys and girls, may be kept in bondage, to those whom the law itself frankly terms their "masters," from tender years of infancy to full manhood or womanhood—to the age of 21 years in the case of boys and 18 years in the case

of girls. They are bought as slaves and they are made to work as slaves. Under the benevolent provision that the "master" may enforce "industrious behavior and obedience to commands by moderate correction and by suitable and sufficient means," the cat-o-nine-tails has been and still is swung with impunity over the backs of these forlorn, helpless, little ones by any casual brute who may have bought and paid for them. For they are property, just as the negro slave was property. If the tortured child is rebellious, if he tries to escape by flight from the legalized infamy, and is caught, the full term of his absence is added to the term of his slavery, and, in addition to that, he or she is compelled to "work out" the cost of recapture and return to the slave yoke. This may be under the original "master" or under a "master" by purchase. For the laws of the State of Delaware in this year of grace, 1919, and in these free and enlightened United States of ours, give the "master" of one of these hapless boys or girls the full right to sell him or her to any other "master" willing to pay the demanded price; and this transaction is openly described in the infamous enactment which legalizes it as "the order of sale."

And, as reward for favor, say, 10 to 15 years of this slavery, the master must give the slave food and shelter and, on emancipation, two suits of clothes "suitable to the condition" of the liberated bondman or bondwoman. Broken in body, cowed and degraded in spirit, these pitiable children of wretchedness, whose mortal sin against society is that they have no father or mother to care for them, orphans maybe of a soldier who gave his life for his country, are turned loose on the world with two suits of clothes "suitable to their condition." Is it difficult to imagine what these "suitable-to-condition" clothes would be, what they would look like?

As to education—but that is another chapter. The whole dragging into the light of these infamies pivots on a question of education. The good people of Delaware are in revolt against this disgrace to their State. They are in revolt against an organized and brutal ignorance which has made the public school system of Delaware a shame to a civilized community, and which has lifted the State to a miserable eminence of illiteracy all but unrivaled. They want no change, these Delaware slave-drivers. None of your new-fangled New England education notions for them! They are making money out of child slavery, and they want it to go on forever. It has been a thriving industry, this exploitation of orphaned children. The demand for this form of slave live stock has been greater than the supply. The annual orphan crop of Delaware is not large enough to meet home consumption—for, naturally, a good many of them die off from drudgery and cat-o-nine-tails "correction." So the neighboring State of Pennsylvania has been drawn upon. Various large Pennsylvania orphan asylums have been used as orphan supply reservoirs, and the beneficent "bound-out" laws of Delaware are there to welcome them with all their penalizing provisions made as applicable to imported as they are to domestic orphans.

Heaven speed the efforts of the good people of Delaware who are now fighting all the localized powers of darkness to blot out this foul stain on their State.

Backing Up the President

THE popular approval of the President's attitude toward the coal mine strike, and the formal action of Congress in assuring him of its support, might confidently have been looked for in advance, as matters of course. They were so entirely appropriate that detailed commendation of them would be superfluous. It is impossible, however, to avoid observation of the striking contrast which they present to the attitude toward the President in other matters, and especially of the convincing manner in which they dispose of the cheap slander that opposition to some of the President's policies has been inspired by personal animosity and partisan passion.

There was obviously a fine chance for enemies of the President to wreak their spite against him in demagogic attacks. From the point of view of partisan advantage, there was more to be gained, or more harm was to be done to him, by opposing him on this domestic issue than by dissenting from his foreign policy. If Senators had been so insectile, so pygmy-minded, so worthy to be gibbeted, as they have been represented, we may be sure that some of them would have tried to make personal or factional capital out of this matter by attacking the President. But there was apparently not a thought of it. Those who had been most resolutely opposing him and most severely criticizing him in the League of Nations debate, were foremost in approving his policy toward the strike and in pledging him full support.

The President himself will doubtless take that significant circumstance to mind and to heart, and it will be well if his too-often intemperate champions in Congress and in the press will do the same. For it is thus made perfectly clear that Congress, even the most aggressive Republican Senators, will always be just as ready to support the President when he is right as to oppose him when he is wrong; and that its attitude toward him is determined not by personal nor factional considerations, but by serious judgment on grounds of right and wrong and national welfare. It is indeed impossible for any fair-minded man to doubt that patriotic Congressmen are more ready to support him than to oppose him, more ready to cultivate harmony than to provoke discord, between the two branches of Government.

It is less than a year ago that a scatterbrained Senator wanted his colleagues to approve in advance anything that the President might do in the most important foreign affairs; and the proposal was laughed out of court. The contrast between that and this more recent incident should afford food for thought, and for something more than thought. Surely the President himself, if not some of his superserviceable followers, will appreciate its significance. When in one matter after another, of the highest importance, Congress and the nation unhesitatingly and unequivocally support the President, and do so without regard to party, and then in some serious matter decline to support him, there is obviously occasion not incontinently to rail at those who thus dissent from him, but rather very seriously to inquire why it is that they withhold the approval which they have for-

merely given, and whether it may not be that he has forfeited it by an error of policy.

There can be no doubt that if the President had addressed himself to the task of peacemaking with the same directness and the same loyalty to established American principles that he has shown in the case of the coal strike, he would have received in it the same unhesitating unanimity of support which he has commanded in this latter crisis. And this present case intensifies the regret, on the part of the nation as well as, we doubt not, of himself, that he did not do it.

What Does "Advise" Mean?

WHAT is the meaning of the phrase to "advise"? In trying to dodge a reservation with respect to the notorious Article X the Covenanters are—or were, since we fancy that even the most ardent of them now realize the futility of their efforts—profuse in protestations of the "not legal but merely moral" nature of its obligations. It was, according to them, never intended that it should be mandatory upon us to go to war for the protection of another Power. The League would do no more than to express pious opinion, and the power of declaring war would be left to our Congress to exercise according to its own judgment, precisely as it now is.

In that view of the matter some of the wording of the article certainly seems significant.

It says that in case of aggression, or threat or danger of aggression, against a member, "the Council *shall advise* upon the means by which our obligation to defend the imperilled Power shall be fulfilled. What is to be understood by "shall advise"?

Obviously, the verb is meant to have its transitive force. Intransitively, it would be absurd; for it would be equivalent to saying that in such a case the Council should deliberate and reflect upon the means to be employed. That it would do that is a matter of course. It would be ridiculous to put so axiomatic a fact in the Covenant.

The meaning is, then, that the Council shall advise somebody, and that somebody must be the Power competent to fulfil the obligation; in our case, Congress. Therefore the Council, an eight to one alien body, is to "advise" the Congress of the United States what it should do.

That, it must be confessed, has not a pleasant sound. This country has never been in the habit of taking alien advisers into its governmental council. It has rather been inclined to resent any injection of foreign influence into its legislative chambers or administrative offices. It has always been ready to enter into diplomatic consultations and negotiations concerning international affairs, but that is a very different thing from having an alien body, without our request, volunteer and intrude its advice to Congress, as to what laws it should enact. Such intrusion would, however well-meant, be nothing short of impertinent.

So much is to be said of it, if "advise" is to be interpreted in the mildest possible way, as the mere offering of opinion or at most recommendation. The natural definition of the word in this place comprises, however, something much

more than that. To advise is, obviously, to give advice, and to give advice means in some cases rather more than mere opinion or even recommendation. It is significant that the same word occurs in our Constitution; where it provides that the President shall have power to make treaties "by and with the advice and consent of the Senate." We may reasonably assume that the same meaning is intended in both cases.

That is to say, the Council of the League is to sustain to our Congress the same advisory relation that the Senate sustains to the President.

Now we know that the "advice" of the Senate to the President means a great deal more than a mere expression of opinion or recommendation. The word is coupled with "consent". It has mandatory force. The President cannot make a treaty without the "advice" of the Senate. The word denotes an inevitable organic connection, for co-operative purposes, between the two. It would denote a like connection between the Council of the League and Congress.

And yet there are—or were—those with the effrontery to pretend that Article X would in no respect impair the national sovereignty and independence of the United States!

Turkey and Ourselves

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN owes America an explanation. He has cast an aspersion upon us which, so far as we know, is quite undeserved and indeed without pretext or provocation. There may, of course, be some reason for it which, under the sacrosanct rule of "open covenants openly arrived at," has been carefully concealed from us. If so, we are entitled to know something about it, and we should thank Mr. Chamberlain to disclose it to us.

What Mr. Chamberlain said was that the costly and deplorable delay in making peace with Turkey was not the fault of the British Government, but was occurring "pending a decision by the United States whether she would undertake her part of the 'white man's burden' and the execution of the tutelage of Turkey under the League of Nations." In brief, America's hesitation was the cause of the delay.

Now we say that, so far as this country knows, that imputation is quite unwarranted. This country is not and has not been at war with Turkey, and therefore has no peace settlement to make with her. Neither has it been so impertinent as to object to those who have been at war with her making any settlement they please, as soon as they please. We are not hesitating over such a decision as Mr. Chamberlain describes, because the question of assuming the "tutelage of Turkey" has never been considered by us, and has never been presented to us for consideration.

Pending a statement by Mr. Chamberlain of the grounds for his amazing reflection upon this country, two possible explanations occur to us, which in the interim may be worth speculating upon.

One is suggested by the phrase "execution of the tutelage of Turkey under the League of Nations." That is, that by adopting the Covenant and entering the League we should automatically, will-nilly, be charged with the "tutelage of Turkey," and goodness only knows what other "parts of the 'white man's burden'." Of course if that is the case, we must plead guilty to delay, and we must be mighty glad that we have delayed tumbling ourselves into such a trap as that. Moreover, we give notice that America is fully resolved to keep on delaying it, even unto the Greek Kalends.

The other possible explanation is this, that somebody has been spoofing—if that is the correct diplomatic word—Mr. Chamberlain with the pretence that the United States was quite ready, if not indeed eager and itching, to accept a mandate for Turkey just as soon as a contemptible and pygmy-minded Senate could be coerced into swallowing the Covenant, hook, bob and sinker. If somebody has been telling Mr. Chamberlain or anybody else over there any such stuff as that, we should like to know who it was. For there has been entirely too much such loose talk. People over there were given to understand that this country had issued a mandate for a League of Nations; only to wonder, a little later, why we demurred at the fulfilment of our own mandate. Over here we were given to understand that the heart of the world would be broken if we did not go into the League; only to wonder, a little later, why British statesmen snickered at mention of a thing upon which their hearts were so set.

Really, we should like to know who, if anybody, gave Mr. Chamberlain his strangely erroneous impression concerning our attitude toward Turkey. Perhaps, while we are waiting to hear from him, we might get a little information on the subject from the Commissioner Plenipotentiary who is the latest distinguished arrival from over there.

Can it be that M. Poincaré is jealous of Mr. Wilson? Or that possible aspirants to the succession to M. Poincaré cherish that feeling? If not, it would be interesting to know the origin of the movement which M. Aristide Briand has started in France, and which is widespread and formidable, to increase greatly the power and authority of the President of the Republic. Hitherto the French President has been much like a constitutional sovereign, elected for a term of years; non-partisan and exercising political authority through the Ministry responsible to Parliament. But during the last year France has had at close range an object lesson in a President who assumes to do much more than merely to preside, and who makes of the Presidential chair "the throne of administration and the frequent source of politics." It would be interesting to know if she has become so enamored of the example that she wants to have a President of the same kind. We had not thought that there was any more likelihood of that than of this country's wanting to adopt the French system of a non-partisan President acting through a Cabinet responsible to Congress. It would be a strange turn-about for the two great republics to swap systems.



Sen. Curtis



Sen. Borah



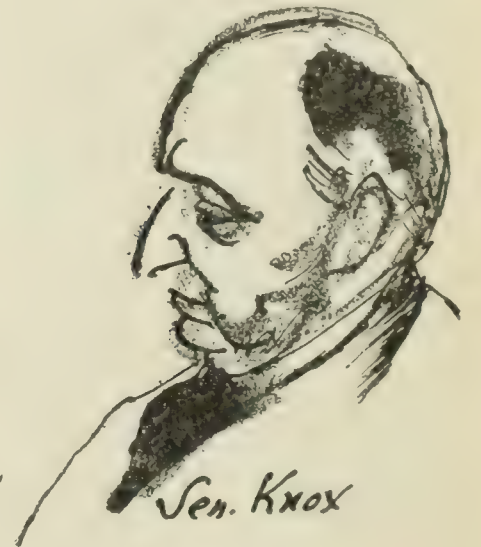
Sen. Thomas

Sen. Penrose



Sen. Sherman

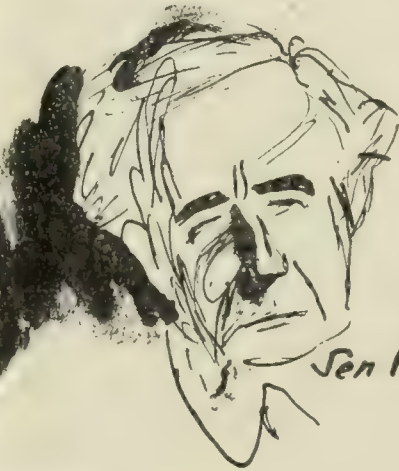
Sen. Reed



Sen. Knox



Sen. Overman



Sen. Hitchcock



Sen. Macomber



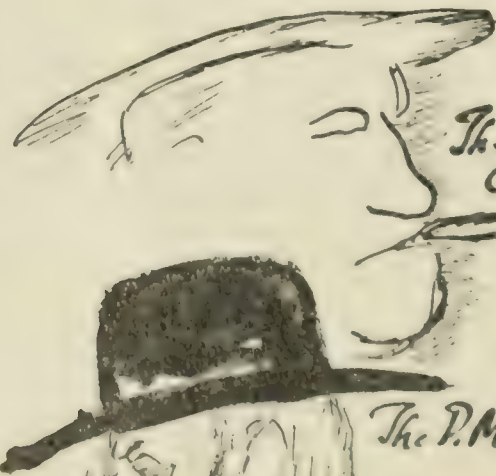
Sen. Smoot



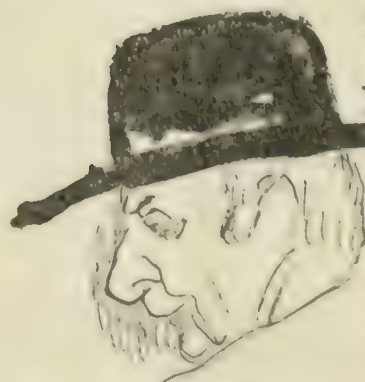
Sen. Lodge



Sen. Watson



The Attorney General



The P.M. General

OUR ARTIST IN WASHINGTON
In The Senate

The Week

WASHINGTON, November 11, 1919.

TO nobody in the Nation should the result of the Massachusetts election give more food for heart-seeking thought than to Mr. Samuel Gompers and his associates in the American Federation of Labor. For their patriotic attitude and service during the war we must give them a full meed of gratitude and praise. But that fact cannot excuse their equivocal course since the war in matters of scarcely less vital importance. Mr. Gompers frequently refers to the struggle which he is having against the radical elements in organized labor as an excuse for his temporizing and compromising course. He seeks to control those elements by yielding to them. The vote in Massachusetts, and especially in the great industrial centres of that State, should convince him of his mistake. It should suggest to him the splendor of the results which he might attain if he would only lead his Federation in such a manner as that in which Calvin Coolidge has just led the people of Massachusetts. The trouble with him is that he does not sufficiently insist upon his organization's living up to its name and being a truly American Federation of Labor instead of what it in fact is, a mere Federation of American Labor. Let it put Americanism first,—American principles, that is, of law and liberty and justice and the sovereignty of the people's Government—and it will never lack public sympathy and support. But in the last analysis the people of America will never sustain any man or any organization or party that aims at the preferment of a class above the nation, of a part above the whole.

Second only to the Massachusetts result in importance to the nation was that in Kentucky; and it failed of equalling that in the Bay State only because the issue was not quite as clearly drawn. It was, however, sufficiently clear to be unmistakable. The Democratic candidate for Governor ran on the Covenanters' platform, demanding approval of the League of Nations scheme just as General Smuts and Lord Robert Cecil cooked it up and as the President brought it from Europe, without amendment or reservation. The Republican candidate, while not so openly opposing the Covenant as might have been desired, ran on a platform demanding maintenance of American principles; which by unmistakable inference meant opposition to the denationalizing Covenant. And the Republican—in Kentucky, in Kentucky, mind you!—won handsomely. It was observed that Mr. Morrow—auspicious name!—was supported by thousands of young men who, according to family precedent, should have voted the Democratic ticket. Even if their elders are so purblind as to cling to a party fetich against the interest of the nation, it is immeasurably heartening to see the young man, in whose hands is the future of the State and the Nation, coming out boldly for "America first!"

To some the idea that the coal strike in our Western States was incited and directed by Lenine and Trotzky would

doubtless seem fantastic. Yet the concrete fact is that three months ago the Bolshevik leaders at Petrograd were planning to take advantage of the distress which would be caused by scarcity of coal this winter, for organizing and promoting world-wide disaffection and revolt. We can scarcely suppose them to be so gifted with prescience as to have foreseen a great coal strike in this country; or to be so lacking in shrewdness as not to have attempted, through propagandist agents, to bring about the very conditions which they desired. Another concrete fact is that in the coal strike, as in the steel strike, Russian Bolshevik influences were conspicuous, and the establishment of a Soviet system of government was the avowed aim. When to these we add the fact that the Bolshevik leaders were long ago known to have ordered revolutionary propaganda in every accessible country, and to have appropriated for that purpose vast sums taken from the Russian national treasury, the connection between Soviet Russia and the coal strike does not seem altogether remote.

The result of the election in New Jersey is to be attributed chiefly to the liquor question—or the prohibition question, whichever way you please to put it. There is probably no State in the Union in which that question lies closer to the heart of the people or is more influential than in the President's Own (by adoption); and from the very beginning of the campaign it was pushed to the forefront. The Democrats put forward a candidate on a platform of practical defiance of the Prohibition Amendment, and gave it to be understood that if he were elected the region between the Hudson and the Delaware would become and would remain an oasis of what Bret Harte called "liquescent and bibulous" refreshment in the midst of a continent of aridity; and it is quite believable that thousands of thirsty voters credited the ambrosial promise. There were probably other thousands who did not believe any such impossible stuff, but who cast votes as a protest against a fool law which makes it more difficult to give a fainting man a few drops of brandy than for the proverbial camel to pass through the eye of a needle. On the other hand the Republicans undoubtedly lost many votes through a certain pussyfooting manoeuvre. Instead of meeting the Democratic challenge squarely by nominating the present Acting-Governor as a straight champion of Prohibition, they turned him down in favor of an accomplished political gentleman whose first inclination seemed to be to dodge the issue, and who, when dodging seemed to be of no avail, contented himself with declaring the question to be a closed chapter which must be accepted as it stood. Now that was true enough, but it was not exactly an inspiring observation to make. The aggressive campaigner wins votes, even if he is wrong, over the hesitant and temporizing one, even though he is right.

It was worth while to have the election result as it did, for the sake of next year's fun. Will the Democratic Gov-

ernor try to "make good" by making and keeping New Jersey a "wide open" State? If he doesn't, there will be a terrible row raised by The Faithful, all the way from the stone fences at Sussex to the cabarets of Atlantic City. But if he does, it will be up to the Federal Government to enforce the Federal law which is to make effective the Amendment to the Federal Constitution. And then it will be worth going to Hoboken to see the President, in his own State, turning down a Governor of his own party, whose election was one of the few crumbs of comfort which he received from the generally uncomfortable or discomfiting elections of November, 1919.

The giving of another ten millions by Mr. Rockefeller for medical research inevitably suggests speculation upon the possible influence of vast wealth in education, and upon the tremendous responsibility which such benefactors as he incur in making such gifts. There is of course no thought of suspecting Mr. Rockefeller of any ulterior motives. He is doubtless moved by a purely philanthropical desire to advance the welfare of his fellow men. But it is obvious that such endowments, made by a man of less generous and catholic ideals, might actually become a source of menace. Vast wealth could be made as surely potent in education as in business, and could be made the means of propagating certain fads or doctrines which might not be for the advancement of truth or for the benefit of the race. Thus through extensive endowments of colleges and chairs, and practical subsidising of faculties, such fads as anti-vaccination, or anti-classics, or anti-vivisection, or prohibition, might be imposed upon the state and nation. It is a most momentous thing, to exercise the influence of great wealth upon the minds, the information, the education, of the people. Of course this consideration is not by any means to discourage the making of such gifts. But it may well emphasize the need of the greatest possible circumspection in their administration.

"Clemenceau at Strasbourg!" The phrase does more than to suggest one of the world's great dramatic scenes. It embodies a half century's history of a great nation. That sense of fitness which is characteristic of France in a higher degree, perhaps, than of any other nation in the world, could have devised nothing more appropriate than that the old "Tiger" should begin his last great political battle in that city which for more than a generation had typified the national bereavement of France, and which under his heroic administration had been redeemed and made to typify that nation's exceeding great joy. Nor was the theme unworthy of the occasion. The order of the day which Georges Clemenceau there gave to France, "Work!" is above all the most important and the most profitable that can be given to and be obeyed by the whole world.

It is difficult to conceive a single convincing reason why the United States should take charge of the plebiscite in

any of the four disputed territories on the borders of Poland, while the reasons why it should not do so are plentiful. We are not interested in Allenstein, or Teschen, or Marienwerder, or Upper Silesia; at least not to the extent of being ready to send an army thither to superintend the self-determination of one of them as to whether it shall belong to Poland or to Czecho-Slavia, or even to Germany. So far as we have any interest in the matter, we are perfectly willing to entrust the safeguarding of it to any of the Allied Powers. Nor can we admit that we should be shirking duty in declining to undertake the job. When the big job presented itself, of checking and crushing the Hunnish assault upon civilization, the United States was no slacker. It gave itself to the task at such cost as history had not before recorded. In similar circumstances, it would do the same again. But because it thus took up the burden of humanity in a matter which concerned all humanity, is no reason why it should be dragged into every little detail of settlement that is of only local importance. We shall not ask Europe to help us settle local controversies on this Continent. We should not be asked to help Europe settle local controversies over there.

One of the most marked effects of war-time Prohibition, and of prospective Constitutional Prohibition, has been enormously to increase the sale of American liquors to foreign countries. Thus in the first eight months of this year our exports were nineteen times as great as our imports, while in 1914 our imports were five times as great as our exports. It is wrong for us to drink liquors ourselves, but—despite the Biblical anathema against him who putteth the bottle to his neighbor's lips—it is all right for us to sell them to others. There was a fashionable young lady who was converted by Billy Sunday, and who thereafter wore none of the rich jewelry which had been her pride. "I realized," she said, "that those worldly trinkets were dragging me down to hell." "Yes? And what did you do with them?" "I gave them to my sister."

In Russia the Soviet statesmen purpose to abolish Christian names as a relic of reaction, and to designate children by numbers as First Ivanoff, Second Ivanoff, and so on. Not to be outdone, in America it is proposed that all physicians who want to prescribe alcoholic medicines shall be put under bonds and specially licensed, and be designated by numbers: "No. 13, two gallons of whiskey. No. 23, one quart of brandy." And so on. Nip and tuck between the two.

Former policemen who deserted their duty and turned a city over to thugs do not seem to make good election canvassers among the orderly citizens of the city which they betrayed.

Richard H. Long also ran.

A Precious Bolshevik

ON July 31 the Senate adopted a resolution calling upon the War Department for a report covering the case of Robert A. Minor, an American arrested in Paris on June 8th, charged with attempting to spread sedition in the American Army of Occupation and subsequently released without trial. No reply was received from the Department, and the Senate on October 10 passed a second resolution covering the same subject.

A few days ago Secretary Baker transmitted a reply to the Senate, stating that the original answer had gone astray in the mails, a circumstance not surprising.

From Secretary Baker's letter it appears that the Military Intelligence made painstaking efforts to apprehend persons responsible for spreading Bolshevik doctrines among our troops. Finally Sergeant Siegfried, a trusted officer of intelligence, was sent to Düsseldorf camouflaged as a deserter from the American army. There he met and insinuated himself into the confidence of Minor and his associate, an Englishman named Price, who were directing the activities of the Spartacans, the German Bolsheviks.

We quote from Secretary Baker's letter:

"Minor stated that he was a cartoonist by profession, formerly on the staff of the *New York Call*, and that in 1915 and 1916 he had made himself conspicuous through his writings about Russia and other European countries, and in 1917 participated in a publicity campaign in favor of Thomas Mooney, and took part, in San Francisco, in organizing anti-draft demonstrations.

"At another meeting Minor and Price stated that they had been working together in Russia, printing an English newspaper for the Bolshevik cause, which they had distributed among the British and American troops by aviators.

"At a later meeting in the office of Seidel, a Spartacist leader, Minor volunteered, at the request of Meta Filip, a woman at the head of the propaganda work, to prepare a pamphlet for distribution.

"At the next meeting he presented a typewritten document dealing with these questions, which was read by informant and then given to Meta Filip, who had it printed. Later informant was given about 6,000 copies for distribution among American troops. This pamphlet was entitled *Why American soldiers are in Europe*. Minor warned informant to be very careful, as the American Army might have intelligence men in Düsseldorf."

Of course Sergeant Siegfried delivered the evidence to his superiors at Coblenz, and a *prima facie* case was made against Minor, but as he was in unoccupied German territory the Military Intelligence could not lay its hands on him.

The Spartacist movement flickered out, and Minor made his way to Paris, where the Syndicalists were busy trying to wreck what the Germans had left of the French transportation system. He was arrested while assisting Lorient in directing the strikers. He was taken to Coblenz under guard, and a court was convened on July 20 to try him on charges which were briefly summarized as follows:

1. As an American and a private citizen he engaged in a campaign of propaganda of and for the purpose of weakening the military power and force of the United States Army and the armies of the Allies, and prepared documents with the object of weakening the morale and fighting efficiency of said forces.

2. At Düsseldorf, Germany, in February, 1919, he composed a certain document and caused 60,000 copies thereof, in the form of a handbill, to be printed and turned over to a member of the Army of the United States for distribution among the soldiers of said army then within the territory of the German Empire.

The trial was about to start when a telegram was received from Paris ordering a postponement pending the arrival of the Judge Advocate of the Expeditionary Forces. No one at Coblenz had the slightest intimation that Paris Headquarters was interested in the case. It was a most unusual procedure. Officers of the Military Intelligence who worked the case up were as greatly surprised as officers of the Judge Advocate General's Department, who expected a speedy verdict.

On July 28 the Judge Advocate General completed his report. We quote it in part:

"The case against Minor at present amounts to this: He is charged with as serious an offense as a man can commit, but there is only one witness against him—Siegfried. I thoroughly believe Minor to be guilty, but if I were sitting on a court I would not vote guilty on the evidence now available—the testimony of one man only, and that man acting in the character of a detective and informer. If testimony were substantially corroborated by other witnesses, I believe a conviction would be justified. An offense that is so serious should, in order to justify conviction by a court and approval by the confirming and reviewing authority, be supported by the strongest proof, and since this is a case in which a dangerous element in the United States has the greatest interest, it had better not be tried at all unless there is proof which fully warrants conviction. An acquittal, a disapproved conviction, or an approved conviction on anything short of conclusive evidence would be injurious to the cause of good government. It should be known within a week or 10 days at the furthest, I think, whether substantial corroboration of Siegfried's testimony can be had, and if it can, I think Minor should be tried. If corroboration can not be had, I think it would be better to dismiss the case."

If we had not seen this official record we would not have believed that a legal officer of the American Army had so far forgotten his oath of office as to temper a report of this sort by considering the effect that the outcome of a trial might have on the elements of disorder in America. We did not suppose that military justice in the army was based upon a tender regard for the Bolsheviks, Syndicalists, I. W. W.s and other organized enemies of good government.

Passing over this aspect of the case for the present, it is apparent that the Judge Advocate General was satisfied of Minor's guilt, and suggested that a time limit be placed on the investigation. Just why he decided that from seven to ten days should be allowed to gather the proof is a matter for interesting speculation.

The facts are that on the *seventh day* Minor was released, and that on the eighth day the proof was available. We quote again from Mr. Baker's letter:

"Shortly after Minor was released important additional information was obtained as to his connection with the propaganda pamphlet in question. The day following his release Meta Filip entered the English occupied zone en route to Coblenz to testify as to Minor's authorship of this pamphlet. In addition to this, an intelligence agent, sent to Düsseldorf from Coblenz, was told by the head of the concern who actually printed these pamphlets, that Robert Minor was the man who brought the copy to him, obtained estimates for the printing of same, and who actually directed they be printed. This information was corroborated by another German in the office of the printing establishment. In the month of March an intelligence agent who was stationed in Berlin and was supposed to be a Spartacist was told by Robert Minor that the time was ripe for the spreading of Spartacist propaganda among the American troops of occupation."

Is it conceivable that the officers of the Military Intelligence did not inform the Judge Advocate General that the proof was being brought to Coblenz—the very corroborative evidence that he required—and that it was momentarily expected? Assuming that the Judge Advocate General was ignorant of these facts, why was Minor not re-arrested in Paris?

That there was a miscarriage of justice in this case is manifest even from Secretary Baker's letter to the Senate. The miscarriage was either the result of neglect of duty on the part of the Judge Advocate General, or else of a deliberate conspiracy on the part of someone to save this traitor from the firing squad.

In his report of the case, Secretary Baker neglects to give us an account of the activities of Minor's father, a Texas politician. He was extremely active in his son's behalf. It would be very interesting to know with whom he communicated in Washington and in Paris. Maybe Mr. Baker knows. Maybe he does not. Maybe our Judge Advocate General's office is run by fools, and there was no conspiracy at all.

But we do not believe anything of the sort. We believe that this affair is one of the most disgraceful episodes of the war.

The Baker report is an insult to the intelligence of the Senate and we sincerely trust that body will insist upon the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth. Either the Judge Advocate General should be tried for inefficiency or should be compelled to place the responsibility where it belongs.

But let it be thoroughly understood that a written record will never establish a conspiracy, if such there was—any more than it did in the case of the shameful and illegal exemption of Edsel Ford.

If I should be a candidate over again, I would not change my platform, because I still believe in it.—*Richard H. Long, late Soviet candidate for Governor of Massachusetts.*

Though thou shouldest bray a fool in a mortar among wheat with a pestle, yet will not his foolishness depart from him.—*Proverbs of Solomon: xxvii, 22.*

Post-Creeling

WITH the change of a word we may apply to Creel the words of Malcolm on Cawdor. Nothing in his work became him like the leaving it. Though we shall have to make the application in a reversed sense. Cawdor's end redeemed his career. Creel's exit confirmed his condemnation.

Creel and his Committee cost the Government—that is, the people of the United States—about \$6,600,000; and would have been dear at a tithe of the price. That was what they cost. What they actually spent is another matter. For according to the official investigator, appointed to settle up the affairs of the precious concern, Creel and the other officers of the Committee were grossly negligent in handling the funds entrusted to them. They issued hundreds of checks for individual expenses far in excess of the limit prescribed by Congress. (Why, indeed, should Creel have paid any attention to the enactments of that body, whose mind he likens unto a slum?) They approved for payment accounts which this official investigator—practically a receiver—declines for good reason to pay. They left hundreds of thousands of dollars of unpaid bills, some of them months old. They also left tens of thousands of dollars in checks and money orders which they never attempted to cash, but simply tossed into file cases or threw on the floor as scraps of paper.

And after that wild orgy of mismanagement and waste, they simply dropped things and got out. And now it will take many months of hard work to straighten out the muddle and finish up the job. Which is why we say that nothing in all the operations of the Committee on Misinformation was quite so becoming, so characteristic, so entirely what was to be expected, as its ultimate débâcle.

Nevertheless, let it be written down for everlasting remembrance that the Committee "elaborated" Admiral Gleave's report, and that Creel himself was at all times ready to "coördinate" himself with that Congress whose mind he compared with a slum.

Boosting Our Rivals

IT'S an ill wind that blows nobody good. Our semi-paralytic industrial condition, owing to the patriotic efforts of our William Z. Fosters and other strike promoters, is being endured with much fortitude by our trade competitors in Great Britain. A great commercial opportunity was open to us but for this domestic handicap. We were better equipped than any other nation in the world to enter and establish a firm footing in foreign markets. English and French commerce is slowly waking up, to be sure. It is getting on its feet again as rapidly as possible in view of the terrible chaos to which the entire business mechanism was reduced and the vast deficiencies in materials of all

kinds. Things are brightening industrially in these countries and even in Germany. But they are all still a long way behind us in merchantable supplies and in equipment for aggressive commercial competition. Now was our time to get far into the field and firmly establish ourselves before those who are going to be our sharpest rivals, particularly Great Britain, could catch up with even the rear of our procession.

This situation was keenly felt in England, where more than anywhere else there is a lively appreciation of the impending struggle with us for supremacy, or at least a neck-and-neck equality, in the great markets of the world. England had been hit by the war so much harder than we, that she felt anything but competent of getting ahead of us, or even keeping up with us. Where it looked dark for our English friends it looked rosy enough for us. We seemed to be in line to have things very largely our own way in the beginning, at least, of the industrial and commercial contest.

But our labor agitators have changed all that. The one thing that could put a spoke in our wheel was labor trouble, and the agitators, with their I. W. W. anarchist supporters, have supplied the trouble. Strikes pending and impending have loomed up all around the horizon. Contracts and agreements in every line of industrial activity imaginable were joyfully torn up by labor union "seceders" until the air was as thick with the torn up scraps of paper as leaves in Vallombrosa. Our rapidly rising fabric of business activity, vigorous prosperity and equipment to lead in the competitive world commerce struggle has been shaken to the foundations, and we are left with a cheerless prospect of confusion and contention indefinitely prolonged.

So now we read in the London dispatches that our English competitors are beginning to cheer up a bit. Normal trade conditions are commencing to obtain in England, and, if our abnormal status can only be kept up by labor agitators until the threatened trade paralysis actually sets in, our alert English competitors begin to see visions of getting into the race with a long lead ahead of us.

The Pulpit Demagogue

WHEN a brilliant man, a public speaker with a flowing gift of words which, properly directed, might move men's minds to betterment of themselves and their fellow citizens—when such a man loses public confidence in his judgment and freedom from that vanity which is satisfied with mere unthinking applause, it is a great misfortune, not merely to the person himself, but to the entire community. Above all is it a misfortune when the person so misguided speaks from the pulpit, with all that that implies of a semi-sacredness, to the minds of many, in the words he utters.

"Nothing," said Rabbi Samuel Schulman, speaking from the pulpit of Temple Beth El, "is more despicable than the

demagogue in the pulpit." Which is precisely the sentiment the WEEKLY took the liberty of expressing on the occasion of Rabbi Wise's reckless and unsubstantiated assertions with reference to the steel strike. With this same Rabbi Wise very obviously the object of his criticism, Rabbi Schulman in scathing terms denounced the course of his fellow clergyman. Among other pungent things, he said:

If the rabbi is to be a judge he certainly cannot be a special pleader. If he is to be a real watchman for the nation, if he is to retain the respect in critical times of men he is to lead, he cannot make himself the mouthpiece of contending hosts. In plain words, if he wishes men to trust him and to look up to him as the teacher of right, he cannot at the same time enjoy the pleasure of the applause which is the daily bread and meat and drink of the popular demagogue.

This, of course, is aimed directly at Rabbi Wise, and it is only exact to say that the staggering blow fairly hits the mark. Rabbi Wise, from his forum in the Free Synagogue had it within his power to be a vigorous conservative and constructive force in these deplorable days when feverish unrest and irrational impulse expose the ignorant, however fundamentally well-meaning, to the most mischievous influences of the conscienceless demagogue. Instead of availing himself of this opportunity, this ill-advised pulpit orator joined in that very demagogue clamor which all good citizens had a right to expect that he, and all those speaking under so grave a responsibility as is his and theirs in these critical times, would be the first to denounce.

Whatever influence Rabbi Wise may heretofore have had with those who represent what is best and sanest in the community is now gone—hopelessly gone. Those who retain faith in his sincerity will have lost all semblance of faith in his judgment. The terrible indictment against him which his fellow Rabbi, Dr. Schulman, thundered from the pulpit of Temple Beth El, will have the hearty endorsement of all fair-minded, clear-thinking men and women among his fellow citizens.

As we said at the outset, this is more than a misfortune merely personal to Rabbi Wise. It is a misfortune to the entire community when a person with his opportunities and gifts turns both over to swell the forces of social disintegration now looming so ominously all around the horizon.

Glib liars, those Huns are. Admiral von Reuter pretends to try to justify the treacherous sinking of the German ships at Scapa Flow on the ground that he was "obliged to assume that war had again broken out" because the British press had announced rejection of the German counter proposals to the peace treaty. And as he "acted in the conviction that it was war," he demands that he and his subordinates shall be treated in accordance with the rules of war. Of course the world knows, and he knows that the world knows, that he is lying, and that in fact he sank the ships not because he thought war had started again but because he knew that peace was assured. His act was a characteristic piece of Teutonic spite, for which it is gratifying to know that he and his fellows will be made to pay full price.

Letters From Our Readers

THE RECORD OF THE 317TH ENGINEERS

SIR,—Referring to your article in HARVEY'S WEEKLY for November 1, entitled "The Negro Soldier," I feel that a little further statement on this subject is necessary as a matter of justice to one of the units of the 92nd Division which did not fail to carry out with credit every task assigned to it. After recounting the failure of the 368th Infantry in the Fourth French Army in the Argonne-Meuse operations, you state that: "Following this disgrace, the division was withdrawn from the Argonne and assigned to a quiet sector on the Moselle, where it remained until after the armistice was signed." The 317th Engineers, which was the sapper engineer regiment of the 92nd Division, was officered by experienced white engineer officers, the field officers being selected specially from the available engineer officers for duty with this regiment, and most of the company officers, who were also white engineer officers, had seen service at the front during the great German onslaught in the Spring of 1918, having been with the British, Canadians and Australians along the Ypres, Arras, Amiens front during some of the heaviest fighting, while others had been with the Engineers regiments of our own divisions at Belleau Woods, Bouresches, Vaux, and other places between Montdidier and Chateau Thierry. Under these white engineer officers, the 317th Engineers went into the line in the Vosges Mountains two days in advance of the 92nd Division, and during the succeeding period of more than a month in the line, including the organization of captured ground in the Frapelle salient, acquitted themselves with great credit, earning special commendation from the 33rd French Corps. The regiment moved to the Argonne with the 92nd Division, coming out of the line without a day's rest, and on reaching the Argonne, the 317th Engineers passed from the 92nd Division to the 1st Army Corps, and without a single hour's rest moved into position on the night of September 25, 1918, to take part in the attack of the First American and Fourth French Armies on the following morning.

This regiment took the part assigned to it in the attack of September 26, and for the succeeding forty-seven days there was no cessation in its work, either day or night. The first day's rest that the regiment had after August 19, 1918, was on November 12, 1918, the day after the armistice went into effect. This regiment did not accompany the 92nd Division when it was sent to the Pont a Nousson sector, but, as stated above, remained in the Argonne, where it acquitted itself with a great deal of credit. The men of the regiment had the utmost faith in their officers, and did not hesitate to follow their officers wherever they went. There are numerous graves in France in which are buried both officers and men of the regiment who made the supreme sacrifice in the line of duty without fear or favor, and I trust that you will publish this statement out of justice to them.

J. EDWARD CASSIDY,
(Lieut. Colonel of Engineers,
Formerly C. O. 317th Engineers.)

War Department, Office of the Chief of Engineers, Washington.

JUSTICE AND THE COLORED MAN

SIR,—I am taking the liberty of addressing you, to express my very high appreciation of your forceful editorial in the issue of HARVEY'S WEEKLY of October 11th, entitled "An Old Race-War Warning." It is not only timely, but I am sure it must do great good. Not only as an American citizen, interested in the welfare of the whole country, but also as a colored American, I wish to thank you, and to beg of you to continue to throw the weight of your great influence in helping to ease the burdens that are pressing so heavily upon the colored people in this country because of race prejudice. All they ask is that they be permitted to enjoy the same rights that are enjoyed by other American citizens. They do not ask to be treated differently from other citizens of the Republic. They ask no special legislation in their behalf, only that they may enjoy untrammelled the common rights that inhere in citizenship. They have always been loyal to the country; they have never hesitated to make any sacrifice, however great, for the country whenever they have been called upon. No class of citizens responded more readily to the call of the Government in meeting the German peril across the sea. If they were slackers, or if the service rendered by them was grudgingly given, it might be different. But such is not the case.

And here I am reminded of some words uttered by Secretary Franklin K. Lane some time ago in a speech which I had the pleasure of hearing him deliver. He said:

"No men in this Nation have a better right to claim eminence in that great virtue of loyalty than you have, as you have proved when you have been tried. I reckon no higher proof of loyalty was ever

given by your fathers in the days of slavery, when into their hands was entrusted the care of the property of those men who were fighting against their freedom. And no greater courage and no greater loyalty have ever been shown by any of the troops of the United States than was shown in Cuba when you had the chance, and but a year ago at Carrizal, in Mexico. You have the courage. Your courage no one questions, and, in these days when we who have to deal with large affairs of state are counting up the assets of this country and asking ourselves, and asking each other, who is there that can be counted upon; who is there that is sure; who is there whose loyalty to that flag is unquestioned, no matter what comes, we know the Negro can be counted upon. No man has any reason to say that the colored man in the United States is not, first of all, a loyal American."

Again I thank you, and pray for your continued interest in seeing that justice is done the colored man.

Washington, D. C.

FRANCIS J. GRIMKE.

A FEW WORDS WITH ROBERT LANSING

SIR,—If Doctor Robert Lansing cares for the good opinion of the American people, or for his name in the history of our country, he will separate himself from Wilson's disintegrating cabinet without delay. He holds a great office, next to that of president. It has been filled with honor and distinction by Alexander Hamilton, John Marshall, James Madison, James Monroe, John Quincy Adams, Henry Clay, Martin Van Buren, Daniel Webster, William L. Marcy, William H. Seward, William M. Evarts, John W. Foster, James G. Blaine, John Hay and Elihu Root. Is Doctor Lansing willing to send his name down to posterity as the messenger boy of Woodrow Wilson, the most selfish egotist this country has ever known?

Is he satisfied to be a simple rubber stamp? Is he satisfied to be known as the servant of a president who has persistently ignored and belittled him?

How does Doctor Lansing reconcile his action in signing the wonderful peace treaty with his declaration to Bullitt that if the American people knew what the treaty contained, they would repudiate it? How does he reconcile his address at Boston in favor of nationalism with his address at Watertown advocating the immediate ratification of the treaty? What would his distinguished father-in-law, Secretary Foster, think of his consistency?

And now we read that the President's cabinet meets at the call of Mr. Lansing and that he presides over the deliberations. Will he tell us by what authority he acts in presiding at a cabinet meeting? The Constitution of the United States provides (Article 2, Section 1, Paragraph 5), as follows:

"In case of the removal of the President from office, or of his death, resignation or inability to discharge the powers and duties of the said office, the same shall devolve on the Vice-President."

Is Doctor Lansing Vice-President as well as Secretary of State? By the way, who is Vice-President, anyway? Verily, these are days of strange doings!

Albany, N. Y.

CHARLES R. SKINNER.

VOTES IN THE LEAGUE

SIR,—Senator McCumber believes that the votes of the English colonies do not count, as the assembly of the League is merely a debating society. Then it follows that all the other nations in the assembly have worthless votes, and we have, according to Senator McCumber's logic, a League in which only nine nations have votes with power back of them, and the other seventeen nations have been buncoed, because they have been taken into a co-operative scheme in which they are not permitted to co-operate—which is certainly an unfair and unjust proposition.

By the Senator's arguments the League is a voting trust where nine nations have good votes and 17 nations have worthless votes. Neutral nations like Holland and Sweden have debating society privileges only, with worthless votes, while other neutrals, like Spain and Greece, have real votes and the privilege of regulating affairs. How can such a League be fair when seventeen nations in it are not permitted to have any real voting power, and nine nations alone are able to vote, according to Senator McCumber? General Smuts drew up the covenant, and we are asked to believe that this shrewd statesman deliberately arranged to have his country, South Africa, represented by a worthless vote. Is it likely that he would be so unfaithful to his people as to palm off on them a vote that he knew was useless? Is it not more logical to believe that when General Smuts was devising the voting power, he made absolutely certain that his country would get a perfectly good vote?

Brooklyn.

J. F. CULLEN.

Letters From Our Readers

THE "WEEKLY" IN ITALY

SIR,—May I call to your special attention the Italo-American Association and the Library for American Studies?

The importance of this new organization for the friendship, both economic and political, of the two countries, is very great, and particularly important will be the "Library for American Studies," which more than anything else will bring into Italy American literature, American ideals, and a clear knowledge of American activities in all departments of our national life. At present there is in Rome no American library, representing in any adequate way our arts, industries and national achievements.

The need of such an institution is now recognized by the Italian Government, and Sig. Nitti, the Prime Minister, has promised us his strongest support.

A number of standard American books have already been procured; other publications have been promised, and in a few weeks the admirable rooms in the Palazzo Salviati, where the Library is being installed, will be opened to the Italian students of American life and literature.

As you will see by the memorandum, we are striving to establish a Library of 25,000 volumes, and to this end we are seeking active subscriptions to the maintenance fund, and, as well, contributions of books, magazines and daily newspapers.

I have been requested to ask you if you would be willing to send for the benefit of the Library your publication, HARVEY'S WEEKLY. We feel that this publication would be particularly valuable in conveying to the Italian student of American life a most useful idea of our modern questions.

The address of this Association is Palazzo Salviati, Corso Umberto Primo, Rome, Italy.

VANCE THOMPSON.
(Attaché of Embassy)

Embassy of the United States
of America, Rome.

MIRACULOUS INDEED!

SIR,—Our distinguished Postmaster General recently characterized the work of his department, with quaint native modesty, as "miraculous." The distinguished Postmaster General was born in Texas, and perhaps, for that reason, his interesting statement has been received with unseemly ridicule; but evidence has come to me today to prove the truth of his claim. It may startle you to know that I am in receipt of a letter, bearing the postmark "Anderson, Ind.," October 19, which reached me yesterday, October 17, although it was mailed in far away Anderson, tomorrow. This is certainly wonderful, and should entitle the statement made by the Postmaster General (who comes from Texas) to the widest publicity. Texas is a great State, and sometimes I wonder how they get along down there without the Postmaster General. I am sending the original of my remarkable letter to the Postmaster of New York City, that it may be forwarded to Washington and retained among the treasured archives of our Government.

ERNEST HURST.

New York City.

SACO WAKES UP

SIR,—About two weeks ago I penetrated a wild and seldom visited area of this noble country which I found, after all, to be on the map and known as Maine. The uncultured character of the community which harbored me for a day is best shown by the fact that a typical old school Yankee lawyer in the town of Saco was forced to admit to me that he had never heard of HARVEY'S WEEKLY, with the articles from which I aroused his interest and wonder, and subsequently did him the kindness to send him two copies. He has acknowledged them in the enclosed letter, which is as pleasing to me as it will be satisfactory to you.

Springfield, Mass.

ROBERT S. FOLSOM.

[ENCLOSURE]

Robert S. Folsom, Esq.,
Third National Bank Bldg.,
Springfield, Mass.

SIR,—I thank you for the courtesy you have shown in mailing me two copies of HARVEY'S WEEKLY. I have concluded to subscribe for the publication. If more editors would square up to the present situation and plainly size up the present Administration in the light of its actions during the past five years, it would produce a strong and healthy sentiment for the United States, as against the proposed super-nation of the world. The flag of the United

States is good enough for the people. We do not want a flag of any super-nation, Kaiser or otherwise.

Saco, Maine.

JAMES O. BRADBURY.

"AUTO OTTO," ETC.

SIR,—In your constant attacks on the Administration during the war, your political animus was cloaked under the guise of patriotism.

Since your recent effort to besmirch Mr. Lansing, your alleged friend of long standing, what has "Auto Otto" got to say about the views of Mr. Herbert C. Hoover on the Peace Treaty?

No doubt, if you have the courage to mention it at all, you will charge Mr. Hoover with Presidential aspirations.

HUNTER McDONALD.

Nashville, Tenn.

["Auto Otto" is unknown to us. It is no draft upon "courage" to suggest that Mr. Hoover may be a candidate. We expect he will be.—EDITOR.]

FROM A MINNESOTA JUDGE

SIR,—I do not want to miss any issue of HARVEY'S WEEKLY. I only wish it could reach every voter in the United States.

The League Covenant should be rejected, and the United States remain independent.

The labor unions must be brought under the anti-trust law, the same as capital.

The Adamson law should be repealed.

Farm tenants are selling their stock and machinery and going to work on salary because wages are so high they can make more money that way, and if things continue as they now are for two years, 1,000 acres of agricultural lands will be left untilled.

Success to HARVEY'S WEEKLY!

L. S. NELSON,
Thirteenth Judicial District.

Worthington, Minnesota.

RIGHT FOR ONCE!

SIR,—You are wrong in most of your contentions, but there is one topic on which your stand is correct: that is, Americanism. Your steadfastness in advocating adherence to the Constitution is very gratifying in this day of Radicalism and General Devilishness. If you could be nominated for the Presidency I would gladly vote for you, because I believe that you would get a few laws passed, such as "Work or go to jail" and "Be American or be deported," even though you are a little shy of the higher and more general ideals embraced in the League of Nations.

Keep it up. We who do not agree with everything you say can forgive your errors in view of the good work you are doing in spreading the gospel of Americanism.

Germantown, Pa.

A. F. SHAUGHNESSY.

"PRICELESS"

SIR,—The service which your courageous and informing publication has rendered and is rendering the America of our forefathers is priceless. It cannot be other than your patriotic example that has inspired the enclosed editorial clipped this morning from our conservative Philadelphia *Ledger*. Does not our Mexican policy—if such a term be proper—demand the immediate and enlightened consideration of the American people?

WALTER L. SHEPPARD.

Philadelphia.

WHO AMONG US?

SIR,—I very much commend your editorial headed, "Produce the Proofs." But is it not entirely natural for many to follow the lead of our President? Who among us is more responsible for the present riots of madmen and fools than he who is officially at the head of this nation?

Providence, R. I.

A. W. QUIGG.

CLEVELAND AND W. W.

SIR,—Did the late Grover Cleveland say, while a trustee of Princeton, that President Woodrow Wilson was the most intellectually dishonest person he had ever known?

Your WEEKLY is dandy. I am forwarding my copy to France each week.

H. S. MOORE.

San Francisco.

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Thank God and Take Courage

ARTICLE X. of the League Covenant, as adopted as part of the Versailles Treaty, reads:

The members of the League undertake to respect and preserve as against external aggression the territorial integrity and existing political independence of all members of the League. In case of any such aggression or in case of any threat or danger of such aggression the Council shall advise upon the means by which this obligation shall be fulfilled.

The reservation as adopted by the Senate on November 13 reads:

The United States assumes no obligation to preserve the territorial integrity or political independence of any other country or to interfere in controversies between nations—whether members of the League or not—under the provisions of Article X., or to employ the military or naval forces of the United States under any article of the treaty for any purpose, unless in any particular case the Congress, which, under the Constitution, has the sole power to declare war or authorize the employment of the military or naval forces of the United States, shall by act or joint resolution so provide.

There you have it, Hosea Biglow, "plain and flat." The cowards of the Senate of the United States refused to be cowed,—54 of them out of 95, a clear majority of thirteen.

Now what? It is up to the President, of course, and happily the President is now able to sit up and take notice. What will he do? Where does he stand today? Nobody knows.

Nobody assumes to know. Senator Hitchcock looks wise but talks foolish; Secretary Lansing, committer of the unpardonable sin of telling the truth, is out of favor and out of counsel, common or uncommon; Colonelouse seems to have disappeared from off the face of the earth; and Mr. Tumulty merely breathes. Present indications are wholly lacking. Like Patrick Henry, we have only the past as a guide for the future; but the past at least, as the godlike Daniel used to remark, is secure; so let us speculate accordingly.

One fact is certain. We know where President Wilson stood two months ago. Speaking in Cheyenne on September 24, he read the identical reservation adopted by the Senate and pronounced it "unworthy and ridiculous." He added:

"It means the rejection of the Treaty, my fellow countrymen, nothing less."

Having thus defined with rare explicitness what he should regard as "rejection of the Treaty," on the following day, speaking in Denver, he declared firmly:

"When the Senate has acted, it will be for me to determine whether its action constitutes an adoption or a rejection, and I beg the gentlemen who are responsible for the action of the United States Senate to make it perfectly clear whether it is an adoption or a rejection."

It was a brave challenge. As such, it has been squarely met. The "gentlemen responsible"—54 to 41—have made it "perfectly clear" that under the President's definite and unmistakable ruling it is "a rejection."

Logically it would remain for him only to declare the fact. Will he do it?

NO! Of course he won't. He will take what he can get. God helping him, as the war-classic runs, he can do no other.

For the *volte-face* which he is bound to make he has to our mind ample justification. Conditions have changed. When he issued his challenge, Mr. Wilson honestly believed that the country was with him. His personal sycophants had deceived him and his goo-goo Press, headed by the *New York Times* and the *Springfield Republican*, themselves beguiled by preposterous conceit, secured him in his delusion. No wonder he thought he knew it all. And he did think so. He was willing to bet on it. Listen to this from the Cheyenne speech:

I do not have to conjecture what the judgments of America are going to be about a great question like this. I know beforehand, and I am only sorry for the men who do not know. If I did not know the law of custom and of honor against betting on a certainty, I would like to bet with them. But it would not be fair; I would be taking advantage of them.

While acknowledging, as of course we ought to recognize, in passing, the literary charm of this striking example of delightfully smug superciliousness, events have clearly demonstrated that when things got down to brass tacks Mr. Wilson's judgment was defective. He knows that, of course, and will act, we have no doubt, with the courage which spurns consistency and the prudence which, according to shrewd old Machiavelli, so well becomes a wise Prince.

So let us thank God and take courage!

With that exquisite courtesy that always characterizes the opponents of the peace treaty, HARVEY'S WEEKLY declares that "The *World* knew it was lying" when it said that the Massachusetts Republicans "paid their respects to Senator Lodge and his bushwhackers by demanding the prompt ratification of the treaty of peace without amendment." We are well aware that in the opinion of Lodge's wrecking crew everybody who favors the ratification of the treaty of peace and the covenant of the League of Nations, including the President of the United States, is *ipso facto* a liar; but if HARVEY'S WEEKLY wishes to know just what happened to Mr. Dooley's old friend, Hinnery Cabin Lodge, in Massachusetts, we suggest that it consult the Hon. W. Murray Crane.—*The World*.

EXCEPTION! if the Court please. We never called the *World* a liar, *ipso facto* or otherwise. It is not. Candor compels the proud and happy admission that no public journal is more scrupulous. It was the very rarity of its lapse in the instance noted that chained our attention. Our only regret is to be found in the painful hesitation of Mr. Cobb in setting up even a characteristic *ipse dixit* in

denial. Why he should go out of his way to recall the shocking derelictions of the President in knowingly misstating the facts respecting Japan's agreement with the Allied Powers we are at a complete loss to understand. Some things are better forgotten.

Incidentally, nothing very discomfiting seems to be happening to Hinnery Cabin just at the moment.

Dealing With Rebellion

LAW and order have won out. Confronted with the immediate menace of one of the greatest industrial, economical and social crises in our history, the President splendidly rose to the full height of the emergency. Nothing could have been better than his unequivocal condemnation of the coal strike as both illegal and immoral, and his declaration of an inflexible determination to meet it with the full power of the National Government.

The prompt and resolute action of the Department of Justice transmuted the President's words into deeds. The injunction which was obtained had its propriety and its value quickly and clearly demonstrated in the howls of wrath and pain with which it was greeted by the potential law-breakers, and the Government's refusal so much as to consider withdrawal of it was as discouraging to the strikers as it was heartening to the nation. Finally came the appropriate complement to administrative action in the dictum of Judge A. B. Anderson, of the United States District Court at Indianapolis. He transformed a mere restraining order into a temporary injunction, and peremptorily ordered the strike leaders not merely to quit fomenting the strike but to call it off; adding words which will be historic:

If your clients don't like it that way, I'll make them obey it. There cannot be an *imperium in imperio* in this country. The Government is supreme; even over a labor union.

We can imagine the paeans of praise with which that action and those words would have been acclaimed by "organized labor" throughout the land if they had been directed against some corporation or trust which was charged with oppressing the people or restraining trade. Then the injunction, now so raged against, would have been a heaven-ordained device for administering eternal justice. But the average American citizen reckons that what is sauce for the capitalist goose is sauce for the wage-earning gander.

And now the Government has triumphed in the yielding of the Union officials to the behest of law and order. The strike is officially cancelled.

Seldom has the course of the Government in any such crisis met with such instant, hearty and widespread approval as in this case. At the same moment that an increasing majority of the country was against the President on the League of Nations business, nine-tenths of it stood resolutely and aggressively with him in the coal strike matter. Indeed, the two attitudes, apparently contrary, were its institutions and its principles. In both cases they are identical, and had an identical inspiration. In both cases the people were standing in defence of their own country,

ready, if need be, to fight the issue out to an everlasting finish; as once before they fought rebellion.

For Judge Anderson was quite right in his *obiter dictum*, that "if this thing goes on, it is rebellion." It is not necessary for rebellion that States should secede and organize armies. It is just as much rebellion for any set of men to band themselves together to break the law, disregard the Government, and defy the courts. And that is a consideration which is to be very earnestly commended to Mr. Samuel Gompers and his associates. The American Federation of Labor did not start the coal strike, nor champion it at the outset. It did miss a great opportunity in not promptly condemning it and throwing all its great influence against it. But Mr. Gompers has been very loudly demanding the very principle for which the coal strikers affect to be contending, namely, the right of men in any occupation at any time to go on organized strike without regard to their obligations to the Government or to the welfare of the public. Speaking to the Senate committee against the admirable anti-strike provision in Mr. Cummins's railroad bill, he declared that he would violate and defy that law, if it were a law, because it would in his opinion be contrary to the Constitutional prohibition of involuntary servitude. We wonder if he realized what nonsense he was talking? But suppose, he was asked, the courts should declare it not to be in conflict with the Constitution—as of course they would. "It would not be," he replied, "the first time the people have reversed the courts of our country."

We should hope that, in the event, Mr. Gompers's acts would be more prudent than his words. For in thus setting up his labor union as the expositor of law and the interpreter of the Constitution, and as an authority on both superior to the Supreme Court of the United States, he comes unpleasantly close to incurring the reproach of rebellion which Judge Anderson casts upon contumacious coal strikers. And the President, and the Department of Justice, and the Federal Judiciary are showing in these days how they purpose to deal with rebellion.

"We Are Americans"

ON Tuesday, November 11, the President and Secretary-Treasurer of the United Mine Workers issued to the miners a notice advising them that the strike order was "withdrawn and cancelled." To this the President of the Union, Mr. John L. Lewis, added: "We will comply with the mandate of the court. We do it under protest. We are Americans. We cannot fight our Government."

That was the fruit of Judge Anderson's righteous judgment. There is no reason to suppose that without it the strike would have been revoked or Mr. Lewis would have spoken those loyal and manly words. The first thought is, therefore, of the exceeding great value of outspoken courage in dealing with public affairs. A less emphatic utterance from the bench would have had no such effect. If any-

body was inclined to think that Judge Anderson was needlessly severe, he now sees his mistake. What seemed harshness was really kindness; for it not only compelled the cancelling of the strike, but it also opened the eyes of the strike leaders to the magnitude of the wrong which they were committing.

Yet while we cannot ignore the fact that Mr. Lewis was moved under compulsion to utter those words, we are glad to give him the fullest possible credit for them, and to commend them to the careful consideration of other labor leaders; particularly to those who, like W. Z. Foster in the steel strike, think that they can fight our Government and who either directly or by implication repudiate the idea of being Americans. Between the two there is a world of difference. And there is a difference not only in theory but also in practice, to this effect: That those who take Mr. Foster's attitude put themselves out of court and bar the door against settlement of the questions at issue, while those who take Mr. Lewis's, open the door and facilitate the way to a just settlement. If all contestants in economic strife would declare themselves and really be first of all not capitalists or wage-earners, not unionists, nor internationalists, nor any such thing, but Americans, settlements would be far more prompt and easy and satisfactory than they usually are.

Four admirable examples have now been set: by the President, by the Attorney-General, by Judge Anderson, and by Mr. Lewis. It remains for them to be faithfully followed out in the making of a settlement of the controversy. It is not improbable that the men have some grievances which should be abated. Obviously they are entitled to a fair hearing and just consideration. The nation-wide condemnation of their strike was in no sense a pre-judgment of their case, or a denial of their possible need of relief. It was directed against the illegal and immoral means which they employed to gain their end. There will be, there is, equally general and emphatic approval of the employment of lawful and moral means to the same end. Indeed, there is an increasingly widespread and emphatic demand that there shall be such action taken as shall make America safe for industry, and shall free the public from the frequent menace and incessant fear of strikes which place it between the upper and nether millstones of brute force.

Complaints are made of the great numbers of persons arrested in the drag-net proceedings against the Reds and Bolsheviks, compared with the few who were held for trial. The answer is easy. Every person who associates with Revolutionists subjects himself to grave suspicion of being himself a revolutionist, and renders himself liable to arrest on that suspicion.

It was doubtless somewhat informal, not to say arbitrary, for the solid men of Johnstown, Penn., to compel Mr. W. Z. Foster to leave that city without making a speech. It was certainly insolently presumptuous for a man who is opposed to government to seek to spout his pernicious stuff in any loyal community.

Rounding Up the Reds

"WE thank Thee," prayed the Chaplain of the House of Representatives the other day, "that the Government is busy rounding up the Radicals. May they be summarily dealt with, driven from our Republic, in the name of law and order, peace and prosperity, love and good will." His phraseology may not have been rhetorically consonant with the stately periods of the Liturgy, but in any gathering of good old-fashioned Methodists his sentiments would have evoked a thunderous response of "Amen!" "Hallelujah!" "Glory to God!"

There is indeed cause to be profoundly thankful for the activity, though belated, of the Government, both Federal and State, in bringing to book the venomous reptiles which have crawled into our country ostensibly in quest of asylum and liberty, only in fact to abuse our hospitality by striving to destroy the very asylum and liberty which they pretend to seek. We cannot agree with those who affect to see in the Anarchist intrigues merely an "after-war psychosis," meaning neither an attempt at permanent disorder nor revolution. The disclosed and indisputable facts belie any such interpretation.

There is nothing more evident than that these revolutionary movements, which have implicated the notorious I. W. W., and have even influenced to a perceptible degree the American Federation of Labor, have been directed by Lenine and Trotzky at Petrograd, and have had for their object the undermining and destruction of the American system of Government. We are not surprised that some regard the proposition with incredulity, so monstrous and so impossible does it seem. Yet the facts are clear. We have it on the authority of the Bolsheviks themselves that, having seized the uncounted millions in the Russian treasury and in private fortunes, they organized a vast propaganda to use that wealth in the organization and fomenting of revolutionary movements in other countries; that authorized agents of Bolshevism were sent to the United States; that an extensive Federation of Unions of Russian Workers was formed here, the confessed purpose of which was to attempt a violent revolution, employing for the purpose arson, murder and every form of "merciless destruction" of property and life, and that at the present time an expensively-printed weekly periodical is widely circulated in this country for the express purpose of promoting Bolshevism and of blinding Americans to its real character and aims.

Our reference to the influence exerted by this sinister movement upon the American Federation of Labor does not, of course, suggest any sympathy between that body and the revolutionary aims of the Reds. But it is indisputable that the leaders of the Federation have been inveigled into lending their support to strikes and other disturbances which were by no means free from the suspicion of Bolshevik incitement. The Boston police strike was sheer Bolshevism. The steel strike was chiefly directed by a confessed revolutionist. There is strong reason for crediting to the full the statement of Mr. Brewster, the chairman of the Coal Operators' Scale Committee, that "Lenine and Trotzky are finan-

cing the present radical movement among labor in United States." It was deplorable that Mr. Gompers his associates, after their fine record during the war against radicalism in their Federation, should have permitted their instinctive sympathy with all labor movements to overcome their discretion and to betray them into lending to the very thing which they had opposed.

At last, distinctly and inexorably, the issue is drawn. It is for every citizen to decide whether he is for our Government and our Country, or against them. Upon that issue Massachusetts has spoken in no uncertain tones, and we have faith to believe that every other State is in accord with her. The disaffected and pestilent minority of seditious Bolsheviks will not be able to destroy this Republic. They can mar and defile it by their very presence, and now and then commit murder and arson. It is well that the irresistible and unsparing force of the Government National, State and Municipal, is at last turned against them. From the campaign thus begun there must be no turning back. America is no Bolshevik, and we want no Bolsheviks here, either in the workshop or in the parlor.

If anyone doubted whether the Bolsheviks really meant the proposals of arson and murder contained in the recently captured propaganda tracts, the doubt was quickly dispelled by the cold-blooded assassination of four former soldiers of the I. W. W. Bolsheviks at Centralia, Wash. There were no murders more deliberate, more wanton, or more cowardly—or, we may add, more characteristic of the organization through whose conspiracy the crimes were committed.

More than 2,000 Captains have resigned their commissions in the regular army. It is not reported that they have generally sought employment as bricklayers. It is a matter of record that Army Captains receive \$2,400 a year, while bricklayers are paid at the rate of \$2,862.

I hold that the Fifth District cannot possibly permit the House of Representatives to dictate to them who their representative is to be.—*Victor Berger.*

The Constitution of the United States prescribes that "Each House shall be the judge of the qualifications of its own members." But then, "what's a little thing like a Constitution" to a seditious Socialist?

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Dr. Miller Goes to Church

As everybody knows, or ought to know, because the fact is self-admitted, our neighbor the *Times* is an Institution; but by no manner of means does it show that the Institution is a Machine. On the contrary, component parts are not only singularly human, but possess the rare and priceless faculty of taking themselves extremely humorously. Chief and most conspicuous among them are Mr. Adolph S. Ochs, its President and chief officer; Dr. Charles R. Miller, its Editor and conscience, Mr. Louis Wiley, its Walking Delegate—all good and true to the interests of the common weal, with consideration for the growth and prosperity of their establishment. This by way of preliminary.

It was a beautiful Sabbath Day. The sky was cloudless and there was just enough nip in the air to quicken one's steps. Dr. Miller walked to church. Mr. Ochs could have done likewise but for the circumstance that it was not his Sunday. Conformably to the sagacious precept of forefathers accustomed to get at least twenty-four hours' start of competitors in all lines of endeavor, he had anticipated in divine worship the day before. So it came about naturally and properly that, while the Editor was expatiating upon the sins of Senators and the Delegate was harping up the Soviets in Madison Square Garden, the President himself was in charge of the machine from which issued Monday morning's paper.

At least we suppose he was. In no other way can we account for the appearance of an extraordinary effusion which brilliantly illumined the whole editorial page. We are for granted that our readers are cognizant of the fact that our neighbor has been perhaps the most determined of public journals in advocacy of the interesting League of Nations to which occasional reference has been made in its columns. Not only has it insisted grimly and at times most menacingly that not an *i* should be dotted or a *t* crossed, but more than once it has gravely deprecated citation from any source. Inevitably, therefore, it has been called upon frequently to speak disapprovingly of the treachery of the leaders of what has come to be known as the American movement against denationalization.

Senator Lodge, most particularly of all, has fallen under the ban of our neighbor's displeasure. Not that the *Times* denounced that distinguished statesman daily and Sunday in the smashing fashion of the *World*, or sneered actually in the manner of the *Evening Post*; nothing of the sort. It has spoken more in sorrow than in anger of the utter incompetence as a leader who ought to be ashamed of himself for dragging the good old Republican party into a quagmire of defeat and disaster as that in which he landed it last week. As the day of the recent election drew near, our neighbor's grief became more and more poignant; and yet, though touched to the quick ourselves, and with a subconscious feeling all the time that presently from our most glorious orb might gleam through the clouds of despair.

And, lo and behold, a ray did. That is what we have been talking about. On that beautiful Sabbath Day to which we have referred,—to wit, November 9, 1919—President Ochs did penance in full for the sins and errors of his associates. Recalling those noble words of the god-like Daniel, "There she is," he sang of the old Bay State:

So spoke in days of old with clarion voice
New England's glory and her greatest son,
Words that have made Americans rejoice,
And will as long as Freedom's course is run.

Yes, "there she is!" behold her now and see
How well she keeps her faith and purpose true,
Still worthy of her glorious history,
A Commonwealth that all now proudly view.

There was no need to recount in detail the events of the preceding week in Washington. They had already been recounted at length in the news columns. The test had come at the Capitol as first at Lexington and Concord and when it came—

Then Massachusetts in her might arose—
Scorned party lines and stormed the barbican
Erected in her midst by Freedom's foes,
And proved herself once more American.

Many have been the tributes paid to Henry Cabot Lodge for his dauntless battle for the Republic, but none in fervor of feeling and splendor of diction to compare with this from President Ochs. Hardly less striking and impressive is the stirring ovation to the Hon. David I. Walsh, who "scorned party lines and stormed the barbican" to join his colleagues in proving Massachusetts "once more American." We can think of no lines more noble, more thrilling, more magnanimous, in our complete glossary of American patriotic verse.

Felicitations to all,—to the grand old State—"there she is",—to the worthy successor of "New England's greatest son," to the brave scorner of party lines and stormer of barbicans, and last but not best of all to President Ochs; there he is, too, and there may he ever be and wave when Dr. Miller goes to church.

Repressing a Jamboree

IT may be doubted whether in the several years of its activity the Federal Reserve Bank system has rendered any greater service to the nation than it did in repressing the recent orgy of speculation in Wall Street. To say that is not in the least degree to minimize its general value; for it might do very great good without equalling the magnitude of the work to which we have referred. It is indeed a question whether the nation generally realizes anything like the full value of that service, for the reason that it was rendered in time to avert the catastrophe which alone could have made the situation fully felt.

The fact is that the wild orgy of speculation was whirling Wall Street to the brink of one of the most disastrous panics in its history, a panic which inevitably would have affected the whole country. When stocks of great corporations are artificially "bulled" up to a speculative price of 300 or 400 or more, they cannot be kept there, and the chances are that when they fall to a normal figure there will be a vast

disturbance of other prices and a panic in the money market. That would almost certainly have happened in this case had the speculators of The Street been left to their own devices. The great service of the Federal Reserve Bank was performed in intervening in time, with such an increase of money rates as effectively stopped further inflation of prices. That forced the abnormal prices of stocks to come down with a rush, but provided for their doing so in circumstances void of evil effect upon the rest of the market. A lot of purely speculative "paper fortunes" were swept away, but the nation was saved from a panic which might have affected disastrously real holdings and legitimate values. It is of course possible that this service might have been performed with similar efficiency by some other agency, though it seems doubtful if this could have been done in a manner so free from suspicion of ulterior motives. What is certain is that the Federal Reserve Bank did it "with neatness and dispatch"; also, "without fear and without reproach."

It will of course be understood that the tremendous fall in prices of some very important industrial securities, which was effected in a few hours, was a fall in speculative prices and not in real values. The integrity and solvency and profits of the great concerns whose stocks were thus manipulated were in no way involved. Whether their stock was quoted at 100 or at 400 made no difference to their manufacturing operations, their sales of output, or their profits on legitimate business. While their workmen and salesmen were engaged in "business as usual," Wall Street was having one of its occasional jamborees, which happily was repressed by authoritative intervention in time and in a way that confined the resultant headache—and purse-ache—to the actual participants in it, and saved the nation from unmerited disaster.

Armistice Day, 1919

THE war-whoop of joy with which America greeted the signing of the armistice on November 11, 1918, was not, it can scarcely be said, based on any deep, philosophic interpretation of the event. The ticker-tapes hurled spiralling from Wall Street windows represented just so much relief from a terrible strain. The demonstration was almost entirely physical, a subconscious reaction. The long operation was over, and reputed a successful one by the surgeons in charge. "Patient resting comfortably." No wonder the relatives let down and celebrated.

Armistice Day, 1919, saw no similar festivals of peace. Such marchings as took place were not of hilarious crowds, but of very sober-minded soldiers, veterans with a look of the Argonne or the Marne or the Hindenburg Line still in their eyes. The crowds were present to cheer heroes, not to throw confetti. What originated as a sky-larking wake was transformed in one short year of peace into a solemn service of dedication.

Such a year of peace! Time was when the word had an

unutterably satisfying sound. It conjured up scenes of tranquility and happiness beyond compare. Nothing could exult in blessings and delight. One prayed for it and longed for it as the end of all trouble. A sadder and wiser world has lived to revise this simple faith considerably.

Peace has its undoubted blessings, goodness known. But they are not all-inclusive. They are none of them nor all of them sufficient to make life endurable worth while. They are essentially negative. They get nowhere. They spell neither progress nor development. They solve nothing of the human tangle that we have agreed to call life.

That is the paradox of peace as Americans of 1919 are learning their post-war lesson. Peace in itself is nothing. Accepted as an end itself it is destructive and demoralizing. The only way in which it can be turned to benefit and advantage and progress is by utilizing the cessation of military warfare to fight the battles of justice and fair play in common sense that never end.

The little wars of Europe that have never ceased raise a multitude of such problems for us. We must as a nation stay out of such issues. Very well, then, you must get in and fight for that view with all your might. Peace itself, is not self-perpetuating. It must be fought for afresh with each new international problem, and each decade of each generation.

The wars of industry are as old as human beings. They never cease for long. We have been plunged by peace into the gravest labor wars of our history. If we sit back in the spirit of the pacifist and offer no resistance to greed and aimed against the lives and safety of everyone we shall be ravaged, and our whole civilization thrust back as by an invasion of barbarians. A successful general strike would kill its thousands of children and set loose epidemics more destructive than any war. There are the pacifists of industry as of war who propose to sit back and let social minorities overrun as they will, who deprecate any direct talk or straightforward action, and who consider that the right of free speech must include the right to plot and advocate wholesale murder. The parallel with the action of pacifists in time of war is complete. The individuals are largely the same. The result would be the same if we heeded them.

Thus the cheap and sudden blessings of peace vanish from thin air. Life continues a battle if we are to make anything more of it than a muddle. The old hymn, "Fight the Good Fight!" turns out to have more truth in it than all the writings of Norman Angell and Bertrand Russell. Armistice Day turns out to be not even a truce. We have as consolation the knowledge that of such stuff is human nature that it would be desperately unhappy and dispirited if gloom if struggle really could be stopped. We should find ourselves in a world not unlike the old-fashioned ideal of heaven, with nothing to do except twang harps and wear our halos straight.

Our Royal Guest

THE welcome accorded to the young Prince of Wales during his visit to the United States has naturally recalled the American sojourn of his illustrious grandfather fifty-nine years ago. While in many respects the two visits bear a remarkable similarity, the striking contrast in the conditions surrounding them is worthy of special comment at this time.

When Edward VII, then heir to the throne of Queen Victoria, came here in 1860, the United States was a young, progressive nation, striving for recognition as one of the great Powers of the world. We were, to a great extent, an unknown quantity politically, and the Old World held itself aloof. In the three-quarters of a century that had elapsed since the nation's birth, we had fought two great wars, both with England. That empire was looked upon by many Americans as our natural enemy, and her actions never failed to create suspicion and distrust on this side of the Atlantic. In fact, shortly before the visit of Prince Edward, we had been involved in a serious controversy with Great Britain over the right to detain and search merchantmen on the high seas.

Nothing, however, was allowed to mar the visit of the young Englishman to our shores, and he was received everywhere with the utmost warmth and enthusiasm. The Prince chose to come merely as a private citizen, and for that purpose he asked to be introduced as "Lord Renfrew"; but the great crowds that turned out to greet him on every occasion knew him only as the future ruler of the British Empire. In speaking of the great parade which was held in his honor in New York, one writer tells us that Broadway "was lined by fully one hundred thousand people, conspicuous among whom were women with infants in their arms, borne in order that they at some future period might say that they had seen the Prince of Wales." The "Prince's Ball," held at the Academy of Music on the 12th of October, has long been famous as one of the most brilliant and impressive events in our social history.

The visit was in every respect a memorable one, and the charming modesty and genial bearing of the young Prince made a favorable and lasting impression upon the American people.

It appears that the character of the present heir to the British throne closely resembles that of his grandfather. Certainly his visit here has been a notable success. An unassuming, democratic youth, he had already won a high place in the affections of the Canadian people, and his trip to this country has had a like effect, for conditions now are far more favorable than they were in the period when his grandfather came. The old feeling of hostility and distrust between England and America has been supplanted by one of warm friendship and esteem. Not only have the two countries been at peace with one another for more than a hundred years, but their sons have fought side by side against a common enemy, and today there is no deeper or more

sincere friendship among nations than that between England and America.

That this new order of things is fully realized on the other side of the Atlantic, there can be no doubt. In fact, it was eloquently and gracefully expressed by the Prince of Wales himself in a speech of welcome to General Pershing and the United States troops in London, when he said:

We, the English-speaking nations, who have fought together in the noble comradeship of arms as kith and kin, will always be united by the closest of ties. We can never forget your great help in coming in such great numbers to help repel the great enemy offensive of last year. Brothers-in-arms, we welcome you here to share our rejoicing, convinced that as America and England will always be friends, so will the world always be free.

That speech was worthy of the future King of England. It has been our turn to show to Great Britain, through the warmth of our greeting to her royal representative, that we, too, realize the benefits which will result to the entire world through the constant and permanent friendship of the two great English-speaking nations.

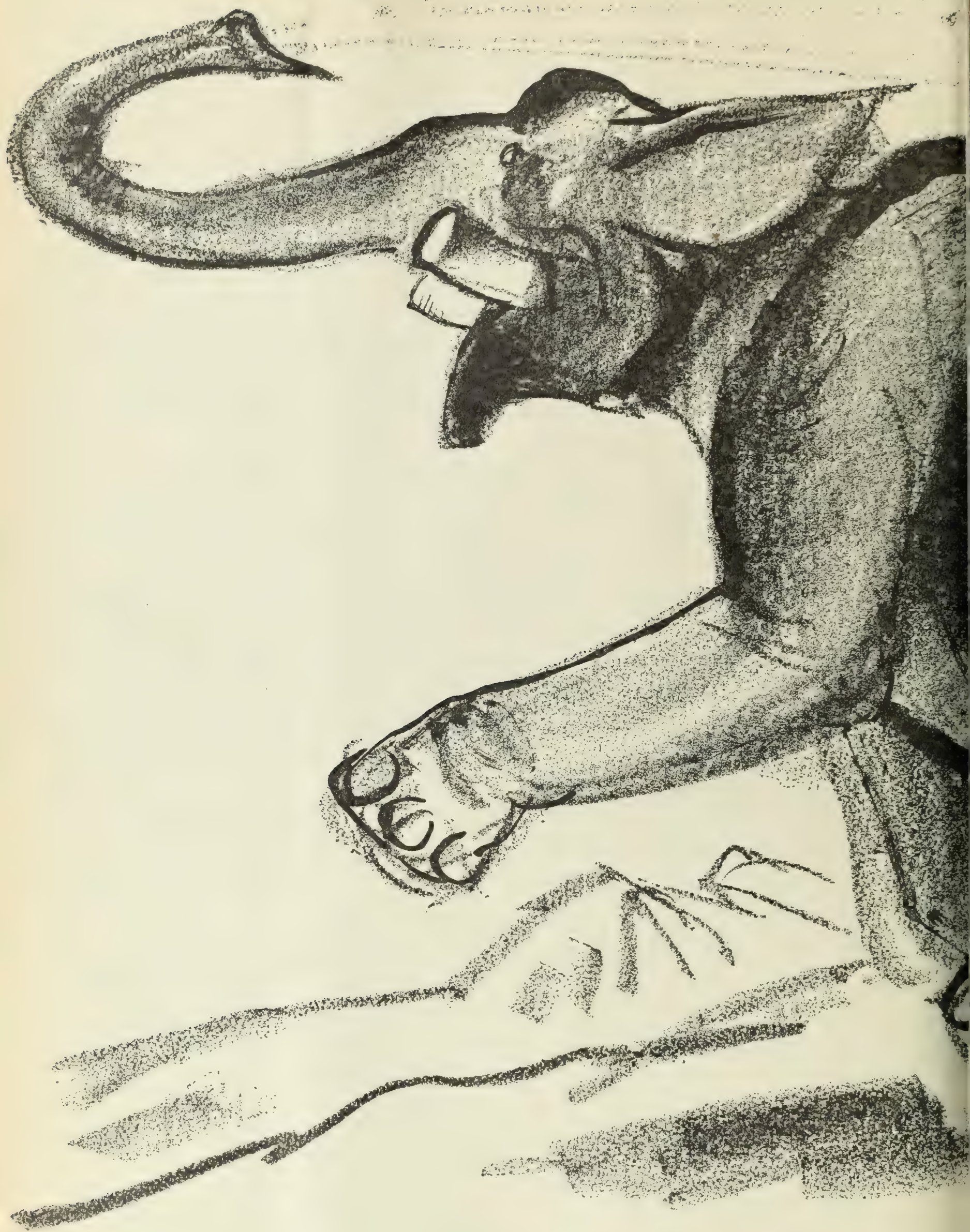
A Question of Unpopularity

SIR,—May I not ask you, as an accurate gauger of public sentiment, to answer this question, Which is the more unpopular at the present moment, the League or the President? Point Pleasant, N. J. C. W. NAYLOR.

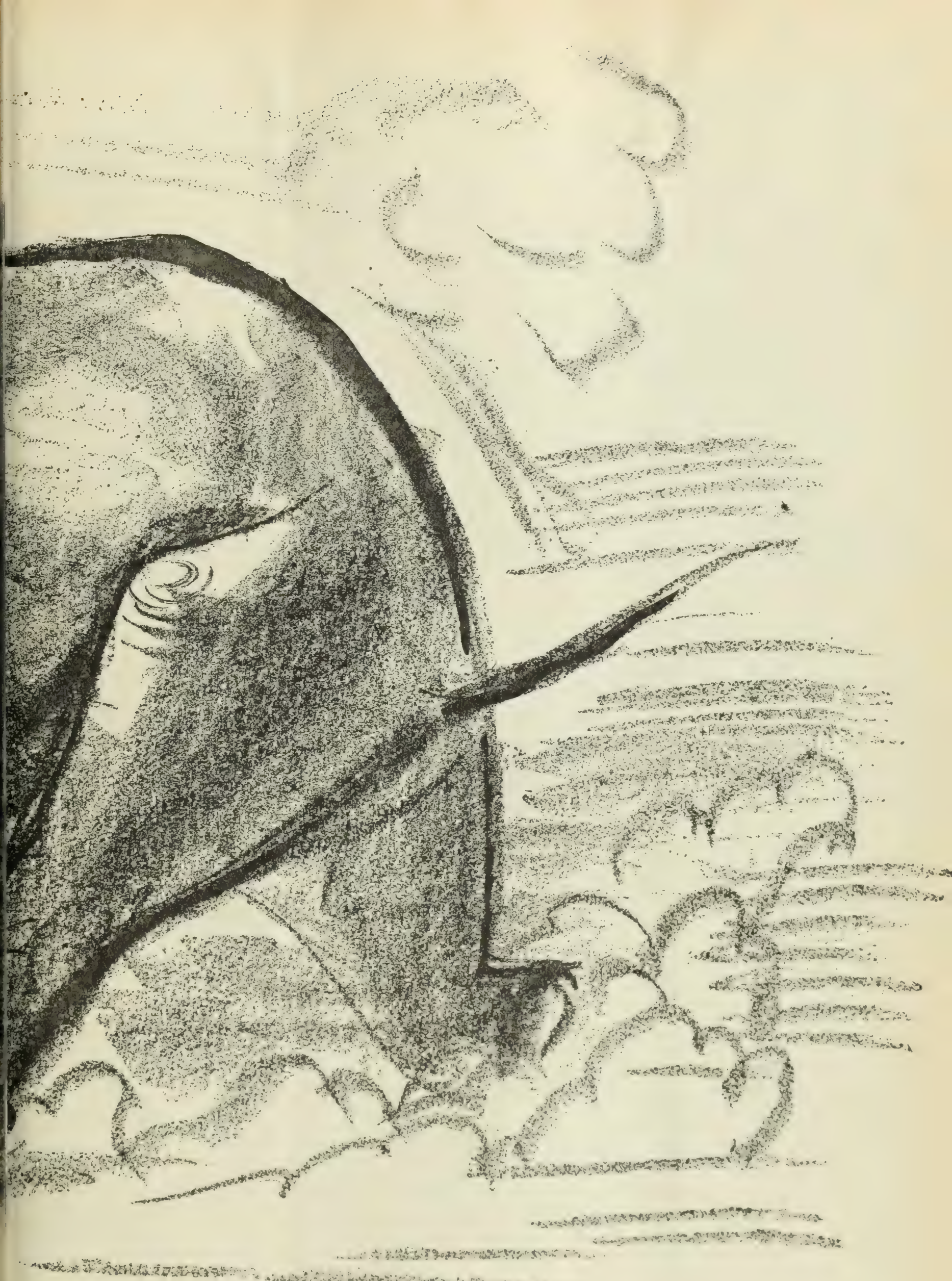
It is difficult to measure torrents. The recent elections afford no criterion. Apparently the indicative votes of Kentucky and Oklahoma were cast against both. We are somewhat puzzled, too, by the results of a "straw" contest being conducted by our neighbor, *Leslie's*, which prints a ballot asking its readers whom they voted for in 1916 and whom they "wish to vote for" next year. As between the two former candidates, 46 readers who voted for Hughes now prefer Wilson while 21 former Wilsonites would go to Hughes. The strange thing is that the 46 noted comprise the total "change from Hughes," whereas no less than 582 want to "change from Wilson" to General Wood, leading, Senator Johnson, Senator Borah, Senator Harding, Governor Lowden, et al.

At that rate, of course, the unpopularity achieved by Mr. Wilson would pass possibilities of calculation. But we are by no means sure that, if the test of disfavor were carried to the polls, the League would not win out. Not only has the President regained much appreciative regard through his action in connection with the preservation of law and order, but his lamentable illness has naturally evoked a deal of sympathy, while obviously sentiment for the League is dwindling so rapidly that presently its friends will be about as numerous as hens' teeth.

Upon the whole, therefore, we should answer: In Europe, Mr. Wilson; in America, the League; each continent being actuated by motives not wholly devoid of self-interest. But it is a close thing. We hope that no bet settlement hangs upon our judgment.



BACK IN



THE RING

The Week

WASHINGTON, November 18, 1919.

THE PRESIDENT is again an active force in Government, to the pleasure and the profit of the nation. His admirable intervention in the coal strike was a reminder of the important part which the occupant of his office can play in domestic affairs, and indeed of the duty which he owes to such affairs. At the risk of incurring the awful reproach of being "nationalistic," we must believe that the average American regards with immeasurably more satisfaction the President's intervention in the coal strike than, for example, his meddling in the Fiume controversy. Certainly all will prefer to remember his temperate but lucid and powerful utterances concerning the strike, rather than his vaporous vociferations about the Covenant and the "pygmy minds" of those who failed to perceive in it the Beauty of Holiness. It should be superfluous to express a hope that he will to equally good effect address his restored strength to the other great domestic problems which are pressing for solution, and some of which, at least, are the more involved and difficult because of his neglect of them during his long absence from duty.

Two major proposals for the disposition of the railroads are now under consideration at the Capitol. They agree in recognizing the necessity of returning the roads to their owners, and in regarding Government ownership as quite out of the question; in which they are both right. But in other important particulars they differ so widely and so radically as to suggest the impossibility of agreement of the two Houses upon a satisfactory permanent measure before the date set for the return of the roads. That emphasizes the necessity of adopting some temporary measure, as a *modus vivendi*, to serve until a permanent law can be perfected. It should, of course, continue the Government guarantee, which the Government legally and morally owes to the roads to save them from bankruptcy until they are restored to a condition comparable with that which they were in when the Government took possession of them, in which they should be able to work out their own salvation. Two recommendations are to be earnestly added. One is that already made in these columns, that the extension of the guarantee should be for a year, instead of six months, so as to carry it past the Presidential election and prevent any possibility of the dragging of a purely economic question into the campaign as a political issue. The other is that the temporary act shall be passed promptly. Some have manifested an inclination to postpone it until the last moment, in hope that the permanent measure may be perfected in time and the *modus vivendi* thus not be needed. That, we think, is a mistake. It indicates a policy which would unduly hurry the work on the permanent measure which ought to be done with all possible circumspection and care, and which would result in the still more hurried rushing through of the temporary measure at the last moment. Beside, the owners and managers of the roads ought

to know at least some weeks before the event the conditions on which the roads are to be returned to them, so as to know what to expect and to be able to prepare for it. To keep them in the dark until the eleventh hour, and then dump the roads back upon their hands with a lot of unexpected conditions attached, would be neither fair nor sound business policy.

The omission of the anti-strike principle from Mr. Esch's railroad bill in the House would have been better received, possibly, if it had not appeared coincidentally with the very effective and all but universally approved anti-strike action of the Government in the bituminous coal strike. If the Government can properly forbid a conspiracy, combination, or what not, to deprive the people of necessary fuel, it can certainly as properly enjoin a similar movement to deprive them of those transportation facilities which are if possible even more essential to their welfare and to their very existence. In neither case, of course, is there the slightest thought of subjecting men to "involuntary servitude"; despite Mr. Gompers's utterly unworthy and mischievous insinuations to that effect. It is one thing for a man, on his individual initiative, to quit work, and it is a very different thing for professional agitators to conspire to induce other men, by bribes or threats or cajolements or influences of any kind, to abandon their work.

Slap-dash criticism runs amuck in the condemnation of the Esch bill which has been made by the various railroad workmen's organizations. It objects, for example, that the bill "validates approximately twenty billion dollars of railroad securities, at least eight billions of which is water." How do these gentlemen know that forty per cent. of railroad securities are fraudulent? What ground is there for that statement? A searching official investigation is being made into the matter, which is presumably impartial, but which, if it inclined to either side, would certainly undervalue rather than overvalue the roads, and it is revealing the fact that some of the principal railroad systems of the country, including some against which the charge of "watered stock" has been most often and most largely made, are in fact considerably under-capitalized, the actual physical valuation, on a careful and conservative basis, being much in excess of the total issue of securities. Doubtless some roads are over-capitalized. Doubtless some are carrying large issues of "watered stock." But doubtless, too, others are at least as much under-capitalized, so that it is a fair guess that the grand total of all railroad securities in the country is no more than, if not actually less than, the actual physical valuation of the roads. We hold no brief for the Esch bill. In some important respects it is defective and unsatisfactory. But with this particular criticism of it, which is not merely a criticism of it but a comment upon a fundamental feature of the whole railroad situation, we certainly cannot agree. It is a reckless charge, which reflects seriously upon the authority of those who make it.

The strong opposition of both Houses of Congress to Government ownership of railroads is even more strongly manifested against Government ownership of the commercial marine. The vote of the House of Representatives on this matter was 238 to 8, the latter figure apparently indicating the utmost mustering of the advocates of Government ownership. It is indeed possible that some of the eight voted as they did on other grounds. The bill before the House provided for the immediate sale to private parties of all Government owned ships, stoppage of all construction work, sale of all property, and complete closing out of the business of the United States Shipping Board and the Emergency Fleet Corporation. It is quite conceivable that some of the eight voted against it not because they favored permanent Government ownership, but because they thought that the action proposed was too precipitate, and that it would be better for the Government yards to continue work until all vessels now under construction were completed. With the completion of the present programme this country would have a year hence fully 18,000,000 tons of shipping, of which 12,000,000 tons would be in foreign service. That would be almost equal to the British mercantile fleet, and would be practically one-third of the shipping of the world. Such a prospect is inspiring, and must be fulfilled, whether the Government completes its programme or turns it over at once to private enterprise. And at its completion, if not at once, there must be a transfer to private ownership of all the approximately 8,000,000 tons of shipping now owned by the Government. A dual system of ownership, the Government competing with private shipping, would be intolerable.

Some have only discarded the sword to pick up cobblestones, and they throw them indiscriminately.—*Vice-President Marshall, on Armistice Day.*

Item: One cobblestone labelled "Pygmy Minds."

Item: One cobblestone labelled "Insects."

Item: One cobblestone labelled "Contemptible Quitters."

Item: One cobblestone labelled "Hang Them on a Gibbet Higher than Haman's."

Item: One cobblestone labelled "Put Up or Shut Up."

Et cetera.

Following close upon bitter complaints in the French press that President Wilson has deceived France with respect to the American attitude toward the League of Nations, comes a lucid estimate by *Le Temps* of the purport of the reservations, and of the spirit of those who have insisted upon their adoption. That authoritative journal perceives clearly that the reservations do not nullify the Treaty, nor modify it so far as all other nations than America are concerned; but the Senate "demands simply that the Allies accept the construction which it places on certain clauses regarding its own participation." As for the maliciously propagated suggestion that the majority party in Congress wishes to destroy the international solidarity on which the whole treaty rests, it is, says *Le Temps*, "absolutely contrary to what we know." There has been no greater need in all this contro-

versy than that the nations should know the truth about each other's acts and motives. There never was another great international transaction so perniciously befogged with misrepresentation.

The appearance of a single case of bubonic plague at New Orleans need cause no panic nor anxiety. But it suggests once more the desirability not merely of incessant vigilance against the entry of rats into our ports from foreign vessels but also of a nation-wide campaign for the extermination of those animals. Apart from the fact that they are here the chief disseminators of bubonic plague and other diseases, the economic loss caused by them is enormous. Official estimates place their yearly destruction of grain, fruit, poultry and other property at fully \$200,000,000. A properly directed expenditure of a tithe of that sum would probably practically eliminate them from the land. To say that "it can't be done" is a contemptible counsel of impotence. It has been done elsewhere, just as yellow fever has been abolished in Cuba and Panama and malaria at Suez; and we are inclined to adapt Sam Patch's apophthegm and to insist that some things can be done here as well as elsewhere.

The State Federation of Farm Bureaus in recent session at Syracuse, N. Y., recorded its opposition to affiliation with "organized labor" and also to the official regulation of prices, either minimum or maximum, and its demand that agriculture should have a voice in all general controversies between labor and capital. With those judgments there will be widespread agreement, though also some dissent. But from a fourth pronouncement there should be general dissent of the strongest kind. That is, the demand that agriculture shall be exempted from the operation of the anti-trust laws. That is a demand for special privilege and class legislation, which should not be granted. An agricultural trust, combination or conspiracy in restraint of trade would be just as odious as any other. Let us have "liberty, equality, fraternity" for agriculture, "organized labor," capital, and all the rest.

Ohio, the home of Lucy Webb Hayes and the W. C. T. U., after a particularly searching canvass of the people, has repudiated its Legislative ratification of the Prohibition Amendment. What effect that may have, or may tend to have upon the status of the amendment, is matter for speculation. But it is a very significant indication of the real sentiment of the people upon the subject, and a suggestion of what might have happened if the question had been submitted to the informed and deliberate judgment of the people, instead of being rushed through by snap judgment by Legislatures which had not been elected to deal with it. Whatever may be the outcome of the case, it is an abomination that we should be subjected to the furtive and devious interpolation in the fundamental law of the land of a measure which there is no reason to suppose the majority of the people wanted.

Pershing on the Army

GENERAL PERSHING agrees with General Wood, and both disagree with the President and the Secretary of War. That is the outstanding feature of the already too much protracted discussion of army reorganization. Briefly recapitulated, the President and the Secretary of War, with the Chief of Staff alone among military men of consequence, want a big standing army, of at least 576,000 men, and merely nominal and quite ineffective training of citizens; while the senior Major-General and practically all other important officers, now very heartily backed up by the General himself, want a small standing army, only half the size of that desired by the Administration, and an effective system of universal training.

It would be superfluous again to dwell upon the manifest disadvantages of the Administration plan or to speculate upon its purpose. It is obvious without argument that it would be vastly more expensive to the nation than the other, both in actual money cost and in withdrawal of efficient men from productive industry. Nor does it require argument to convince intelligent men of the correctness of the criticism which is made upon it by military men, that it calls for a standing army which would be larger than we need in time of peace and not large enough for our sole reliance in time of war, and does not provide for the adequate supplementing of it in the latter contingency. In these circumstances the suspicion is inevitable that the plan of the Administration is to provide an American army not for American uses but for the alien and mercenary uses of a League of Nations.

It will be worth while, however, at the risk of repetition, to note some of the very judicious and impressive opinions expressed by the General of the Army in his cordial support of the policy advocated for years past by General Wood and now embodied in the Kahn-Chamberlain bill.

First, on the subject of effective and incessant military preparedness, and in repudiation of the silly pretence that there is plenty of time to get ready for war after war has been started, General Pershing expressed the opinion that if we had been prepared before this war began, there is grave doubt whether our rights would have been violated and therefore whether we would have had to enter the war at all. But if, in spite of such preparation, we had been forced into it as we were in the spring of 1917, it is highly probable that we could have ended it by the close of that year instead of dragging it on for a whole year more.

Next, advocating the effective, compulsory universal training which is provided for in the Kahn-Chamberlain bill, General Pershing takes a higher and broader ground than that of military experience, important and convincing as the latter is. Military training, he justly says, makes better citizens. It develops physical vigor and mental vigor as well. It makes for the decrease of illiteracy. It teaches discipline and respect for constituted authority. It develops power of initiative. It gives a better preparation for the duties of citizenship, a benefit which, he argues, is particularly needed at this time. In brief, the civic benefits of such training are so great and so desirable that it would be well

to have it even if we were infallibly assured that there never would be another war nor need of military action.

Finally, it is gratifying to see that as an essential temporary expedient, until the system which he advocates can be put into effective operation, General Pershing advises the utilization of the American Legion as a volunteer force, somewhat after the manner already suggested in these columns. Here is a great force of loyal American citizens, trained and expert in arms, accustomed to discipline and to enforcing and obeying orders, and imbued in an exceptional degree with appreciation of the value of American institutions and with devotion to their maintenance. It would be an incredible and criminal folly to let that force be idly dissipated, when it is needed for civic purposes at home just as much as it was for belligerent purposes abroad. It should be immediately organized and maintained as a citizen reserve, until in course of time, through suitable training of youth, the entire body of citizens shall form an effective reserve.

General Pershing's wise counsel, backed with the authority of his experience, observation and service in the war, must and should be of great and determining weight. The giving of it should expedite the conclusion of the whole matter in the enactment of the Kahn-Chamberlain bill, and the organization, not alone of the army, but of the entire American nation, for civic as well as military self-defense.

Incredibly Different

AS pretty an illustration of the sociologist's mind as often occurs drops from a discussion of the late David Graham Phillips in *The New Statesman*, the English weekly. This quotation from Phillips is set down to establish the quality of his work and his point of view:

Life has a certain set of molds—lawyer, financier, gambler, preacher, fashionable woman, prostitute, domestic woman, laborer, clerk, and so on through a not extensive list of familiar types with which we all soon become acquainted. And to one or another of these patterns life fits each of us as we grow up. Not one in ten thousand glances into human faces is arrested because it has lit upon a personality that cannot be immediately located, measured, accounted for.

To this the writer very sensibly retorts:

That is not, never could be, the creed of an artist. To the true artist, especially to the great novelist, all individuals are incredibly different, and their no less startling resemblance is due not to type, but to nature. One is so impressed, so overwhelmed by the differences that one sighs in relief, "after all, they're all men." Mr. Phillips was born to be a statistical sociologist, to arrange card-indexes, to collect stamps or 'bus tickets; it was an odd piece of irony that he went through life believing he had been fitted into the "mold" of the novelist.

Let it be added that, also, this is not, never could be, the creed of anybody doing anything worth while concerning human beings. A politician with any such notion is not a politician but an uplifter. An editor publishing upon such a theory must either be wild red—conceiving all men as downtrodden victims—or a statistical reformer dealing in such abstractions as average families and manual laborers and wage-earning women. There is no especial harm and there is much mental exercise to be obtained from reducing all mortality to these few theoretical types—no especial

harm, that is, supposing that one bears ever in mind what a constant whopper is involved in the reduction of any individual to a type. But, generally speaking, there is no more good to be obtained from discarding learnedly about the "average man" than there is to be had from a contemplation of, say, all bow-legged Mohammedans. In either case, to get your people within the limits of your type you have to ignore fundamental and, as the writer in *The New Statesman* says, incredible differences.

One of the cheapest and most inexact of all tags is that of "labor." We thought we meant something by it in days gone by; the "labor" leaders thought and still think that something definite and class-conscious resides therein. But event after event shows what basic characteristics are ignored when we use the word thus glibly. To begin with, in almost any industry, coal or steel, for instance, there are large numbers of "laborers" who are "employers," who hire and fire and boss under-workmen. There is also the huge number of "laborers" who own their own homes and have money in the savings bank and a life insurance policy to boot—all of whom are "capitalists" unquestionably.

What, also, is "labor," anyway? Manual labor is usually meant by the term. Yet there is no absolute meaning in this convenient and hopelessly vague phrase. A locomotive engineer uses his head far more than his hands or the rest of his body; he presides at his job rather more calmly than most bank presidents. Any college professor of biology uses his hands, for microscopic work, if not as constantly with far more skill than a plumber. What, too, is writing but manual labor—whether done with a pen or a typewriter? The reporter on a newspaper is a "brain-worker," yet he writes by sheer manual labor, using just as many motions as the typesetter in the composing room—who is a manual laborer. There is perhaps more brain work joined with manual labor in the case of the writer; yet even that is debatable, and will be furiously denied by the critics of the press.

The steel strike showed one such cleavage within "labor." The police strike in Boston showed another, showed dozens of fissures, in fact, in consequence of which, as the Coolidge vote proved, so-called laborers refused to obey their unions and plumped for law and order. It is, of course, the business of "labor leaders" to stand by their tag and insist upon its truth and validity. They can get away with their pretence just so long as appeal to the "incredible differences" of human nature stirs no vital impulse to act. But in any crisis, such impulses are inevitable, the whole breaks into its component parts and "labor" turns out to be a conglomerate mass of plain human beings, all as various as their finger-prints, no two of which are alike.

If it is the first concern of "labor" leaders to make their men class-conscious it should be the first concern of others to preach the truth as against the pretense. Sneering at all "labor" aids and abets the false leaders. Every American public man should make it his business to use his words accurately and to stress the differences within "labor" and the basic absurdity of the term as commonly used.

A Great Heart

IN a recent number of the WEEKLY we tried to do justice to Colonel E. M. House, defending him from the charge of the President's friends that he misled the President with regard to Shantung and brought about the only settlement made at Paris, "the necessity" of which Mr. Wilson has felt forced to deplore. Now, of course, no one leads or misleads President Wilson; certainly no subordinate such as Colonel House was. As for Lloyd George or Clemenceau or Venezielos, we do not answer for the men to whom the President can not give orders; one may only judge by the results. But for Colonel House we stand up firmly. The charge is a mistake, believed only by men who were never at Paris.

We have not done real justice to Colonel House, however, until we have gone further and spoken of his heart. It was the biggest heart in Paris, though the Colonel does not wear it upon his coat sleeve.

Men say that Colonel House supplemented his master, making up for the latter's defects in various ways, for his "single-track mind," and for the indivisibility of his person, preventing him from being everywhere and doing everything at once.

Men say that he was Mr. Wilson's eyes. He was. Men say that he was Mr. Wilson's ears. He was. Men do not say that he was Mr. Wilson's mind—except when they are inventing excuses for Shantung; for there are some prerogatives that Mr. Wilson keeps for himself, and one of them is that of being his own mind. But one thing that men neglected to say and to notice, perhaps, was that he was Mr. Wilson's heart.

Does Mr. Wilson require to be supplemented in respect to heart? You may take M. Clemenceau's word for it. There is a fully authenticated story that the great Frenchman at one conference said to Mr. Wilson: "You have a heart of steel!" It was the involuntary tribute of admiration from that inflexible personality whom all the world calls the "Tiger" to superior hardness encountered in another bosom!

His story does not record whether M. Clemenceau had this expression wrung from him the day before he got the Saar Valley settlement or the day before he had his way about the French Alliance. Probably it was the latter, for that act was preceded immediately by the stern and relentless sending for the *George Washington* to Brest.

But the date is not important; it is the fact that is. Having a heart of steel, the President had to be supplemented by a big, tender, human heart, beating in some other breast, always near his own. America could not go to Europe without bowels of compassion somewhere. So the President chose Colonel House.

He chose wisely. Kind hearts are more than coronets, and the heart of House was of the kindest. Everybody loved him. If the French do not erect a statue to him in the Place de la Concorde, as they once proposed a dinner in his sole honor during the President's absence, it will be because of fear of endangering the French Alliance; now

that Washington is talking as it does of this great warm breast on which everybody once leant and wept in the trying times of the conference. And the Japanese will be restrained by similar considerations. Great hearts receive their reward in other than material ways.

We are minded of the greatest heart that ever came from Texas by reading the note on the copy of the first League of Nations Covenant draft, presented by Mr. Bullitt to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee:

"In appreciation of your help in an hour of need. E. M. House, Jan. 10, '19."

Mr. Bullitt turns up in the United States to attack President Wilson with a certificate of character from Mr. House. But you forget unpleasant consequences when you think how kind-hearted was the act of the busy great man at Paris in providing a souvenir and an autograph for the young secretary.

Men in Europe did not have a souvenir and an autograph whose giving was prompted by the same kindness! Poland had one in the shape of 2,000,000 Germans. France had one in the shape of a Rhenish Republic, both granted when the "heart of steel" was in America. And everybody had one at least in the shape of a "formula" for its difficulties, dripping with the milk of human kindness. A great heart! Do justice to a great heart!

More Miracles

THE Politicalmaster General's miracle-workers, at least, are not on strike. They are working overtime.

They are never on strike. They keep right on the job turning out miracles at the old stand. Technical war or technical peace, it is all the same to them. The Politicalmaster General's Post Office Department is miraculous. He himself has said it. And how, pray, are you going to have a miraculous post office without miracles?

So, the post office miracle-workers are still hard at it. Wyoming was the field for one of their more recent signs and wonders of wizardry. A postcard was mailed at Granite Canon, Wyoming, in July, 1915. It was addressed to Miss Irene Ritchie, Cheyenne, and on the 30th of October last Miss Ritchie was able to telephone to her correspondent—the Burleson telephone and telegraph miracle season being over—that she had that day received the postcard. And Granite Canon is a good nineteen miles distant from Cheyenne if it is a rod! Here we have a postcard carried by the Politicalmaster General's miracle-mongering equipment over a space of full nineteen miles in only a little over four years and three months! Talk about your prodigies! Even the Politicalmaster General at his best has seldom excelled that Wyoming wonder. Except, of course, when he has resurrected the dead and delivered letters from them years after their funerals.

But this Wyoming instance is only in the group involving the miracle of mail matter getting somewhere, some time, somehow. It is entirely distinct from the miracle of utter disappearance—vanishing, melting into thin air of ponder-

able matter stamped and delivered to the post office wizards for transmission.

How many of these lost missives there may be, alas, we know not. Their name is legion, no doubt. They are swallowed up, *spurlos versenkt*. Their friends rarely inquire for them. What is the use? The missives have dropped down the miracle slot and that is the last of them. Some, perchance, after years of knocking about, may turn up in the Post Office Department's morgue. More of them, very likely, get into the miracle scrap-heap and are swept out with the other litter.

And then there is the Politicalmaster General's Department of Geographical Miracles. The geographical warlocks are still waving their magic wands over large and flourishing cities of the Republic and the cities are vanishing like morning mist. Kansas City is the last one to go. A letter addressed to our correspondent, Mr. Denton C. Crowe, at Kansas City, was returned to him. Kansas City could not be found. It had been wiped off the post office map—vanished beyond recall. Sioux Falls and a number of other prosperous communities, and now Kansas City, with its 300,000, or thereabouts, population—gone, all gone!

Where will the miraculous devastation stop? With over fifteen months of a clear field still before him, how many of our great thriving cities, to say nothing of the smaller communities, will be left to us when the Miraculous Burleson ceases his wonders to perform?

Georges Mandel, Clemenceau's right hand man and chief of his official family, declared positively that Premier Clemenceau from the very beginning of the peace negotiations had favored giving full accounts of the proceedings to the French Parliament, and that it was President Wilson, supported by Premier Lloyd George, who prevented this course.—*Paris Dispatch in The Sun*.

Now the First Commandment is this: "Open covenants of peace, openly arrived at."

The New York *Evening Post* was compelled to admit that the special election in Oklahoma was undeniably a victory for the "mild reservationists," but insisted that "This is only half, and probably the lesser half, of the story. This is a Republican year." Yes; but what makes it a Republican year? Very largely, revolt against the President's betrayal of American interests in the League of Nations Covenant.

Berger, the German Socialist who was convicted of disloyalty and sentenced to twenty years in prison, has been excluded from the House of Representatives—to which the more or less disloyal German Socialists of Wisconsin elected him—by the sufficiently decisive vote of 309 to 1. Had there been no other count against him, the unseemly harangue which he made at his hearing before the House should have been sufficient cause for that action. The solitary and unique vote in his favor was cast by a Wisconsin member, whose record in *Who's Who* begins thus:

VOIGT, Edward, congressman; b. Bremen, Germany.

How We Are "Toppling"

THAT was a rousing meeting which the British Socialist Party held in London in joyful commemoration of the Russian Soviet Republic's second anniversary. The speeches went right to the heart of things. There was no mincing of words, no pussyfooting. The early overthrow of the Government and the substitution of a British Soviet Republic, exactly on the lines of the Trotzky-Lenine murder, robbery and arson bund, was vehemently urged. There would be bloodshed. There was no attempt to deny that. On the contrary, bloodshed seemed to be accepted as a welcome incident. The comrades were urged to get their firearms ready for the impending slaughter. Machine guns were to be unlimbered and rushed into action against the accursed minions of law, order and decency. A certain violently flaming Mr. Hodgson in particular was cocksure that the revolution would be a bloody one, and he urged that the "workers" arm and be ready for it.

The aim of Bolshevism was world-wide revolution, said Comrade MacLean, "Bolshevist Consul for Glasgow," whatever that official dignitary might be. He welcomed the rumblings of the impending upheaval, particularly in America.

"America is toppling," he cried. "Japan is next, and it is coming in Great Britain."

And then he exploded in wrath at the fates of our own Debs and of "poor" Jim Larkin, the blathermouthed agitator now locked up under \$15,000 unattainable bail and, let us prayerfully hope, on his way to permanent retirement from anarchist endeavor save such as he may be able to put forth behind the bars of a penitentiary. Mooney, the anarchist who murdered a number of men, women and children spectators of the San Francisco preparedness parade, was not mentioned, so far as the cable reports of the meeting reveal. The assassination from ambush of four American soldiers marching in the armistice anniversary parade in Centralia, Washington, and the wounding of four of their comrades by the same gallant band of skulking anarchist roof snipers, had not occurred at the time of the meeting, so the event could not be made part of the programme of rejoicing. But why the martyrdom of Mooney failed of attention is hard to understand. Mooney has been largely featured in Russian anarchist demonstrations, and we have even had a "demand" from Trotzky himself that this California patriot be released. So, while Comrade MacLean was demanding that Eugene Debs, "Jim" Larkin and "Billy" Watson be set at liberty, how did it happen that the eminent murderer Mooney was overlooked? The omission is curious.

Now, the striking thing about this London demonstration is its distinctly labor union aspect. The conspicuous men on the platform were some of Great Britain's most prominent labor leaders, among them Mann, General Secretary of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers, and Robert Williams, Secretary of the Transport Workers' Federation. The plain inference is that British labor unionism is enlisted and in the saddle for a bloody revolution, having the estab-

lishment of Soviet anarchy for its object. There is uneasiness in England over this aspect of the anarchist agitation, and well there may be. This uneasiness is breaking out in the English newspapers in the form of hearty praise of the drastic treatment we are administering to the corresponding crews of anarchistic traitors over here, and inquiries as to why their own Government does not adopt an equal energy of action. Says Lord Northcliff's *Evening News*:

So long as aliens in the United States spent their time and money damning European countries Uncle Sam didn't care a cent, but when these aliens start damning the United States then Uncle Sam lifts his foot and boots them out—and quite right, too.

Which is all very well, only Uncle Sam did not begin his booting quite soon enough, but now that he is at last on the job in good earnest, more power to his number 19 brogans. America is "toppling," as Comrade MacLean put it, but the toppling she is engaged in is the toppling of such of her scoundrelly Bolshevik treason-mongers as escape lynching into jails, penitentiaries and deportation corrals about as fast as they can be rounded up. And the quicker Great Britain starts in on the same line of housecleaning the better it will be for Great Britain.

Lord Sydenham's Views

THE following communication comes from a most distinguished American who has given practically all the years of his life to the service of his country:

SIR,—I send the WEEKLY to my old English friend, Lord Sydenham of Combe, who has held many high official positions, most notably that of Governor of Bombay for six years. I have just received from him the following interesting letter:

"But for you and Harvey I should be misled by the *Times* correspondent as to your politics. He makes out that Wilson will hold his own and that the Treaty will pass. It is curious that you are preoccupied with the League of Nations farce, which nobody here seems to think of. Yet from my point of view, it is as dangerous for us as for you. It will embitter all international relations. It will lead to complex intrigues which will bring grist to the mill of the international Jew who will pull all the strings. I believe also that the labor classes will give a fresh start to the 'Internationale' with its dangerous dream of world revolution. Was there ever such a solemn sham? Do its advocates, does Wilson really believe that the world will thus be merged in a common brotherhood and all war abolished? The only solution is the end of the world!

"I really know no one here whose opinion I respect who does not feel as I do. . . . No real statesman would have looked at the abortion twice."

THE REAL SUFFERERS

(From the *Johnstown Tribune*)

Col. George Harvey says the "real after-the-war sufferers" are actually unorganized and their cases receive but scant attention. He points out that "the teachers, the clergymen, the clerks, the writers, the editors, the tens and tens of thousands of professional and semi-professional men, the men and women of small incomes sufficient for their modest needs before this orgie of high prices," are the real sufferers.

It is a fact that while other wages and salaries were increased by leaps and bounds, increased so rapidly and so often that book-keepers and timekeepers could not keep track of their lists and accounts, the great "unorganized" saw living expenses rise, equal, and exceed their incomes. Col. Harvey says, further, that "men and women of learning, of the highest attainments, those on whom depends the education of American children, the moral guidance of the American people, are paid salaries that a hodcarrier or bricklayer or a stevedore would scorn." And there's a lot of truth in what the Colonel says.

Letters From Our Readers

THE FIUME OF THE PACIFIC

SIR,—An item in the morning paper prompts me to ask your opinion as to the present status of the Fourteen Commandments, and especially Point No. 5, relating to self-determination. Are the points now in a state of suspended animation, or have they been finally relegated to innocuous desuetude, since Shantung and Fiume proved that Point No. 5, at least, was only meant to apply when the populations under consideration were sure to cast their majority vote as per the prepared slate?

The item referred to is a statement that in the present population of the Hawaiian Islands, the Japanese contingent exceeds the combined American and Native populations by 50 per cent. Now if Point No. 5, regarding self-determination, is still a guiding "voice-in-the-air" in our foreign policy, why may we not expect that Japan will be suggesting a plebescite in the islands? I understand of course that we are prepared to step out of the Philippines as soon as the vote is taken there, but with the certainty that a similar ballot in Hawaii would be sure to mean the choice of Japan as patron saint, wouldn't it be advisable to cease spending any further millions at Pearl Harbor? And don't you think Josephus, who was recently crowned there, should return his leis?

Along this same line, I might mention the amazing statement of the local health officer, in his recent report, that one-third of the babies born in Los Angeles County last year were Japanese. At this rate, in ten years Los Angeles will be the Fiume of the Pacific Coast, and a plebescite here would vote us into an outpost of the Flower Kingdom.

Carried on further to its logical conclusion, other plebescites about the country would no doubt vote Boston into a part of the Irish Republic, New York a province of the newly established Kingdom of Jerusalem, Milwaukee a bit of the Fatherland, Minneapolis a Swedish colony, and Seattle a self-governing dominion. For there is no precedent to guide us as to the possibilities of a policy of internationalism. Hence my anxiety as to whether you regard Commandment No. 5 as now effective.

A. G. BROWNE.

Los Angeles, Cal.

[We should say that Point Five is now as pointless as the other Thirteen.—EDITOR.]

GOOD ENOUGH

SIR,—I desire to thank you for the comfort and refreshment your WEEKLY affords an old-fashioned American of "pygmy mind," who prefers the policy of Washington and "the fathers" to the new-fangled notions of Professor Wilson. In particular I desire to commend your trenchant criticism of the hypocritical League of (Imperialistic) Nations, and the insincere attempts made by its proponents to bolster it up.

If you will accept the following lines, I think you will find they express the view of a surprisingly large number of native-born Americans, who are neither "contemptible quitters," nor worthy of being "gibbeted"—perferid protestations to the contrary notwithstanding.

ALAN PEGRAM GILMOUR.

Los Angeles, Cal.

GOOD ENOUGH FOR ME

The good old Declaration
Is good enough for me;
The one, I mean, that Jefferson
Drew up so fearlessly,
And that sturdy old John Hancock
Signed in such a dashing hand,
That not even stupid Johnny Bull
Could fail to understand—
Yes, that good old Declaration
Is quite good enough for me!
The good old Constitution
Is good enough for me;
The one "the fathers" fashioned
As a guard for Liberty.
I am sick of the infractions
One now sees on every hand,
And that make us but a byword
To the free of every land—
Yes, that good old Constitution
Is quite good enough for me!
The good old Monroe Doctrine
Is good enough for me;

We want no intermeddling
From the folks beyond the sea;
We'll attend to our own business,
And ask them to do the same,
And we're through with all this mixing
In the international game—
Yes, that good old Monroe Doctrine
Is quite good enough for me!

New York.

A. P. G.

S. O. S.

DEAR SIR,—I have not received any HARVEY'S WEEKLY for many days. The last number I got was No. 40, the week finishing October 4th. I am very anxious to get all the numbers, especially now, when the situation is so perplexing.

Your REVIEWS are most useful to me, as I try to support your policy to the best of my ability.

My subscriptions are near the end, and I don't want any interruption.

Will you kindly let me know the amount I have to send to you for the two magazines to be forwarded to me *registered*. I am unable to obtain a satisfactory answer from the Post Office on account of the rate of exchange.

An answer by return will oblige me.

COUNT J. DE VOILEMONT.

Harpenden, Herts, England.

"WITHOUT EQUAL"

SIR,—I am sorry to say you will not find me on your list of subscribers, but this is due only to the fact that I am almost constantly traveling. However, I always manage to get THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW wherever I am, and rarely miss the WEEKLY.

I consider these two publications without equal in the United States for fearless and pure patriotism, and I know that no one could follow your teachings closely and be anything but a model citizen of this Republic. THE REVIEW and the WEEKLY should be in the hands of every legislator, instructor, and student and, in fact, in the hands of every person capable of thinking and judging.

M. I. REDDING.

Cambridge, Mass.

GEORGE F. EDMUNDS OF VERMONT

SIR,—I think you may like to know that up to the time of his death in February, my father took the deepest interest in the WAR WEEKLY and then HARVEY'S WEEKLY, which I always read to him immediately from cover to cover—rejoicing in your keen insight and spirited way of expressing your views, and absolute fearlessness in denouncing the evil and upholding the right in these complicated times when most people seem either cowed into silence or carried away by prejudice. My father was so proud of you as a fellow Vermonter that I know he would be glad to have me add my small tribute—as his daughter—to your good work in carrying on the WEEKLY.

MARY M. EDMUNDS.

Bay Head, N. J.

G. W. RECALLED

SIR,—For the encouragement and endorsement of those Senators who have courageously and steadfastly opposed Mr. Wilson's League of Nations, let them remember the Federal Convention of May, 1787. In his opening address, Washington, who presided, rose and said:

"It is too probable that no plan we propose will be adopted. Perhaps another dreadful conflict is to be sustained. If, to please the people, we offer what we ourselves disapprove, how can we defend our work? Let us raise a standard to which the wise and honest can repair; the event is in the hand of God."

F. ABBOTT INGALLS.

New York City.

"WITHOUT FEAR OR FAVOR"

SIR,—I read with much satisfaction your pungent and convincing articles from week to week, and rejoice that one publication at least supports true Americanism without fear or favor.

WM. W. DOUGLAS.

Providence, R. I.

CARTOON: "DECLINED WITH THANKS"

HARVEY'S WEEKLY

Four Dollars a Year

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VOL. 2 WEEK ENDING NOVEMBER 29, 1919 No. 48

"And Damned Be He"—

NOW we are told that the President will resubmit the Treaty in its original form in the face of the fact that only 38 of the 64 required could be mustered in its favor.

Very well!

That is his Constitutional privilege. If he does, it will go kerplunk into the Committee on Foreign Relations and stay there.

But we are told further that his real purpose will be to further "negotiations looking to a compromise."

Very good again!

But why negotiations? A compromise can be had at any moment. The unchangeable basis of compromise is acceptance of the reservations which Americanize the Treaty. There can be and will be no other.

That, in the words of Chairman Will H. Hays spoken weeks ago, is the "irreducible minimum."

That, as an inevitable consequence of the President's unwarranted exercise of partisan authority in interfering with the free and untrammelled performance of its Constitutional obligations by a co-ordinate branch of the Government, has become the position of the Republican party.

Excelsior!

Then still further we are notified that the President will keep the Treaty in cold storage and make it the issue of the forthcoming National campaign.

Splendid!

He can do that. We hope he will. All we have ever asked is a verdict from the people. But—once more that ominous threat—Mr. Wilson "may feel compelled" to become the candidate. We hope so.

Welcome, thrice welcome!

Let the issue be sharp and clearly defined! Let it be the League and nothing but the League! Let it be America and nothing but America!

And then see what will happen!

The Facts

THE least we could say when Senator Hitchcock declared early in October that the Democrats themselves would kill the Treaty if the President should not be permitted to have his own way was "Joy, oh joy!" We did not believe a word of it, of course. Nobody did. It seemed, as we then remarked, "too good to be true",—the curiosest combination of infanticide and suicide ever imagined out of bedlam. Up to the very last moment we could not credit the report that Mr. Wilson would dispatch the beloved offspring of his acute mentality through the traditional slaughter house to an open grave. But he did. Glory be! The old cat's dead, dead as a door-nail, dead to stay dead.

There is no question of responsibility for the outcome. That is fixed by the facts. Note the sequence of events!

1. The President submitted the Treaty which he had negotiated to the Senate for ratification and demanded its approval without change.

2. The Senate rejected the Treaty as submitted by a vote of 53 to 38.

3. The Committee on Foreign Relations reported favorably a resolution of ratification containing reservations designed to safeguard the independence of the United States. The Senate rejected the Treaty as thus modified by a vote of 55 to 39.

4. The number of votes required for ratification was 64. Of the 39 required the Republicans contributed 35 and the Democrats 4.

5. If 25 Democrats out of the 42 remaining had voted aye the Treaty would have been ratified.

6. The entire 42 Democrats voted against ratification by explicit request of the President.

7. If the President had expressed a desire for ratification or if he had remained silent, the entire 42 would have voted aye and the Treaty would have been ratified by a vote of 81 to 13.

8. The President prevented ratification.

Those are the facts. There is no getting away from them.

As the voting proceeded Postmaster General Burleson appeared upon the floor and conversed earnestly with Democratic Senators.
—*Washington Dispatch*.

What a godsend that man is!

The top o' the morning to—

FRANK A. MUNSEY of New York,

JAMES T. WILLIAMS, JR., of Boston,

EDWARD A. VAN VALKENBURGH of Philadelphia,

IRWIN KIRKWOOD of Kansas City.

What Next?

WHAT next? The President has brought about the defeat of his own Treaty and Covenant. He had devoted a year to the elaboration of the thing. During most of that time he had in its behalf neglected national interests of the most pressing and vital character. He had prevented Congress from attending to supremely important domestic duties. And then at the end, through his own crass ineptitude and arrogance, he brought the whole thing to ruin. For the Treaty is dead, so far as America is concerned; we may be sure of that. Doubtless he will have the power at the next session of Congress to bring the cadaver again before the Senate, for a *post mortem*. We should doubt, however, if the hundred and ten millions of America contain another man with sufficient hardihood of folly to attempt it. If he should do it, no prophet or son of a prophet is required to tell what the result would be.

Whatever the President may do or may not do, the duty of Congress is clear. It was indicated by the same fine leadership that thwarted the President's vicious assaults upon the independence and integrity of the Nation. The last act of Senator Lodge before the adjournment was to secure the reference to the Foreign Relations Committee of a resolution declaring the war with Germany to be ended. That resolution expresses at once an indisputable fact of record, and the wish and will of the American people. Of the right and power of Congress to adopt it there can be no question, nor can there be of its validity and efficiency when thus adopted. It goes without saying that its adoption is the next thing to be done. It should be done within forty-eight hours after the two Houses are again called to order. That is the first thing.

The next thing, so far as our foreign relationships are concerned, might well be the ratification of the French treaty; of course with the amendment which the Constitution clearly required in any case and which now, since the death of the Covenant, is doubly necessary. France has had only too much ground for the complaints which she has been making, of the gross and detrimental deception which President Wilson has practiced upon her. It would be a gracious and honorable act for the Senate to show that, no matter how deceitful he may have been, the Senate plays fair, and recognizes, with the whole American nation, the inestimable services and the crucially strategic position of France as the outpost of civilization; and

that America will never in any emergency fail the land of Lafayette.

Beyond that there are other details of *post bellum* readjustment to be attended to, at our leisure. These largely concern the disposition of German property in this country, the renewal of such relations as we care to have with Germany, and various financial interests between us and the Allied Powers. They can largely be settled through ordinary legislation. If any diplomatic negotiations are necessary, we suppose that the President may be expected to conduct them. He would scarcely sulk in his tent so far as to refuse to perform his Constitutional duties, in every proper exercise of which he would find the Senate ready to co-operate.

Concurrently with these, if not indeed anticipating all save the declaration of peace and the French treaty, should come the judicious repeal of the extraordinary war legislation which invested the President with dictatorial powers. Some of these require temporary prolongation in part; as, for example, the extension of the Government guarantee to the railroads. The most of them can and should be swept off the statute book as with a sponge.

In executing this programme, Congress will naturally have an eye solely to the wishes and welfare of the Nation, as it perceives them. It is not pleasant to say that it should pay little regard to the President, but it is just and necessary. The President has shown himself, in both foreign and domestic affairs, an uncertain and an untrustworthy leader. At times he has been admirable, magnificent, and the Nation has on such occasions responded worthily to his leadership. At other times his counsel and his dictation pointed straight to disaster and disgrace, and the Nation regretfully but resolutely refused his leadership. He has forfeited the Nation's confidence, and the Nation has repeatedly declared that fact. Now it must go on without him.

Whatever the result, it is essential for Europe to understand that American opposition is mainly the outcome not of narrow nationalism or lack of imagination, and still less political manoeuvring. It is rooted in the faults of the treaty itself.—*Manchester Eng.) Guardian.*

Right you are, old top!

Do you suppose that President Wilson wanted a straight vote on his unchanged proposition involving inevitable repudiation by a vote of 53 to 38? We don't for a minute. And vote this! When Senator Lodge offered unanimous consent to such a vote Senator Hitchcock, the only man who had conferred with the President, promptly ducked. Why then did the Hon. Oscar Underwood propose it off his own bat? What is going on among the Democratic brethren down there?

Mr. Wilson Should Resign

MR. WILSON should resign the Presidency of the Nation whose confidence he has forfeited. That would be the logical sequel to his extraordinary performance of last week in ordering the destruction of the Treaty which he himself had striven vainly to force upon the country. It would be the logical culmination of a series of incidents extending through more than a year. It would be the fulfilment of a moral duty, which he himself concedes to have more force than a merely legal obligation.

Let us see how he stands with the country, and has stood since more than a year ago.

Near the end of October of last year he took the unprecedented step of demanding a popular vote of confidence in the election of a Congress which would be subservient to his political will, and he unequivocally declared that he would accept "without cavil" the verdict of the people at the polls. The Nation had for a year and a half supported him in his conduct of the war with a loyalty and an uncomplaining self-sacrifice unsurpassed in human annals. But when he demanded a vote of confidence for the future, so that he would be able not merely to finish the war, but also to re-establish peace according to his own will, the Nation refused it, and registered what, according to his own previously expressed interpretation, was an emphatic vote of lack of confidence.

Instead of accepting that popular verdict without cavil, as he had pledged himself to do, he ignored and defied it. He went to Europe and there deliberately, circumstantially and repeatedly misrepresented the facts and falsified his status, pretending that he had received a popular mandate and instructions from the Nation which he did not dare to disobey; when he knew all the time that the Nation had overwhelmingly repudiated him at the polls.

When he came home for a brief visit, the Senatorial representatives of the majority of the Nation warned him, most courteously but most positively, in writing, that they would not be able to give their Constitutionally required approval to the policy which he seemed to be adopting. His only answer was an arrogant defiance and a threat to arrange matters so that they would have to obey his will.

At last he came home with a treaty of whose unacceptability to the Senate he had been plainly warned, and demanded that it be accepted without amendment or reservation, without the "advice" which the Constitution empowered the Senate to give. When Senators demurred, he retorted with insult, abuse and menace. Meantime, indications of a growing lack of confidence in him were multiplied. Congressional by-elections, fought on the issue of his policy, went heavily against him. Important bills which he had vetoed were repassed over his veto by the votes of both parties, with a contemptuous curtness rare in the annals of Congress. The ablest members of his own party in the Senate renounced their allegiance and became leaders of the opposition.

To all these and yet other unmistakable demonstrations of the Nation's loss of confidence in him, he affected to remain blind and deaf. At least he was defiant of them. He undertook to start a "back fire" against the Senators who opposed him by making a spectacular personal appeal to their constituents; an enterprise whose results to himself were so disastrous that for sheer pity's sake we must pass them by in silence.

Yet in his overweening egotism and arrogance he would not be convinced. On the last stroke of the eleventh hour he strove to coerce the Senate to his will, only again to be "hoist with his own petard." He who had formerly insisted that in such a matter he had "really no voice at all" in the conclusions of the Senate, attempted to give the Senate orders, the result of which was the exact reverse of what he had intended.

Even then it was not too late; or would not have been to a man guided by clear-seeing reason instead of blind ambition. There had not been a time since he came home from France, and there was not a moment down to the counting of the final and fatal vote on November 19, when he could not have secured the prompt ratification of the Treaty of Versailles in a form fully acceptable to the other signatories, and when he could not have secured the formation and the cordial adherence of this country to a rational and beneficent association of the free nations of the world for the maintenance of peace and justice.

All that was necessary was that he should recognize the constitutional rights and duties of the Senate, and that he should acquiesce in its declaring, in plain language understandable by the people and not provocative of diplomatic controversy over its interpretation, that the Treaty meant precisely what he himself had said that it meant. That was all that was necessary. But he would not do it.

The result was another vote of lack of confidence. By a vote of fifty-three against him and only thirty-eight for him, the Senate on November 19 not merely refused to approve his scheme of denationalization, but positively declared lack of confidence in him; and not only lack of confidence on the Senate's part, but also on the part of the Nation, which unmistakably stood behind the Senate and which for more than a year had been giving repeated indications of its lack of faith.

We all know what would happen in a democracy with an Executive responsible to Parliament. Mr. Lloyd George or M. Clemenceau could not hold office twenty-four hours after confronting such a vote as Mr. Wilson brought upon himself either a year ago or on November 19. Under our system the President is legally irresponsible. He is under no technical compulsion to pay any attention whatever to Senatorial, or Congressional, or National votes of lack of confidence, all of which have been directed against him. If, entirely through his own strange mingling of ignorance and arrogance, of deception and egotism, he has been humiliated in the eyes of foreign nations as no other President ever was and almost beyond the imagination of the mind of man, and if he has to a comparable degree incurred the distrust and even still more unfavorable sentiments of his

own Nation, he may yet, if he will, "stand pat," with stodgy defiance demanding, with another would-be autocrat, "What are you going to do about it?"

But under those moral obligations which are paramount above legal technicalities, for the sake of common decency, he should belatedly fulfill his pledge of thirteen months ago, and accept without cavil the judgment of his fellow citizens.

"Usurpation"

I NTOXICATED by the fumes of the incense which it burns before the Presidential shrine, the *New York World* exclaims:

Because a small minority of the Senate can defeat a treaty, Senators have usurped a power which they would not dare try to exercise in respect to appointments.

"Would not dare?" How often has the Senate rejected appointments, major and minor? A good deal oftener than it has adopted reservations to treaties.

Besides, it is not "a small minority" that exercised the power of which the *World* complains. It is an emphatic majority, comprising members of both parties.

But does the *World* think that the making of a great international compact, involving the issues of peace and war and the integrity of the nation, is a matter of no greater consequence than the appointment of a marshal in Buncombe County or a postmaster at Wayback Crossroads?

And does it regard it as "usurpation" to exercise a power specifically granted—and indeed imposed as a duty—by the Constitution of the United States?

"What is the use," the Pennsylvania Senator demanded, "of taking time to prove that the Republicans voted in accordance with their convictions, and the Democrats in accordance with orders from the White House."

"I deny that," shouted Senator Thomas (Col.), jumping to his feet.

"You are about the only one who can," Senator Penrose commented.

Not quite the only one! In addition to the unterrified Senator from Colorado, the equally dauntless and patriotic Senators Reed, Shields, Gore, Hoke Smith, Trammell (as we long ago predicted) and David I. Walsh voted against the Wilson Treaty, and Owen, Pomerene and Myers voted for the Americanized document. If another test ever comes, there will be more.

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"How Long, Oh Lord?"

CONGRESS, we are told, is planning to enact an "anti-Red" law during its next session.

Evidence has long been before it that the great strikes which have disturbed industry and menaced the prosperity and welfare of the nation were largely due to the machinations of alien conspirators and their American allies, who aimed through such means ultimately to overthrow the Government of the United States. A fortnight ago, four former soldiers of the United States army, returned from the great war, were publicly assassinated as the result of a conspiracy promoted by alien revolutionists seeking to provoke a revolution here. Twice within the year, plots have been discovered for precipitating a reign of terror by widespread and simultaneous bomb outrages and murders.

And Congress, we are told, is thinking of enacting an "anti-Red" law sometime next session!

For a long time a German, acting as the agent of Russian revolutionists, has been openly conducting pro-revolutionary propaganda in New York City. When, despairing of the United States Government taking any action to suppress the pestilent fellow, a New York State Legislative Committee undertook to inquire into his activities, he had the impudence to rebuke the committee for trying to infringe upon his "diplomatic immunity" as an "Ambassador." Of course, he knew that he was lying, and that he was no more an "Ambassador" than he was a Dalai Lama. Happily the committee called his bluff and put him on the stand; whereupon he broke down, and admitted that he was here on a revolutionary errand, and that his offices were headquarters of Communistic and revolutionary conspiracies for the overthrow of the United States Government. He admitted, this precious "Ambassador," that he had been engaged in distributing "to the Proletariat" circular letters declaring that "alongside the dethroned dynasties of the Romanoffs, Hohenzollerns and Hapsburgs, the rulers of France, England, Italy and the United States stand revealed in their immeasurable vileness. . . . This makes necessary the disarming of the bourgeoisie, the arming of the laborer, and the formation of a Communist army as the protector of the rule of the proletariat."

Congress, we repeat, is reported to be thinking of enacting an "anti-Red" law—at its next session. Perhaps it needs time properly to think over that matter of its "immeasurable vileness."

Such an enactment is apparently needed. The Attorney-General says so. He says that under the existing laws of the United States, "the preaching of anarchy and sedition is not a crime. Advising the defiance of law is not a crime. Nor is advising and openly advocating the unlawful and violent destruction of property a crime." Well, we used to learn from Euclid that the whole is greater than any of its parts, but now we think that there must be an exception to that rule. For New York is only a part of the United States, and while the United States cannot treat

an Anarchist or an adviser of law-breaking as a criminal, the State of New York can. It has a law, of many years' standing, which declares that any person who, by word of mouth or writing or printing, advocates or advises the forcible overthrowing of organized Government, or in any way teaches, spreads or advocates the doctrines of criminal anarchy, is a criminal, and is subject to punishment by ten years' imprisonment and five thousand dollars' fine. It was under pursuance of that salutary law that this agent of Russian revolutionists was overhauled.

That law was enacted, by the way, in consequence of the assassination of a President of the United States by an Anarchist who had been prompted to his crime by the incitements of an inflammatory New York newspaper. It might have been supposed that the murder of a President would appeal as strongly to the National Congress as to any State Legislature, and would as promptly and certainly move it to action for the repression of such crimes. But apparently it did not. Now, however, Senator Poindexter has introduced a bill similar in purport to that of the New York statute, but increasing the penalty to twenty years' imprisonment of \$50,000 fine. That is admirable. It ought to be enacted without a dissenting vote, and at once.

But the best that we are promised is that Congress will take the matter up at its next session.

Who was it that spoke about "the idiotic Yankees"?

No Alien Colonies

THERE is much that is plausible in the suggestions of the Italian Minister for the Colonies in his recent election manifesto, that the Government should pay more attention to its citizens who feel compelled to emigrate, both in training and equipping them before their departure and in protecting them afterward. So far as that applies to Italians who emigrate to Italian colonies, it is wise and just beyond all exception. But we should hesitate to approve it so heartily in the case of those who go to other countries—who come, for example, to the United States. There can of course be no objection to their being trained and equipped. And if they do not intend to settle here permanently, or to become naturalized, it is natural and legitimate for the Italian Government to extend to them its protection. But it is not a good thing, either for Italy or for us, to have immigrants come hither just to get what money they can in a few years and then return home, or to have them settle here permanently and not become citizens. Much as it may dislike thus to sanction expatriation, the true course for the Italian or any other Government is to advise its emigrants to transfer their loyal allegiance to the new Government under which they have chosen to live, to give it their support and to look to it for protection, just as they have hitherto done to the Government of the old country.

There can be no real profit to either country in having emigrants from one maintain an alien colony in the other.

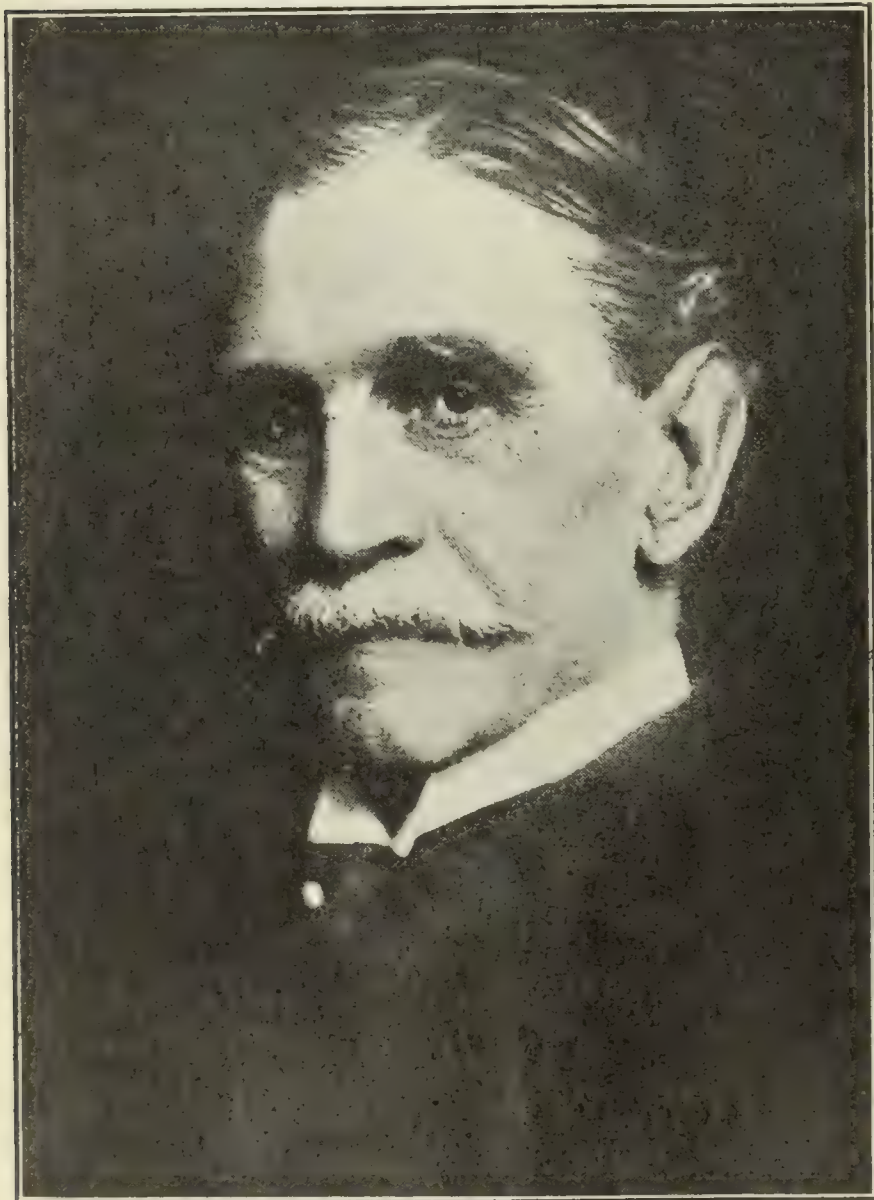
Henry Holt

WHEN Senator Medill McCormick remarked in the Senate, "I shrink from naming that one proponent of the Covenant who thanked God that Roosevelt is no longer here to join in the debate on the League," we promised to publish the portrait of the person referred to if the Senator would identify him. The Senator has not complied with our request, but from other sources which seem to be authoritative we learn that he had in mind Mr. Henry Holt, publisher, of New York City.

Mr. Holt's original declaration, in the form of a query published in his *Unpopular Review*, was the following:

Was it the Power called God, working through laws that go wider and deeper than our imaginations can, or was it chance . . . that, while the trial of the experiment was under discussion, removed to higher spheres, WE TRUST, the one man most likely and most able to obstruct it?

Replying in the latest number of his magazine to a correspondent who voiced displeasure at his utterance, Mr. Holt



HENRY HOLT

expresses "regret that our friend calls upon us to say more regarding Colonel Roosevelt" and announces that "even the little we said before, we said reluctantly and only because of its practical importance in a matter of supreme moment."

He finds but one "sound point in this connection," namely, "regard for the feelings of survivors," and concedes that "relatives should be considered when made abnormally

sensitive by recent affliction"; and yet, he adds emphatically, "even that consideration is as nothing compared with what is absolutely the most important question ever raised concerning things this side of Heaven and Hell."

For the great American whose removal, Mr. Holt sardonically and doubtingly "trusts," to "higher spheres," brought deepest grief to millions of loving hearts, Mr. Holt evinces no concern. "The man," he declaims sternly, "is dead or he's not. If he's unconscious, he doesn't care. If he's not, what little possible light we have upon the subject seems to indicate that he's so situated as to care, if at all, vastly less than he would have cared here." This is the extent of Mr. Holt's self-justification.

We do not feel called upon to perform the distasteful task of disemboweling a ghoul. Our sole purpose is to identify the being who exulted at the death of Theodore Roosevelt and implied through biting sarcasm his belief that after death that spirit which so many humans held to be noble was condemned by Almighty God as malign.

In fulfilment of our pledge, we print herewith a portrait of Henry Holt.

Secretary Lansing presided at the cabinet meeting, which was the regular weekly session, and most of the members were present. —*Washington Star*.

Let us see! There would be Secretary Glass (resigned), Secretary Lane (resigned), Secretary Redfield (resigned), and Messrs. Baker, Daniels, Houston and Burleson, with Mr. Bullitt's friend in the chair—truly an imposing array of administrative abilities at a time like this.

Other Treaty "Reservations"

THE record of the Senate's dealing with important treaties shows the pettiness of the President's action in ordering the burking of the child of Jan Smuts's brain simply because the Senate pursued a course prescribed by the Constitution and confirmed by precedent.

The very first treaty ever made under the Constitution, that negotiated with Great Britain by John Jay in 1794, was ratified by the Senate with a very radical reservation, or amendment, consisting of the omission of an important clause relating to West Indian commerce. But Washington did not therefore refuse to accept it and to transmit it to Great Britain for exchange of ratification, and the Government of that country did not hesitate to acquiesce in the Senate's modification of its text.

The next great treaty, that with France in 1800, by means of which John Adams averted open war with that country, was ratified with the important reservation of the right thereafter to claim indemnity for French depredations upon our shipping. Neither the President nor the French Government demurred to the reservation.

The Oregon treaty of 1846 was submitted to the Senate by the President for ratification before it was signed, with the understanding and intention that the Senate should make any changes in it which it desired, and that the President, Mr. Polk, would accept and sign it with those changes;

though in fact none were made. As Webster said of it: "In the general operation of Government, treaties are negotiated by the President and ratified by the Senate; but here is the reverse—here is a treaty negotiated by the Senate and only agreed to by the President."

The famous Clayton-Bulwer treaty of 1850 was ratified in a hurry, without reservations or interpretations of any kind, all such matters being—precisely as was proposed in this latest case—postponed until afterward. The result was that disputes over the interpretation of its property arose, which nullified all its good purposes and made it for fifty years a source of evil and a menace to friendship and peace.

The first Hay-Pauncefote treaty, in 1900, was radically amended by the Senate before ratification, so as materially to change its purport, but the President did not hesitate to accept it and to offer it to Great Britain for exchange of ratifications. The British Government did, indeed, decline to accept it; the solitary example of such refusal for such cause. But a little later, the British Government itself initiated proceedings for the making of a new treaty embodying the very principles of the Senate's amendments, thus vindicating the Senate's action.

Several arbitration treaties in 1904, made under the first Hague Convention, were amended at the instance of a number of Southern Senators, whereupon the President declined to transmit them for exchange of ratifications; the sole example of such action on his part. But even some of the warmest friends of President Roosevelt regarded his refusal with regret, as unwarranted.

The important Algeciras treaty of 1906 was ratified by the Senate with a radical reservation closely resembling those proposed by the Senate for the Peace Treaty of Versailles; which the President and the other signatories unhesitatingly accepted.

The African Slave Trade act of 1890, the first Hague Convention of 1899-1900, and the second Hague Convention of 1907-1908, were all ratified by the Senate with strong reservations similar in character to those proposed for the Peace Treaty; and they were all accepted without demur.

Until the present time, therefore, Senatorial modification—which the Constitution calls "advice"—of treaties was a common practice. In some cases it was notably beneficent if not indispensable, and was so recognized. In only one case was it objected to by the other signatory, and then that signatory made haste to confess its error and to accept the Senate's amendments in a new treaty. In only one case did the President object, and in that he was very generally regarded as in error.

But of course things were different under mere Presidential Administrations from what they are under a would-be Dictatorship.

The right of an individual to work or to cease to work at his will is one thing; the right to combine with others for the purpose of enforcing demands is quite another.—*Ex-Justice Charles Evans Hughes.*

A distinction with a difference which is not always sufficiently appreciated either by labor leaders or legislators.

Stone On Injunctions

"THE time has not yet come," said Mr. Stone, Chief of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, at St. Paul a few days ago, "when the government of the country can be conducted by the injunction process."

Now the accuracy of Mr. Stone's statement depends a good deal upon what he means by "injunctions," for of injunctions there are several kinds. If Mr. Stone means the injunction on legislation which the railroad brotherhood, with the support of President Wilson, applied to Congress at the time the Adamson bill was passed, under threat of paralysis of our entire railroad transportation system if Congress failed to obey the Brotherhood orders as to the kind of laws it enacted—if Mr. Stone refers to that kind of injunction, then he is quite right in saying that "the time has not yet come when the government of this country can be conducted by the injunction process." Perhaps it would be more meticulously accurate to say that the time when that form of injunction could conduct this country's government came with the stop-watch, time-limit coercion of Congress in that instance, went with it, and either will never come back again or we might as well abolish the legislative branch of our National Government altogether and have done with it.

But between injunctions of that sort and injunctions issued in orderly process of court procedure there is a very wide difference—the difference, in fact, which lies between mob rule and the rule of law. If Mr. Stone means that the time has not yet come when this country can be governed by the action of our courts in the interpretation and enforcement of the law by injunctions, then he is deplorably wrong. The time has not only come when such injunctions are a vital part in the governmental mechanism of the country, but it was here from the beginning. Furthermore, it is here to stay, the decisions handed down by Mr. Stone and Mr. Gompers to the contrary notwithstanding. If any person, class, group or organization undertakes to engage in something that is in violation of the laws of the United States, as did the United Mine Workers in the recent instance, they may be very sure that an injunction from a United States court will meet them at the very threshold of their enterprise. In certain classic instances citizens have interpreted injunction government of this kind as Mr. Stone seems to interpret it. Taking their stand on the broad principle that "Injunctions Don't Go," they have boldly placed themselves squarely athwart the path of this form of government, defiantly bidding it to "come on" and see what happened to it.

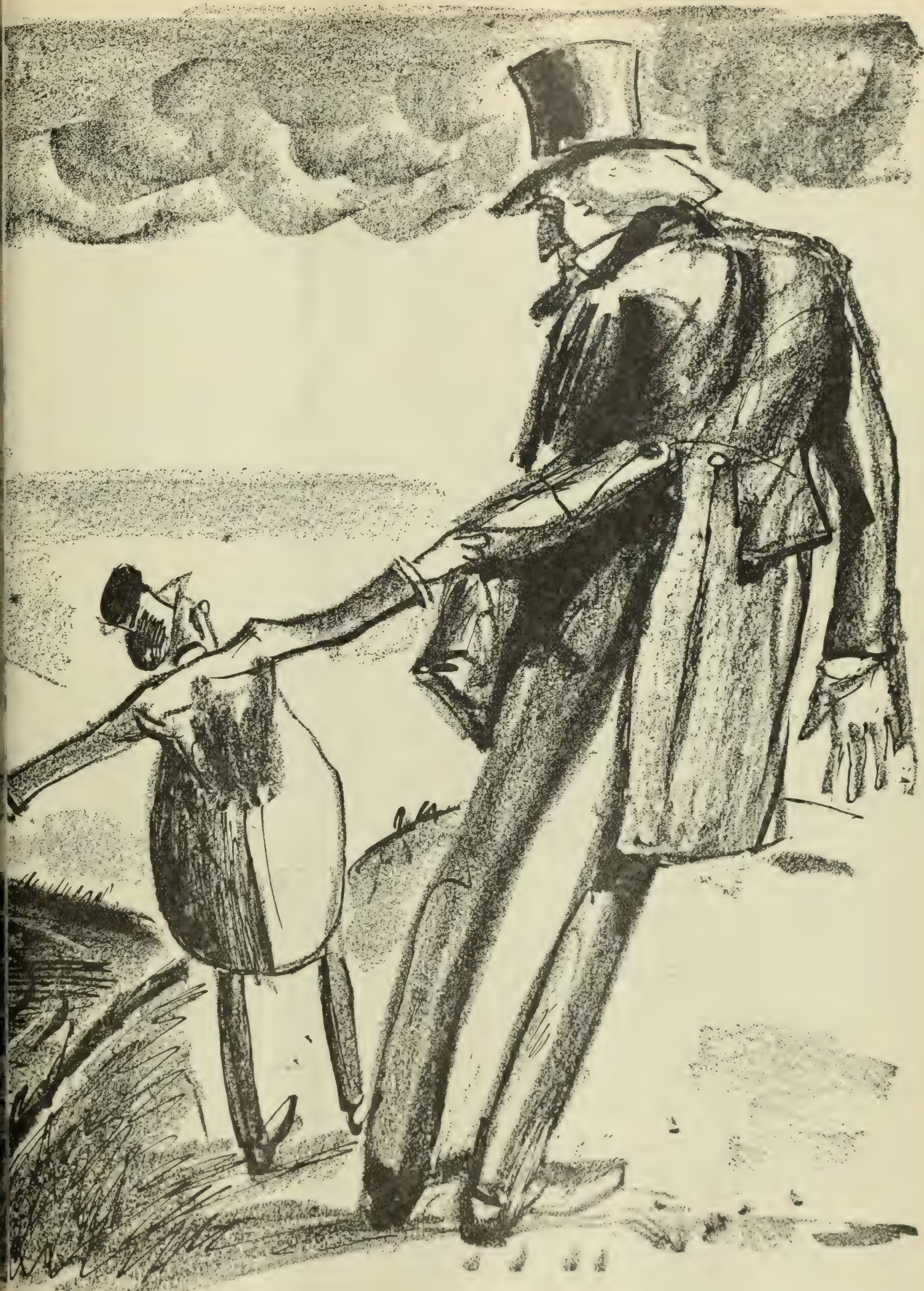
What happened to these courageous citizens in these instances is matter of record. Their melancholy stories may be read in the archives of various criminal courts and penal institutions. Doubtless Mr. Stone is familiar with them, and we have not the slightest notion that Mr. Stone has any disposition to enroll himself in this particular noble army of martyrs. Indeed, we have an abiding faith that Mr. Stone is not precisely of the stuff of which martyrs are made.



DECLINED

Chorus from the pool: "C

Uncle Sam: "Looks mu



THANKS
in; the water's fine."
Let go of my coat, son."

The Week

WASHINGTON, November 25, 1919.

IN his scholarly work on *Congressional Government*, Professor Woodrow Wilson, in 1885, gave some special attention to the respective powers of the President and the Senate in the making of treaties: and said:

The greatest consultative privilege of the Senate—the greatest in dignity, at least, if not in effect upon the interests of the country—is its right to a ruling voice in the ratification of treaties with foreign Powers. . . . The President really has no voice at all in the conclusions of the Senate with reference to his diplomatic transactions, or with reference to any of the matters upon which he consults it. . . . He is made to approach that body as a servant conferring with his master, and of course deferring to that master. . . .

In his letter to Senator Hitchcock on November 18, 1919, President Woodrow Wilson, writing of a matter in the conclusions of the Senate with reference to which he had, according to Professor Woodrow Wilson, "really no voice at all," and approaching the Senate "as a servant conferring with his master, and of course deferring to that master," said:

I sincerely hope that the friends and supporters of the Treaty will vote against the Lodge resolution of ratification. . . . I trust that all true friends of the Treaty will refuse to support the Lodge resolution.

It would be interesting, and probably entertaining, to know the interpretations placed respectively by Professor Wilson and President Wilson upon the phrase "really no voice at all," their definitions of the word "deferring," and their conceptions of the appropriate attitude and manner of "a servant conferring with his master."

Europe, we were told, was "aghast" at President Wilson's plan to kill the treaty unless the Senate would forego its Constitutional right and duty to "advise" concerning the ratification of it. We should think it would have been; doubly so. It had occasion to be astounded at the revelation of the deception which he had practiced upon it concerning the "mandate" and "instructions" which he pretended this country had given to him for the League of Nations. At that revelation of duplicity and misrepresentation, Europe might well stand aghast. It could scarcely, we should think, have avoided similar feelings at the cold-blooded determination to kill the treaty and thus in his own words "break the heart of the world" in a fit of pique and spite because he was not permitted to have his own way in every detail. We should doubt if the history of European diplomacy, at least in recent times, contained anything quite comparable with either of those extraordinary incidents.

According to the *London Chronicle*, which often reflects the views of the British Prime Minister, the principal Allied Powers are inclined to regard the Peace Treaty as perfected and to proceed with the execution of its provisions, without longer waiting for the participation of the United States. We should regard that as the rational and proper thing for them to do. We know of no reason why the delay which the President's obstreperousness and obstinacy caused in this country should hold all the rest of the world in a deadlock; or why our flat refusal to meddle in affairs which are

none of our business should restrain action by the Powers whose legitimate business those affairs are. We thought, by the way, that the Treaty itself provided that it should go into effect as soon as the ratifications of three of the Big Five were deposited.

The Peace Conference, the Supreme Council, the Big Five, the Grand Lodge of Sorrow and all the rest have apparently "thrown up the sponge" in the case of Russia, and are going to remit the whole bothersome problem, not to the omnipotently benevolent League of Nations, but to a good old-fashioned conference of the interested Powers. At this we cannot profess surprise. If ever an important matter was egregiously bungled and man-handled it was the Russian business at the Peace Conference. To send troops to Archangel to shoot the Bolsheviks as enemies, and at the same time to send the Reverend George Herron and others to Prinkipo to hob-nob with the Bolsheviks as friends, was surely a counsel of Bedlam. Recall what the French Foreign Minister said on the subject, and think how different the situation might be today if only his strong, straightforward, righteous policy had prevailed.

Mr. Lloyd George obviously hasn't a particularly high opinion of President Wilson's late envoy to Russia, Mr. William C. Bullitt. But then, neither had the President himself, if we are to judge from what he said about him to Mr. Lloyd George—according to Mr. George himself. We wonder if it is a principle or a practice of the New Diplomacy to send confidential agents on important missions, and then on their return to warn people against attaching too much importance to what they may say. Of course, though, there was Mr. Bryan, who warned the Austrian Ambassador not to attach too much importance to what the President himself said. Even a Commissioner Paramount, or whatever Mr. Bullitt was, can scarcely expect to be more highly esteemed and credited by the President than the President himself is by his Secretary of State.

The passage of the Esch bill by the House of Representatives may be accepted as a step toward the settlement of the railroad problem, though it is by no means altogether in the right direction. With the Democrats opposing any extension of the Government's guarantee, the Republicans may have thought that they were doing all that could be expected in voting for such extension for six months; but we must believe that on reflection they will see the desirability of prolonging it until after next year's Presidential election, in order to avoid even the least possibility of having the matter dragged into party politics. We must also believe that the party leaders were wiser than the followers who refused to follow them on the question of prohibiting strikes. The welfare of the public is as worthy of consideration as the assumed interests of the railroad employees, and it certainly demands protection against arbitrary interruption of an essential service. The vague and complicated provisions of the Anderson amendment would

be about as useful against strikes as a horsechestnut in the trousers pocket is against rheumatism. In the matter of trying to leave control of the roads in the hands of State boards, instead of placing it under the Federal Government and thus assuring uniformity, the Democratic minority erred again. The net outcome is simply further demonstration of the need of promptly enacting a temporary *modus vivendi*, to serve until a well-considered permanent measure can be agreed upon. That a satisfactory ground of meeting between the House with the Esch bill and the Senate with the Cummins bill can be found before the date set for the return of the roads to their owners, is too much to expect this side of the millennium.

It is an interesting matter of official record that there are published in this country by the I. W. W. twenty-two newspapers advocating the overthrow of this Government and the establishment of a Bolshevik régime, with the abolition of private property and other delectable reforms. Of these, only five are printed in English, the other seventeen being in foreign tongues and therefore exclusively addressed to aliens. True, there are at the same time more than twice as many measures before Congress for the suppression of anarchism. But the trouble is that the papers are printed and distributed regularly, while the bills slumber in pigeon holes awaiting the advent of the Greek Kalends.

While there are thousands of alien revolutionists who have been rounded up for deportation, and are indisputably worthy of such treatment, only a few have actually been shipped. This seems to be chiefly because of a division of authority. The Department of Justice apparently wants to ship them promptly. But the Department of Labor, or the Immigration Bureau, or the Chief Weather Forecaster, or somebody else, has to have a say in the case; and so there you are. It is difficult to understand why the immigration authorities should be able to prevent or to delay the deportation of those whom the Department of Justice has proved to be unfit to remain this country.

The presence of a number of active Communists and Bolsheviks among the teachers in the New York public schools has been disclosed, eliciting from the Superintendent the declaration that drastic action will be taken for their dismissal. Thereupon the *Evening Post* warns him that he had better go slowly in the matter, for it would be an atrocious thing to deprive American citizens of their livelihood just because there is a possibility that they will incite their pupils to disloyalty. To our mind it does not matter that there is no proof that these Communist teachers have actually taught Communism to their pupils. A person who cherishes such un-American principles cannot be a fitting instructor of American children. Quite apart from what might be taught in history or civics, we should have little confidence in the teaching of even the most abstract academic subjects by persons whose minds were so perverted. Of course the talk about the iniquity of depriving American citizens of their livelihood is twaddle. It might as well be

uttered in protest against interfering with the livelihood of a pickpocket or a burglar. The question is not that of livelihood but of service. If these teachers are unfit for their places, they can have no claim upon the livelihood which the places give them.

Russian revolutionists at Akron, Ohio, under the patronage of Lenine and Trotzky, have been conspiring for the murder or massacre of all city officials and all "capitalists," the plundering of all banks, the destruction of all churches, the abolition of marriage, and the "communization" of women. Meanwhile, we have been coddling the pretended "Ambassador" of the Bolshevik Government as an honored guest, and thus affording opportunity for the undisturbed extension of this unspeakable propaganda.

Senator Frelinghuysen makes the interesting suggestion that the Constitution should be so amended as to require all further amendments to be adopted by popular vote. There is much to be said in favor of such an arrangement. The organic law of the land is too serious a matter to be subject to easy and sudden changes, and if any modification is to be made in the method of amendment, it should surely be in the direction of greater rather than less circumspection. It would not be unreasonable to require that proposed amendments shall first be adopted by Congress and submitted by it to the States, next be adopted by the State Legislatures and submitted by them to the people, and finally be adopted by a popular vote of the people. That would give time for full deliberation, it would afford the people a thorough education in the merits and demerits of the amendment, and would make it impossible for the charge reasonably to be made that the amendment was adopted by snap judgment and did not represent the will of the people. It is a gravely regrettable thing that such charges are widely made against the latest of the amendments, and that they are by no means groundless the result of the recent referendum in Ohio strongly suggests. It is a bad thing to enact laws of Congress which are not supported by public sentiment. It is a far worse thing to make amendments of the Constitution which do not generally command the confidence of the nation.

In New York, "war-time prohibition remains valid." In Louisville, "war-time prohibition is unconstitutional." In Providence, "its immediate enforcement is not imperative." All at the same time, and all according to United States District Judges. Now if we could only say, "When judges disagree, the thirsty then are free!"

The Commissioner of Internal Revenue is said to be relying upon public sentiment to insist upon strict enforcement of the prohibition law. It may do so, in spots. On the whole, we doubt it. Public sentiment is not likely to be very aggressive in support of a law in which the majority of the people do not believe.

Our Educational Army

THAT was an interesting array of "national groups" that was mustered the other day to greet the Prince of Wales on his visit to New York, and we have no doubt that he was considerably impressed by it. He was reminded of the fact that the United States within its compact continental compass is no less varied in its racial composition than the globe-circling empire over which his father reigns, and that "people and tribes of every tongue" here learn to speak the language of Shakespeare and find entrance to the realm of lawful liberty which dates from Magna Charta.

The Prince would have seen, however, a far more impressive and significant demonstration of the same truth if he could have visited Camp Upton, Long Island, and could there have inspected the working of its Recruit Educational Centre. He would there have found men not merely of some twenty-odd but of forty-three different national origins—many more than all the proposed original members of the "League of Nations"—all marching in the same company, all using the same English language, all learning and becoming thoroughly imbued and inspired with the same principles of American citizenship.

We commonly think of a great American city as an international melting-pot, in which aliens are fused into Americans. This to a certain extent is true, though current events unpleasantly remind us that too many refractory elements remain unchanged, and, instead of becoming Americanized, plot and agitate to Bolshevize America. We are reminded, too, that in city and country we have permitted aliens to remain ignorant of our language, and also natives to grow up illiterate, until the appalling proportion of one-fourth of the young men of the country are unable to read and write.

But this military camp, this concrete presentation of what our pacifist friends affect to regard as sheer brute force and savagery, what does it do for every one who comes within its influence? If he is an alien—whether he be Hussein from Morocco, Stanislaw from Poland, Konstantine from Greece, Angelo from Italy, Pedro from Spain, Arron from Transylvania—it teaches him to read and write the English language, and to understand the American Constitution and system of government, and to be American not only in khaki uniform but in mind and heart, in thought and feeling. If he is a native American, perhaps of many generations of American descent, born perhaps within the shadow of Independence Hall, and yet unable to read or write the language of the Declaration of Independence, it does for him in a few months what twenty years of civilian life neglected to do: it teaches him to read and write, to perform the simple operations of arithmetic, to know the history of his country, and to understand its Constitution and laws.

That is what the army of the United States is doing for education. That is its answer to Bolshevism and I. W. W.-ism and all the other menaces to our peace and integrity.

Our boasted civilization had permitted illiteracy to become so prevalent that there were not enough men who could read and write to fill the ranks of the army, so that we simply had to accept illiterates, under a special war act. But was the army content to let them remain thus, thinking that it did not matter whether "cannon-fodder" was literate or illiterate? By no means. The army wanted men, not mere creatures. So at every camp a school was opened, for the instruction and education of minds, just as the drill-grounds attended to the training of bodies, and scores of thousands of men were thus made literate.

From the military point of view there was no need of continuing this work after the war had ended. The small army needed in peace could readily be recruited from the literate portion of the nation, leaving the illiterates to their fate. But such was not the judgment of the army. Its point of view commanded a wider scope than mere military need. It comprehended civic needs as well. Therefore it is the purpose to continue this work, as it is being continued at Upton; to enlist native illiterates and non-English speaking aliens in time of peace as well as in the emergency of war, and to make the illiterates literate, and the aliens Americans.

That is the admirable work that is being done by a little company of over-worked and under-paid, but devoted and dauntless men at Camp Upton. It is one of the most practical and efficient activities in behalf of American citizenship that is being done within the borders of the Republic. It is a work the contemplation of which makes us feel more confident of the destinies of the nation. It is a work which, for the credit and honor of the country, as well as for its most practical and pecuniary profit, must be made permanent, and enlarged by whatever legislative or administrative acts may be necessary, so that the nation may be made to realize the extent to which its army can serve its best ends in peace as well as in war.

The Merry-Go-Round

IF you have \$8, you can, if you are lucky, get two seats somewhere in a New York theatre, and have enough change left over to tip the hat-boy with. There are a number of excellent shows on and about Broadway. But that is not the significant fact. Second-rate shows do almost as well. Third-rate shows do well enough. Anything goes this year. For there is a fresh and unending mob of Americans storming every place of amusement this year, and values and merits and traditional rates have gone a-glimmering. In saner times, most Americans would think it a crime and a stupid one to squander \$8 on three hours' entertainment for two people. Not so the present spenders.

It is the same when one is travelling. The high rates have discouraged the pleasure-seekers not one whit. They flock forth the country over; tourist cars are scorned: Pullmans are none too good for anyone. Everybody is doing it, and you are lucky if you can get an upper berth and a seat in the dining car.

Every few weeks somebody builds a new hotel in New York in an effort to kill the goose that lays the golden eggs for hotel-keepers. But the geese keep right on coming. Rooms jump in price every little while; and are just as hard to get. One-night stands are running on the same basis. Waiting lines of transients gather at the hotel desk and a room cannot be had for love or money, unless you have telegraphed ahead.

Luxuries? What is a luxury, in the first place? Evidently not jewelry or automobiles, judging by the people that buy them. Any shop tells the same story. The old customers are buying less. But new ones have arrived that more than make up for all the squandering of the past. Tax high-priced clothing, tax silk stockings, tax anything, and the crowds will still flock to buy. If anyone had a thought that a luxury tax would discourage spending, he has another guess. The merry-go-round was never spinning faster, money was never freer (with those that have it at all), living was never so luxurious (for those who can afford anything more than necessities).

And the movies go on paying Mr. McAdoo we forget how many thousands of dollars a week.

It's a wonderful life!

Disloyal Police

IN one respect the judgment of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts in the case of the dismissed Boston police is unsatisfactory. To say that is not, of course, to express the slightest disrespect for that tribunal, nor to criticise the impregnable soundness of its decision. It is merely to express a regret that the case had not come before the court in a different form, so that it could have been disposed of upon a different ground. As it was, the mutineers who sought reinstatement in the force which they had dishonored and flouted were nonsuited on the technical ground that through their negligence they had no standing in court. It is well, of course, to have them lose their case. It would have been immeasurably more gratifying and more valuable to have the decision made against them on the fundamental merits of the case; as we have no doubt it would have been had they come before the court in a way that would have made it possible for the case to be tried on its merits.

There is abundant consolation, however, in the fact that before this judgment was passed upon them the case had already been very fully tried on its merits in another and higher court, and an entirely satisfactory judgment had been rendered, from which there can be no appeal. Usually a suit is tried first in the lower and afterward in the higher court, but in Massachusetts on this memorable occasion the process was reversed. Before the Supreme Court had opportunity to render the judgment to which we have referred, the Super-Supreme Court, composed of the entire citizenship of the State, had taken the case under advisement. It had given both sides the fullest possible hearing, unrestrained by technical rules of evidence. It had listened at great length

and with unfailing patience to pleas and arguments by a multitude of counsel. And it had with great deliberation on November 4 delivered its decision.

The judgment of the court was that the nineteen disobedient policemen were rightly suspended and were not worthy to be reinstated; that the hundreds of others who because of that suspension went on what they called a strike were in fact deserters and were unfit ever again to be received into the service; and that the rule of the Boston Police Department against policemen joining any trade union, or becoming affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, is constitutional, lawful, moral, right, and in accord with the public welfare, and is therefore by all means to be maintained and inflexibly enforced.

That is the judgment of the highest possible court of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. And we have a cheerful and inspiring confidence that, in a non-technical fulfilment of the Constitution's familiar prescription, full faith and credit will be given in each State to the public acts, records and judicial proceedings of every other State, so that if ever in any other State, from Maine to Colifornia, the same issue shall be raised, there will be a prompt and unhesitating reference to the precedent set by Massachusetts and concurrence in the judgment which she has rendered.

General Jan Smuts bobbed up just in time for the funeral, with a wish that we would not "blast the hopes of the world." That was something of an anti-climax from "break the heart of the world." On one memorable occasion Mr. Lloyd George seemed to suspect that it was to tickle the midriff of the world.

The Health of the Nation

"HEALTH WEEK" is, we are told, really to be ten days, with an addition running on for a fortnight more. It is the period, from December 1 to 10, assigned for the sale of Red Cross Christmas seals in behalf of the campaign against tuberculosis. The sale will be continued, doubtless, until Christmas, by which time it is hoped to realize receipts of \$6,500,000; every dollar of which can doubtless be used to advantage for the health of the people.

Thanks to various agencies, among which this work of the Red Cross is by no means least, the "great white plague" is being deposed from its old supremacy of destructiveness and dread. That is, of course, no reason for slackening the campaign against it or for withholding purchase this year of a single Christmas seal. On the contrary, it is one of the strongest reasons for pushing the campaign with increased vigor. There is nothing more encouraging and inspiring than success.

It is well, moreover, to have this annual "Health Week" to set us to thinking about the physical condition of the

nation and to devising ways and means for its improvement. The conscription of the late war threw upon this subject a most suggestive and informing light, the value of which should not be lost.

Our Expeditionary Forces commanded well deserved admiration for their fitness. But they left behind them far too large a company of unfit, and of men who were unfit for service because of avoidable or curable defects.

It is recorded that 2,510,000 men between the ages of 21 and 31 were examined by local boards, and that 730,000 of them, or more than 29 per cent., were rejected because of physical defects. Of these latter 22 per cent. were rejected because of flat feet, hernia, or some such defect of what we might call a mechanical kind, not necessarily invalidating them for efficiency in some civil occupation, but quite unfitting them for military service. The next largest class, 15 per cent., suffered rejection through defects of the perceptive senses, chiefly, of course, sight or hearing. No fewer than 13 per cent. had serious ailments of the cardio-vascular system, and 12 per cent. were mentally or nervously unfit; while the two great plagues of tuberculosis and venereal diseases put together disqualified only 10 per cent.

A curious and thus far unexplained feature of the case was found in the contrasts between adjoining States, and the resemblances between remote and dissimilar States, in the general condition of their conscripts. Thus among the States which showed the highest average of fitness, or of whose conscripts the largest percentages were acceptable, were North Dakota and Arizona, Iowa and Louisiana, Pennsylvania and Colorado, Virginia and Kansas, Maryland and Oklahoma, South Dakota and Arkansas. Those of the lowest fitness included Maine and California, Washington and Florida, Vermont and Georgia, Montana and New Mexico.

Why should Arizona and Colorado rank high among the most fit, and the adjacent and surrounding States of California, New Mexico, Nevada, Utah, Wyoming and Idaho be among the most unfit?

What is clear is that entirely too large a proportion of young men are suffering from physical ailments which may not prevent but certainly impair to a greater or less degree their value to the community and to themselves, and which are largely avoidable or curable. The great prevalence of cardio-vascular, nervous and mental disorders especially gives food for thought. These ailments are in great part due to improper social and industrial conditions, to careless diet, to overtaxing of the physical and mental energies, to feverish hurry, and like causes, all of which should be avoidable.

The whole nation will do well to aid generously the Red Cross campaign against tuberculosis. It will do still better if, in addition, it gives serious thought—laymen as well as physicians and private citizens as well as government officials—to a still wider campaign against those other and still greater ills which so impair efficiency, diminish happiness and shorten life.

Wages and Cost of Living

THE relationship between wages and cost of living is obviously one of the most important factors in the economic industrial problem of the day. We are all agreed that a "living wage" must, as a minimum, be paid. The complaint of some strikers is that the cost of living has increased so greatly that their wages are no longer sufficient to live on. This suggests the propriety and the profit of comparing the increase which has occurred in the cost of living during the war with the movement of wages during the same period. Data for the purpose have been provided by the Department of Labor, and these, in respect of various leading industries, have been analyzed by the Standard Daily Trade Service, with interesting results.

The comparison is between the years 1913 and 1919. In the period thus denoted the cost of living has increased 75 per cent. It follows that workingmen whose wages have in the same time increased by a greater percentage than that are now better off than they were before the war, while those whose wages have not increased by so much have ground for complaint that they are not so well off, and that, if they had no more than a "living wage" in 1913, they have not a "living wage" at the present time.

The statistics show that in every branch of the iron and steel industry, in which the greatest of strikes has occurred, the increase of wages has been considerably greater than that of cost of living, in at least one branch, that of puddling mills, more than twice as great. The increases range from 98 to 167 per cent., the average being 121 per cent., against 75 per cent. in the cost of living. That is a substantial demonstration of the fact that if the men were getting a "living wage" just before the war, they are getting much more than that now; certainly enough more to make it incumbent upon them to be content with their present wages until war influences subside and increased production induces a material reduction of the cost of living. As there will of course be no commensurate reduction of wages there will then be, in fact, a practical increase of wages, through the increase in their purchasing power.

The same observations are applicable to other occupations, in which wages have increased more than the cost of living. Such has been the case in the manufacture of silk goods, and of hosiery and underwear, and sawmill workers, and, according to the figures of 1918, in the manufacture of cotton goods, and woolen and worsted goods.

On the other hand, there are trades in which the increase of wages has been less than the 75 per cent. of the cost of living, such as the manufacture of men's clothing, 71 per cent.; furniture, 54 per cent.; cigars, 52 per cent.; millwork on sashes, doors, etc., 51 per cent., and boots and shoes, 47 per cent.

Yet, if we remember aright, there have been more strikes and threats of strikes, and more demands for increases of wages, in the former category than in the latter; more among those whose wages have increased beyond the cost of living than among those whose wages have fallen behind it.

Letters From Our Readers

A GENERAL INDUSTRIAL COURT

SIR,—I read your magazine every week and find much in it to commend, as well as some things to criticise. In your issue of Nov. 8, devoted largely to industrial matters, I heartily agree with most that you wrote on the subject. But I cannot agree with you in your indorsement of that provision in the Cummins Bill which arbitrarily denies to railroad employees the right to strike under any circumstances.

I am opposed to strikes generally, except as a very last resort, after every other known method of adjustment has been tried and failed. But arbitrarily to deny this right to any class of American labor, without at the same time making some adequate, equitable and effectual provision for the adjustment and settlement of labor disputes, seems to me to be wholly un-American and undemocratic.

The analogy you draw from the fact that the railroads are compelled to keep going, regardless of whether they are run at a profit or loss, I do not think applicable. In the one case, there is a duly constituted tribunal in the Interstate Commerce Commission for the adjustment of rates; and, so far as I am informed, an advance in rates has never been denied when any real justification therefor was duly shown. But there is no such tribunal for the adjustment of wages and working conditions.

You say, "They may keep on agitating for higher wages, until they secure them by demonstrating the justice of their demands, but meanwhile they should keep the trains moving for the public's sake." But with the right to strike denied, and no authoritative and impartial tribunal to which to appeal, they may "agitate" and "demonstrate" until doomsday without relief. The very fact that labor is thus denied any effectual means of relief, except to "agitate" and "demonstrate," for which the average employer cares nothing, is a strong temptation to many employers, especially those representing large corporations, to reduce wages to the lowest possible minimum and impose onerous working conditions, in the interest of larger dividends.

If the Cummins Bill will go a step further, and give the Interstate Commerce Commission full jurisdiction over the questions of wages and working conditions among railroad employees, as it now has over rates, so that the employees will have an impartial tribunal to which to appeal for the adjustment of their grievances, as the railroads now have for the adjustment of rates, the provision prohibiting strikes will have some justification; but not otherwise.

But better still, if Congress will pass a general law, constituting a general court of arbitration, with full jurisdiction and authority over all industrial disputes arising in any interstate industry, such as railroads, telegraph and telephone lines, express companies, etc., and all industries whose products, or articles handled, enter in any way into interstate commerce, with full powers to compel obedience to its decisions by both parties, I would favor a general law prohibiting strikes altogether in such industries. Such a law, with such a court, would guarantee justice, so far as it is humanly possible, to all parties concerned; and at the same time protect the public against a repetition of such disasters as it has recently been compelled to endure. Such a law would not prohibit any individual, as such, from quitting any employment in which he might be engaged at will. It could therefore work no injustice to anyone.

Wichita, Kansas.

GEO. T. ASHLEY.

BATTS ON THE CONSTITUTION

SIR,—The *New Constitution of the United States*, by Judge Batts of Texas (*American Bar Association Journal*, October, 1919, pp. 584-601), reads not unlike a supplement to *Philip Dru: Administrator*.

It says:

"The written instrument so called, * * * is still not without importance as a part of the Constitution." (P. 584.)

"The praise which has sometimes been bestowed upon the original Constitution must be regarded as extravagant." (P. 584.)

"It was a makeshift and compromise." (P. 585.)

"The United States was a legal abstraction. A new nation had not been born." (P. 586.)

"The new government had neither the love of its people nor the respect of other peoples. It had accomplished nothing. No man had sacrificed anything for it. The benefits received were unimportant. There was no patriotism." (P. 589.)

"In the War of 1812 * * * there was evidence of cowardice of some of the American troops; the act of a historian is not merely suppressing the fact, but in destroying the proof, was a form of dishonesty not difficult to condone. As late as 1814, threats of disruption of the Union coming from the fine old Commonwealth

of Massachusetts were not regarded as treasonable." (P. 589.)

"From a verbal legal standpoint, the argument for secession is extremely difficult to answer." (P. 590.)

"The adoption of the 16th Amendment places the wealth of the country so absolutely under the dominion of Congress as to render nugatory the provisions against confiscation and the taking of property by the general Government without compensation. The use of taxation to accomplish ends not primarily assumed to be within the domain of the United States, has progressed * * * and finally to taxation for the accomplishment of any desired end for which no specific authority can be found, by the action of any party in power." (P. 592.)

"The industrial development after the Civil War created a slavery that the Thirteenth Amendment could not affect. The conditions under which the laborers were compelled to live were intolerable." (P. 597.)

"The owner is merely a trustee for the nation." (P. 599.)

"Its weakness is the weakness of all democracies—the strength of the mob." (P. 601.)

I wonder whether Judge Batts believes that the reorganization of Uncle Sam advocated by *Philip Dru: Administrator*, is on the point of being accomplished?

Should Allen L. Benson, the last Socialist candidate for chief magistrate, rewrite his magnum opus, *Our Dishonest Constitution*, I wonder whether he will use *Philip Dru: Administrator*, or Judge Batts' article?

New York City.

HENRY A. FORSTER.

OUR CARTOONS

SIR,—In your issue of Nov. 8th, L. G. Hendricks, an erstwhile designer and now happily married, denounces your cartoons as "cheap," "badly drawn," "undignified," etc.

If you will overlook the fact that I am not yet married, I, too, feel qualified to give vent to my feeling regarding your cartoons, for not only am I a designer, but also I live among artists and to cap the climax I am what L. G. H. admits he (or she) was not—a cartoonist.

I do not wish to argue with L. G. H. about the cartoons. His tirade merely suggests that you should be heartily thanked for them. They are the heart of your magazine. These cartoons, rich in ideas, humor, and satire, are among the few which rise above the flood of American cartoons. To me it seems the artist's preoccupation has been to clothe his ideas with those elements which make his cartoon a work of art. The power of draughtsmanship, and especially of design (L. G. H.: there are wallpaper designs, and also designs by Cezanne, Giotto, and Michael Angelo) and of characterization remind one of Daumier and Forain (and, by the way, pray who are "the brothers Dalziel"?).

If there are certain people who are repelled by these cartoons, I assure you there are others who are attracted by them. They first attracted me to your magazine, and I have friends who would not be without HARVEY'S WEEKLY because of them. You, as an editor, are to be praised for bringing before us such good drawings, despite ubiquitous blind men.

New York City.

ADOLPH DEHN.

SWORN FRIENDS

SIR,—I have your circular, asking that we, who swear by the WEEKLY, lend a hand to increase its circulation.

Here is my bit: Please mail, beginning with the December number, and indicate that it is a Christmas gift from me, *The North American Review* and HARVEY'S WEEKLY to ten of my friends, of whom I enclose a list.

I am enclosing also my check for \$60 in payment. I shall start in as soon as I can, and try to get another block for you.

Washington, D. C.

ROBT. M. THOMPSON.

OHIO AMERICAN STILL

SIR,—A number of men in this locality are contemplating the free distribution at their own expense at regular intervals of small pamphlets containing reprints of the strongest articles on Americanism available, believing that such a method will be effective in combating radical propaganda.

We believe that your magazine is one of the two or three from which we would care most frequently to quote.

Elyria, Ohio.

T. L. MOISE.

Letters From Our Readers

FRANCE'S DEAD AND OURS

SIR,—I have read and enjoyed all the recent issues of HARVEY'S WEEKLY, and can say the same for some of the old issues of the WAR WEEKLY which found their way into the A. E. F. There are, however, letters published from time to time in your WEEKLY with which I cannot agree. One of these was published in the issue of September 6th, signed by Rev. T. W. Rainey, and to this letter I would like to take vigorous exception.

The burden of Mr. Rainey's argument is that we have now paid our debt to France, and that there is no further need of treaty or special alliance with that nation. This sentiment is, I believe, one very largely held at the present time, and unjustifiably so. In the first place, he states that we have paid our debt to France, or, in the parlance of the American Doughboy, "We've paid our debt to Lafayette, now who in the hell do we owe?" But that brings up the question—Have we *really* paid our debt to France? Did we pay off our score for France's generous Revolutionary assistance by going in, late as we did, when the very safety of this country was threatened by the success of the Hun? Did we go in to save France alone, or did we go in to save ourselves? I believe that any fair-minded American will admit that our own future, commercial and otherwise, depended upon the Hun's defeat, and that our action in entering the war was not wholly a philanthropic enterprise. And, furthermore, it was not only our own future, but that of the whole civilized world, which depended upon the Hun's defeat.

Mr. Rainey calls vigorous attention to what he gathered from the soldiers' statements made to him in the various camps where these same soldiers were about to be discharged. They said that they would never go back to France, etc., etc., that France was a ——— of a place, the French were a ——— of a people, and so on without end. I personally have been hearing the same song from the men in France from the time of the signing of the Armistice up to last August, when I came home. I heard the same thing on the Mexican Border in 1916, and I have noticed that the men who talked the loudest in 1916 were among the first to join the Colors in 1917. It has always been so, and probably always will be so. Pursuing this same line of thought a little further, I would like to ask Mr. Rainey if he saw many men who were well satisfied with the Army and who had no energetic kicks to register? I believe there were very few. The answer to that is not hard to find. The long delays after the Armistice was signed, periods of inaction, patrol and training duty, with no incentive, were enough to take the heart out of the best of men and to lower the morale of the best of units.

Mr. Rainey mentions the men who died in France to save her, who made the supreme sacrifice for France. But why not put the horse before the cart where it belongs? Did we save France by the men we left there, or did she and the other Allies save us by the huge outpouring of their blood in the first years of the war? Where would we be now were it not for the heroic resistance offered by the Allies, and most of all by France from 1914 up to 1917? It is true that our aid was necessary for the ultimate success of the Allied cause, but it was not our work alone, it was the combined efforts and sacrifice of all the Allies that won the war. Now that the war is won, let us take a look at what remains, and see who did the suffering and who made the sacrifices. For England I cannot speak personally, not having been there during or since the war. As for the United States and for France, I believe that I can make some kind of a reasonable estimate, having been in both countries during and since the war. I do not speak with any disparagement of our own losses, having left in France both comrades and kindred whose loss I deeply feel; but no fair-minded man can speak of our losses in comparison with those of France. I will not quote the actual figures, striking as they are, but let Mr. Rainey go to France, even to the south, east and west places where there was no actual destruction of property; let him go into the crowded streets, into the places of business, and into the homes and the clubs, and look for the young men. Perhaps he will notice some difference from the conditions here. Let him go to the cemeteries in these places, and note the thousands of graves with the plain wooden crosses, crowded in so closely that the coffins are barely six inches apart. After he has done these things, and noted the things that I have mentioned, I do not believe that he will come home and talk about our sacrifices, nor do I believe that he will ask again—"Have we paid our debt to France?"

Hartford, Conn.

R. PHILIP HART.

[No intelligent American will deny the heroic and transcendent sacrifices made by the French in defense of civiliza-

tion. But why dispute the question of *comparative* sacrifices? The fifty thousand American soldiers who lie dead in French graves were as dear to those they left behind them as were the more numerous dead of France. Bereaved American mothers would hardly agree with Mr. Hart's apparent conviction that America has no right to talk of "our sacrifice."

—EDITOR.]

THE LID IS ON

SIR,—I am sure you have watched with interest the activity of the Attorney-General. He leaps lightly from city to city and from audience to audience, and to each one he declares that the cost of living has gone down 25 per cent.

When some harassed and bankrupt citizen ventures to observe that in *his* city prices have *risen*, the Attorney-General says that he is surprised and pained to hear it, and that it is the one exception in a world of rapidly falling prices. He adds, sternly, that if we bought less food and no new clothes, we should lower prices still further. The subject of food is still painful to the housekeeper, and most of us have had no new clothes for several years.

Meanwhile the cost of living continues to increase, and the Reds and I. W. W. and Bolsheviki roam joyous and unchecked, spreading their gospel far and wide. It is for this that we have an Attorney-General.

I venture to suggest (without prejudice) that Mr. Palmer is talking through his hat, and, as he is a Quaker, I suppose he wears his hat all the time.

Hamilton, Massachusetts.

CONSTANCE GARDNER.

"MIRACLES" WITHOUT END

SIR,—There have been some wierdly "miraculous" doings of the Post Office Department, and I think this is one of them.

Three weeks ago my daughter, residing in Johnstown, Pennsylvania, wrote to Dr. Blackburn, a prominent physician of Philadelphia, requesting that he promptly send her a certain serum which was desired for immediate use. The letter in question, as you will see from the enclosed card which I just have from Dr. Blackburn, reached Philadelphia just *three weeks after being mailed at Johnstown*; my daughter mailed this letter at the Johnstown post office herself the day it was written. Of course there was nothing very unusual in this "miraculous" service of Postmaster General Burleson, but when the serum was not received within a reasonable length of time I wrote Dr. Blackburn from Huntingdon, Pennsylvania, fearing a letter from Johnstown might meet with the same fate as the former letter, and the serum was very promptly mailed my daughter to Johnstown, special delivery. But the serum never reached its destination. I took the matter up in person with the Johnstown postal authorities. I was informed that the package was lost at Johnstown, and that the reason was that the Post Office Department did not make them sufficient allowance to employ efficient messengers and small boys had to be used. I only mention this evidence of efficiency because of Mr. Burleson's address at Atlantic City calling attention to the "miraculous" efficiency of the Post Office Department.

Huntingdon, Pa.

LOUIS J. MILLER.

APPROVAL FROM CHICAGO

SIR,—Your wonderful gift of clear, pointed expression is certainly appreciated by your subscribers. I wish your WEEKLY could be forced into the curriculum of all schools, for it would teach 100 per cent Americanism. You are doing a wonderful work.

Keep up your good work. I'm for you, and there are a hundred million others like me—nearly.

Chicago, Ill.

H. W. EVANS.

THE FARMER AND THE SAFETY MATCH

SIR,—My housekeeper reports to me that on ordering a gross of safety matches, or rather a gross of boxes thereof, shipped by the grocer we deal with in New York to my house here, she was informed that the shipment could not be made, either by express or parcel post, under regulations now in force. How are we poor farmers in the country to light our fires and kerosene lamps this winter?

It may be that the railroads will still carry safety matches as freight! Will they?

Garrison, N. Y.

STUYVESANT FISH.

CARTOON: "THE IRREDUCIBLE MINIMUM"

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Nullification or Americanization?

LET there be no misunderstanding! The Treaty as submitted by the President is no longer an issue. It is dead. It cannot be resuscitated. All admit that. The Treaty as modified by the Senate is dormant but not dead unless the President so wills. That Treaty is the issue. There can be no other.

What would ratification of that Treaty involve—complete nullification or mere Americanization? There the line is drawn, sharp-cut and clearly defined.

"The resolution in that form," the President asserts as his opinion, "does not provide for ratification but, rather, for the nullification of the Treaty."

"The reservations," Senator Lodge declares with equal positiveness, "are designed solely to Americanize the Treaty and make it safe for the United States."

One or the other must be wrong. Which is right? Let us analyze and consider clause by clause. Take first the preamble.

Resolved (two-thirds of the Senators concurring therein); That the Senate advise and consent to the ratification of the treaty of peace with Germany concluded at Versailles on the 28th day of June, 1919, subject to the following reservations, understandings and interpretations, which shall be made a part of the instrument of ratification, which ratification is not to take effect or bind the United States until the said reservations and understandings adopted by the Senate have been accepted by an exchange of notes as a part and a con-

dition of said resolution of ratification by at least three of the four principal allied and associated Powers, to wit: Great Britain, France, Italy and Japan.

This is not rejection. It is acceptance. It "advises and consents" to ratification. The sole condition is that three of the principal allied Powers shall signify acquiescence in certain "reservations, undertakings and interpretations" to be enumerated. What can be the real objections to that procedure? The first is that it is unnecessary because under custom and precedent silence gives consent. Granted, with respect to ordinary treaties. But this, as Senator Brandegee said, is not an "ordinary peace treaty." It is a permanent engagement on the part of the United States to abandon the policy which it has maintained since its formation and to join a coalition of forty or more nations scattered over Europe, Asia and Africa.

Is there anything unreasonable in asking that the only terms under which the United States is willing to do this should be specifically recognized and accepted by three of the other Powers concerned? If silence really does give consent equivalent to that of a signed note, why should Great Britain or France or Italy decline or hesitate to grant the written assurance of understanding to which under the circumstances we feel entitled? The way is made easy. No "opening up of the whole Treaty" is called for—only an "exchange of notes" through ordinary diplomatic channels, which could be made in effect by cable in forty-eight hours.

But it is urged that Great Britain would not do this because she could not stoop to bind herself definitely to assent to a certain reservation which incidentally deprives her of exceptional privileges. What can this mean except that she has no intention of recognizing that reservation under the plan of tacit acquiescence?

It is argued further that Japan would take the same position respecting another reservation which only withholds the approval of the United States of a special territorial concession to her carved ruthlessly out of another faithful ally. Obviously the query raised with respect to Great Britain here also applies with increased force.

Other disquieting portents, moreover, are visible—one notably of a most sweeping character. Only last week Colonel Robert R. McCormick, one of the proprietors of the *Chicago Tribune*, cabled to his great journal from London:

The London papers widely display the suggestion of the *Presse de Paris* that if America does not require the acceptance of the reservations in the Peace Treaty, the Allies will allow the League to be formed and later refuse to recognize the validity of the reservations.

"Therefore," added Colonel McCormick, with peculiar urgency, "it is *vital* that the Senate does not omit a clause requiring their acceptance. The majority of the League, otherwise, would demand obedience to those sections reserved against under penalty of war."

This is what America wishes to avoid beyond peradventure. She is not willing to take the remotest chance that her safeguarding reservations shall be treated as "scraps of paper." The pledge to recognize them, we are assured, is imbedded with binding force in assenting silence. Then why, asks the United States, Yankee-fashion, not "put it in writing?" We stand ready to sign everything we agreed to. Why should not the others if they are indeed sincere? Are they so proud and haughty and superior that they will deign to put only inferences against our bond? Even for policy's sake might they not do well to heed the admonition of our self-designated apologist, Mr. Taft, who pleads with suffocating sycophancy, "You must be patient with the United States"?

But though we be considered unduly meticulous in our contention and slightly impolite in our insistence, surely there is nothing in this simple preamble to warrant the President's interpretation.

It does *not* nullify. It *does* ratify. Nobody can deny that.

1. The United States so understands and construes Article 1 that in case of notice of withdrawal from the League of Nations, as provided in said article, the United States shall be the sole judge as to whether all its international obliga-

tions and all its obligations under the said covenant have been fulfilled, and notice of withdrawal by the United States may be given by a concurrent resolution of the Congress of the United States.

This is purely interpretative. Article 1 grants privilege of withdrawal if all international obligations have been fulfilled but it does not designate the judge of what constitutes fulfilment. The natural impression is that the League itself, like the Senate or House of Representatives, respecting its membership, would possess this power of determination. If so, withdrawal by the United States without endorsement by its eight fellow members of the Council of its claim of fulfilment could be accomplished only through repudiation of its obligation and would involve a declaration of war against the League itself. If not, that is to say if the United States should be the judge, as it is according to the President, the reservation only makes plain that which is implied. Again there is not a vestige of *nullification*.

2. The United States assumes no obligation to preserve the territorial integrity or political independence of any other country or to interfere in controversies between nations—whether members of the League or not—under the provisions of Article 10, or to employ the military or naval forces of the United States under any article of the Treaty for any purpose, unless in any particular case the Congress, which, under the Constitution, has the sole power to declare war or authorize the employment of the military or naval forces of the United States, shall by act or joint resolution so provide.

Upon the fundamentals of this declaration there is no dispute. All admit that under the Constitution the United States cannot engage in war "to preserve the territorial integrity or political independence of any other country" or "employ the military or naval forces for any purpose" except by affirmative action of the Congress. The sole point is one of moral, not legal, obligation and even here there is little, if any, differentiation. Both President Wilson and Senator Borah assert that a moral obligation transcends a legal obligation and that the United States would be in honor bound to recognize and abide by that admitted principle.

The vital difference lies between the two words "*until*" and "*unless*"—the Congress "shall so provide." The clause proposed by Senator Hitchcock as acceptable to the President includes "*until*," thereby retaining and conceding the transcendent moral obligation and making its application solely a matter of time. The Lodge reservation, on the other hand, through the use of "*unless*," holds strictly in Congress its Constitutional prerogative to act "in any particular case" that may arise without being hampered in the slightest degree by any moral ob-

ligation arising from commitment of the treaty-making branches of the Government.

There is yet another phase of this notorious Article X which should not escape attention. The President, Mr. Taft and Senator Hitchcock have harped persistently upon a single string, namely, that in case of aggression or threat thereof the Council has no authority to require this country, except as we have noted in response to a call upon its honor, to use its army and navy in enforcing the Council's decrees and, in support of this contention, they plausibly instance the English version of the Covenant to the effect that the Council shall only "advise" as to the means by which the United States shall fulfil its obligation.

But wait a minute! The official French version of Article X reads as follows:

Les Membres de la Société s'engagent à respecter et à maintenir contre toute agression extérieure l'intégrité territoriale et l'indépendance politique présente de tous les Membres de la Société.

En cas d'agression, de menace ou de danger d'agression, le Conseil avise aux moyens d'assurer l'exécution de cette obligation.

"Aviser aux moyens." What does that mean in plain English? Merely to "give advice," as the President and Mr. Taft and Senator Hitchcock assert? Not at all. It is a common French idiom and translated accurately reads:

In case of aggression, of menace or of danger of aggression, the Council discusses (deliberates upon) and *decides* upon the means of assuring the execution of this obligation.

The French word for "to advise" is "conseiller; donner des conseils; recommander." (Clifton & Grimaux French-English dictionary). The meaning of "aviser" (advise) (conseiller, persuader) is obsolete, according to Larousse, *Grand Dictionnaire Universel*, and antiquated (Spiers & Surenné). The French-German, French-Portuguese and all-French Dictionaries, show that "aviser aux moyens" has only an intransitive meaning, "think of, reflect on, provide for, look to, supply, etc., the means" to attain an object. It conforms precisely to the Old Testament phrase, appropriated somewhat amusingly at times by the President, himself a Doctor of Divinity, to "take counsel together" upon the means, etc., i.e., to *decide* them,—in the Old Testament days *after* but in Mr. Wilson's practice generally *before* discussion.

We readily acquit Mr. Hitchcock, who was educated in Baden-Baden, and Mr. Taft, who grew up in Cincinnati, of suspicion of anything beyond ignorance of the nuances of a language less familiar to them than German, but the obvious imperfection of Mr. Wilson's command

of the French language acquired during his long sojourn in Paris is most disconcerting.

The salient fact, however, is that the Lodge resolution does not declare that the United States will not co-operate in the manner indicated. It simply reserves to Congress the moral as well as the legal right to determine each case upon its merits under the conditions that may at the time exist.

Clearly there is no *nullification* here. There is nothing whatever beyond prudent avoidance of the possible necessity of exercising a legal right to offset fulfilment of an obligation confessedly moral in its making but quite likely to prove wholly wrongful in actual performance.

3. No mandate shall be accepted by the United States under Article 22, Part I, or any other provision of the Treaty of Peace with Germany, except by action of the Congress of the United States.

This simply makes clear the fact that the Executive, be he Woodrow Wilson or John Smith, cannot commit the United States to assumption of control by force of another country without the assent of Congress. It prohibits nothing. It *nullifies* nothing.

4. The United States reserves to itself exclusively the right to decide what questions are within its domestic jurisdiction and declares that all domestic and political questions relating wholly or in part to its internal affairs, including immigration, labor, coastwise traffic, the tariff, commerce, the suppression of traffic in women and children, and in opium and other dangerous drugs, and all other domestic questions, are solely within the jurisdiction of the United States and are not under this Treaty to be submitted in any way either to arbitration or to the consideration of the council or of the assembly of the League of Nations, or any agency thereof, or to the decision or recommendation of any other Power.

5. The United States will not submit to arbitration or to inquiry by the assembly or by the council of the League of Nations, provided for in said Treaty of Peace, any questions which in the judgment of the United States depend upon or relate to its long-established policy, commonly known as the Monroe Doctrine; said doctrine is to be interpreted by the United States alone and is hereby declared to be wholly outside the jurisdiction of said League of Nations and entirely unaffected by any provision contained in the said Treaty of Peace with Germany.

Nobody in America—we hasten to except M. Clemenceau's spokesman, Mr. Lausanne, and other Europeans who take the contrary view—has been more insistent than the President in iterating and reiterating that the Monroe Doctrine is, as he admits it should be, fully safeguarded and that American control of all domestic questions is likewise guaranteed by the Treaty as submitted. Very good! These reservations simply emphasize and in no sense *nullify* the understanding to that effect.

6. The United States withhold its assent to Articles 156, 157, and 158, and reserves full liberty of action with respect to any controversy which may arise under said articles between the Republic of China and the Empire of Japan.

That is to say, the United States declines to condone the spoliation of our ally China by our ally Japan, sanctioned by the European Powers, but it does not set up even that awful crime as a cause of refusal to ratify the Treaty. Shocking and shameful as the President himself admits the outrage to be, the reservation does not hold it to afford sufficient reason for *nullification*. It merely withholds America's approval of the greatest crime ever committed by presumably civilized, professedly honorable, and hypocritically Christian nations.

7. The Congress of the United States will provide by law for the appointment of the representatives of the United States in the assembly and the council of the League of Nations, and may in its discretion provide for the participation of the United States in any commission, committee, tribunal, court, council, or conference, or in the selection of any members thereof and for the appointment of members of said commissions, committees, tribunals, courts, councils, or conferences, or any other representatives under the Treaty of Peace, or in carrying out its provisions, and until such participation and appointment have been so provided for and the powers and duties of such representatives have been defined by law, no person shall represent the United States under either said League of Nations or the Treaty of Peace with Germany or be authorized to perform any act for or on behalf of the United States thereunder, and no citizen of the United States shall be selected or appointed as a member of said commissions, committees, tribunals, courts, councils, or conferences except with the approval of the Senate of the United States.

8. The United States understands that the reparation commission will regulate or interfere with exports from the United States to Germany, or from Germany to the United States, only when the United States by act or joint resolution of Congress approves such regulation or interference.

9. The United States shall not be obligated to contribute to any expenses of the League of Nations, or of the secretariat, or of any commission, or committee, or conference, or other agency, organized under the League of Nations or under the Treaty or for the purpose of carrying out the Treaty provisions, unless and until an appropriation of funds available for such expenses shall have been made by the Congress of the United States.

These provisions are purely domestic. They simply constitute the Congress a working partner with powers equal to those of the Executive in transaction of the business. The mere method thus prescribed is of course no concern whatever of the other Powers.

10. If the United States shall at any time adopt any plan for the limitation of armaments proposed by the council of

the League of Nations under the provisions of Article 8, it reserves the right to increase such armaments without the consent of the council whenever the United States is threatened with invasion or engaged in war.

11. The United States reserves the right to permit, in its discretion, the nationals of a covenant-breaking State, as defined in Article 16 of the covenant of the League of Nations, residing within the United States or in countries other than that violating said Article 16, to continue their commercial, financial, and personal relations with the nationals of the United States.

12. Nothing in Articles 296, 297, or in any of the annexes thereto or in any other article, section, or annex of the Treaty of Peace with Germany shall, as against citizens of the United States, be taken to mean any confirmation, ratification, or approval of any act otherwise illegal or in contravention of the rights of the citizens of the United States.

13. The United States withholds its assent to Part XIII (Articles 387 to 427, inclusive) unless Congress by act or joint resolution shall hereafter make provision for representation in the organization established by said Part XIII, and in such event the participation of the United States will be governed and conditioned by the provisions of such act or joint resolution.

These are self-protective measures pure and simple. They have no bearing whatever upon the Treaty in the sense of *nullification*.

14. The United States assumes no obligation to be bound by any election, decision, report, or finding of the council or assembly in which any members of the League and its self-governing dominions, colonies, or parts of empire, in the aggregate have cast more than one vote, and assumes no obligation to be bound by any decision, report, or finding of the council or assembly arising out of any dispute between the United States and any member of the League if such member, or any self-governing dominion, colony, empire, or part of empire united with it politically has voted.

This is adroit, we admit with regret, when it ought to be direct. And yet the mere fact that it is obviously a *ruse* tends to establish the sincerity of the Senate in supporting ratification with effectual reservations. To avoid the delay and disturbance likely to ensue from adoption of textual or technical amendments this method was devised of notifying the world that the United States considers itself the equal of any other nation. The reservation, of course, can affect only Great Britain, and the sole objection that can possibly be raised by that great and friendly empire would lie in her honest belief that in a super-government of the world she is fairly entitled to six votes to one for this recalcitrant but moderately successful colony—a natural and characteristic proposition, but one somewhat difficult to put over on even an unsophisticated people whose forefathers had the au-

dacity to object to taxation without representation.

The reservation itself, of course, *nullifies* nothing but the technically numerical and proportionately effective superiority of Great Britain over the United States,—and, Mr. Wilson and Mr. Taft to the contrary notwithstanding, we guess that will have to be done.

Now there is the whole story. And this is the incontrovertible answer to the query which we propounded at the outset:

The Treaty has *not* been *nullified* by the reservations as a whole or in any particular.

It has been *Americanized* in part, though by no manner of means in full.

It ought to be beaten entirely. We hope it will be. But that is beside the mark. All we have in mind at the moment and all we have tried to demonstrate is that the President is wholly wrong in his pronouncement that the reservations spell rejection. They don't. They include ratification. Even Mr. Taft's flatulent Concern to "Enforce Peace" says:

The Treaty, even with the reservations now adopted, can accomplish this purpose (peace preservation) and should be ratified. There is no adequate reason why it should not be.

We note in conclusion that the President's cautious note to Senator Hitchcock did not declare a final judgment. It conveyed no more than a mere "opinion,"—and opinions sometimes change.

We still think that Mr. Wilson will take what he can get—even the "irreducible minimum."

Remember: He cannot run again.

We were somewhat puzzled by Mr. Schwab's remark that he thought the Senate "might have stretched a point and ratified the Treaty if for nothing but national dignity," until further on we read: "I don't know what the League of Nations is." Then we understood.

A Rev. D. D. Irvine of Brooklyn, having advertised a "sensational disclosure" to be made in a speech, said on November 25 that when he asked for a hearing before the Committee on Foreign Relations Senator Lodge replied:

Doctor, if you have anything to say against the President or the League of Nations, we want to hear you. But if you have anything to say for the President or for the League of Nations, we haven't time to listen to you.

Quite unnecessarily Senator Lodge denies that he ever made such a statement to a complete stranger. Nobody but an idiot would believe for a moment that he ever did. And yet Mr. Cobb solemnly reproduces it in a leading editorial in the *World* as evidence of Mr. Lodge's unfairness—and Mr. Cobb is no idiot. Wherefore we apprehend that the time is rapidly approaching when that brilliant but heedless young man may be requested to step into the woodshed for a few minutes.

The Declaration of Peace

SENATOR LODGE'S resolution declaring the war with Germany to be at an end is of value not alone for its effect upon our own status toward Germany but also as a reminder of the changed conditions which now indisputably prevail. It is a favorite practice of governments to make their declarations of war take the technical form of a recognition of the existence of war; not a statement of their purpose to wage war, but a recognition of the fact that war is being waged against them. This resolution is thus not so much a statement of our purpose to make peace as a recognition of the fact—and it is a fact—that peace has been made and now actually prevails.

Under the terms of the Treaty of Versailles, Germany is to be at peace with all nations formerly engaged in war against her when three out of five Governments designated therein have deposited their ratifications of the treaty. Now it is indisputable that not only three but four of the five Governments have thus ratified the Treaty. Therefore Germany is, according to the Treaty, at peace with all the nations which formerly were at war with her, and conversely, of course, all those nations are at peace with Germany. Note that Germany is thus at peace not merely with the three or four specified nations whose ratifications have been deposited, and not merely with all which have ratified the Treaty, but with all which were formerly at war with her, whether they have ratified the Treaty or not. Therefore, regardless of what we have done or have not done, Germany is at peace with us, and we are at peace with her. Therefore, as the resolution says, the war is ended.

That means the restoration of normal conditions of intercourse with Germany, so far as we care to resume them. Already, in advance of this technical declaration of peace, we have for months been conducting normal commerce with Germany; giving the lie to the propagandist pretence that such commerce must await our letter-perfect ratification of the Covenant of the League. There is now no obstacle to the fullest renewal of intercourse that we may desire. But the declaration of peace means more than that. It means the restoration of normal conditions here, and the automatic lapsing of all special war laws and regulations, excepting so far as some of them may be specifically prolonged for a time into the era of peace. And that is perhaps the greatest usefulness of the resolution. It marks the definite date, the exact point of time, at which the legal ending of the war occurred, and from which the restoration of peace and the resumption of peaceful conditions shall be reckoned.

Great as is the utility of the resolution, however, it is not indispensable; for after all the fact itself is the thing, far paramount above the mere formal recognition of it. The service of the resolution was largely rendered in the mere presentation and publication of it, regardless of whether it be adopted or not. Of the power of the patriotic majority in Congress to pass it there is no question. Neither can there be question of the power of the President to veto

it; for we have no doubt that the Constitution requires its submission to him before it can have any validity. The parliamentary fiction of a "concurrent" resolution not requiring such submission is nothing but a fiction. Seeing that the Constitution requires that "every order, resolution or vote to which the concurrence of the Senate and House may be necessary (except on a question of adjournment) shall be presented to the President," we should say that a "concurrent" resolution was especially under the necessity of submission to him.

But supposing that the President, as is not unlikely, should through spite or other motive veto the resolution? Why, he would simply be setting himself down as stubbornly refusing to sanction the recognition of an indisputable and patent fact. The fact would remain unimpaired and its consequences and effects would follow inexorably, just as though he had not thus stultified himself. By the action of other nations, beyond the power of the President to thwart or hinder, the war has been ended and peace has been restored, between Germany and the United States just the same as between Germany and any other nation. The President could not undo or reverse that accomplished fact by a mere refusal to acknowledge it, any more than another eminent son of Old Virginia could undo the Copernican system with his dictum, "De sun do move!"

McAdoodling the Coal Crisis

MR. WILLIAM GIBBS McADOO, would-be heir apparent to the Real Throne of Administration, emerges from the coy seclusion of the movies into the spot-light of the coal controversy. He effects his entry upon the cue of a long telegram to Dr. Harry R. Garfield, the restored Fuel Administrator, urging that the demands of the miners for increase of wages be granted, but that no increase of coal price to consumers be sanctioned, the mine owners and operators being compelled to "put up the ante" out of their own pockets. Why? Because these owners in 1917 "made shocking and indefensible profits" on their coal. How does the McAdoodle know? Why, he was Secretary of the Treasury at that time, and saw their income tax returns. And those returns "showed earnings on capital stock ranging from 15 per cent. to 2,000 per cent. Earnings of 100 to 300 per cent. were not uncommon." Therefore he urges that the mine owners now be heavily mulcted, and that their income tax returns for 1917 be published for all the world to see.

We should like to know, and we are quite sure that the American people would like to know, a few things about this characteristic bit of McAdoodling; for example:

Why does the former Secretary of the Treasury, now a private citizen engaged in movie exploitation, butt into the coal controversy at this time?

Why did he not, as Secretary of the Treasury, do something to correct the scandalous conditions which then prevailed? He tells us that in May, 1918, he discovered by examination of income tax returns that mine owners were

making "shocking and indefensible profits" out of the helpless public. Was he himself shocked? If so, why didn't he do something? Why didn't he say something? Why didn't he inform the President, the Fuel Administrator, the general public, that the people were thus being gouged by conscienceless profiteers? So far as the world knows, he never emitted a peep. He sat mute as the proverbial clam, and watched that great wrong being done. He could not have been more complaisant if he had been—as of course he couldn't have been—in cahoots with the profiteers. He kept mute about it until now, a year and a half after date. And now with an air of virtue which would have made poor old Pecksniff green with envy he parades himself into the lime-light with a demand that the wicked operators be mulcted of their "indefensible" gains of two years ago. If those profiteering gains of 1917 are indefensible in 1919, they were indefensible in 1917. If this man has the slightest excuse for condemning them now, he was under an immeasurably greater moral obligation to condemn them then, when his condemnation would have been effectual for putting a stop to such rascally oppression of the public.

What business has this private citizen to demand that the income tax returns of 1917 or any year be published, whether in the press or on his movie films? The income tax law provides that those returns, though records belonging to the Government and therefore in a sense public property, shall be held private and confidential excepting as the President himself shall order them to be opened to inspection—not for publication even then, but "to inspection." We have heard of no such order being made by the President, and of no rules and regulations for its execution being made by the Secretary of the Treasury. If there were to be any such free and easy publication of them as Mr. McAdoo urges, there could of course be no discrimination among persons, and the income tax returns of every corporation and every private citizen in the land would be subject to public exploitation.

If it was desirable, for the public good, that these scandalous returns, showing "shocking and indefensible profits" gouged out of the American people, should be made public, or should be "open to inspection," which is all the law permits, why did not Mr. McAdoo, as Secretary of the Treasury, the moment he discovered their infamous character, report upon them to the President and have the President issue the necessary order, and himself make the rules and regulations for its execution, according to law?

Instead, he kept mum. He let the profiteers gouge and extort to their hearts' and purses' content. He let the people suffer under extortionate prices for one of the prime necessities of life. And now, years after, when there is a chance to pose at once as the friend of the striking miners, who have many votes, and as the champion of the price-oppressed people, who have many more votes, he McAdoodles in his most strident strain against the mine owners, who have comparatively few votes. That is his self-made record. We venture modestly to suggest it as a scenario for a five-reel film.

Of course, it may be that the mine owners and operators did make those enormous profits in 1917. And it may be

that they can well afford to pay the miners higher wages without raising the price of coal to the people. We are not disputing either of those propositions. The truth or the falsity of them has, however, not the slightest bearing upon the disgraceful dereliction of duty of which William Gibbs McAdoo by directest inference confesses himself to have been guilty. It is one of the most discreditable and indecent performances that any American politician of equal prominence and equal ambition ever exhibited. "I've simply invited the coal operators to a show-down," he says. Heaven pity him when the American people invite him to a show-down of his stewardship of the Treasury Department; if ever he tries to McAdoodle his way into his father-in-law's "Throne of Administration."

It would be gratifying indeed to all our people if, as now seems probable, the highly honored British Ambassador, Viscount Grey, should through the skill of an American scientist, recover completely the precious eyesight which was supposed to have been lost forever.

The Italian Crisis

THERE comes to mind a bitter old cartoon of the days of our Civil War, in which one of the chief actors in the great tragedy was represented as warming his hands over the flames of a burning city, and saying, "Let the women and children suffer. I want to keep warm!" And there comes to mind the query whether some mordent cartoonist of our own day will have occasion to portray President Wilson as looking upon a revolution in Italy, or a war between Italy and Jugo-Slavia, and saying, "Let them stew in their own juice! I'm going to have my own way!"

For that is indeed the salient feature of the ominous state of affairs on the shores of the Adriatic. Two perils are increasing in imminence every day, both of which arise from a single source, and for that source the President is responsible. Three items of news in one day's paper, in significant juxtaposition, illustrate this fact. One is, that Serbia and her partners in the Jugo-Slav states are preparing for war with Italy, over the question of Fiume. Another is, that over that same question a "Blifil and Black George" co-operation of Nationalists and Socialists threatens to overturn not merely the Italian Ministry but the dynasty as well in a violent revolution. And the third is that President Wilson persists in rejecting the liberal concessions of Italy regarding Fiume, though they would be acceptable to everybody else concerned, and would avert both these menaces.

There can be no doubt of the seriousness of the situation. What seemed at first the impulsive escapade of a romantic and imaginative poet has developed into a far-reaching movement which without exaggeration may be regarded as menacing the stability and integrity of the Kingdom. That is not because of the formidable character of Captain

d'Annunzio's military operations in Istria and Dalmatia, though indeed these are by no means negligible. It is because, rather, of the intrigues and actual movements west of the Adriatic and west, chiefly, of the Appenines, of which his expedition is not the cause but a result, or a manifestation.

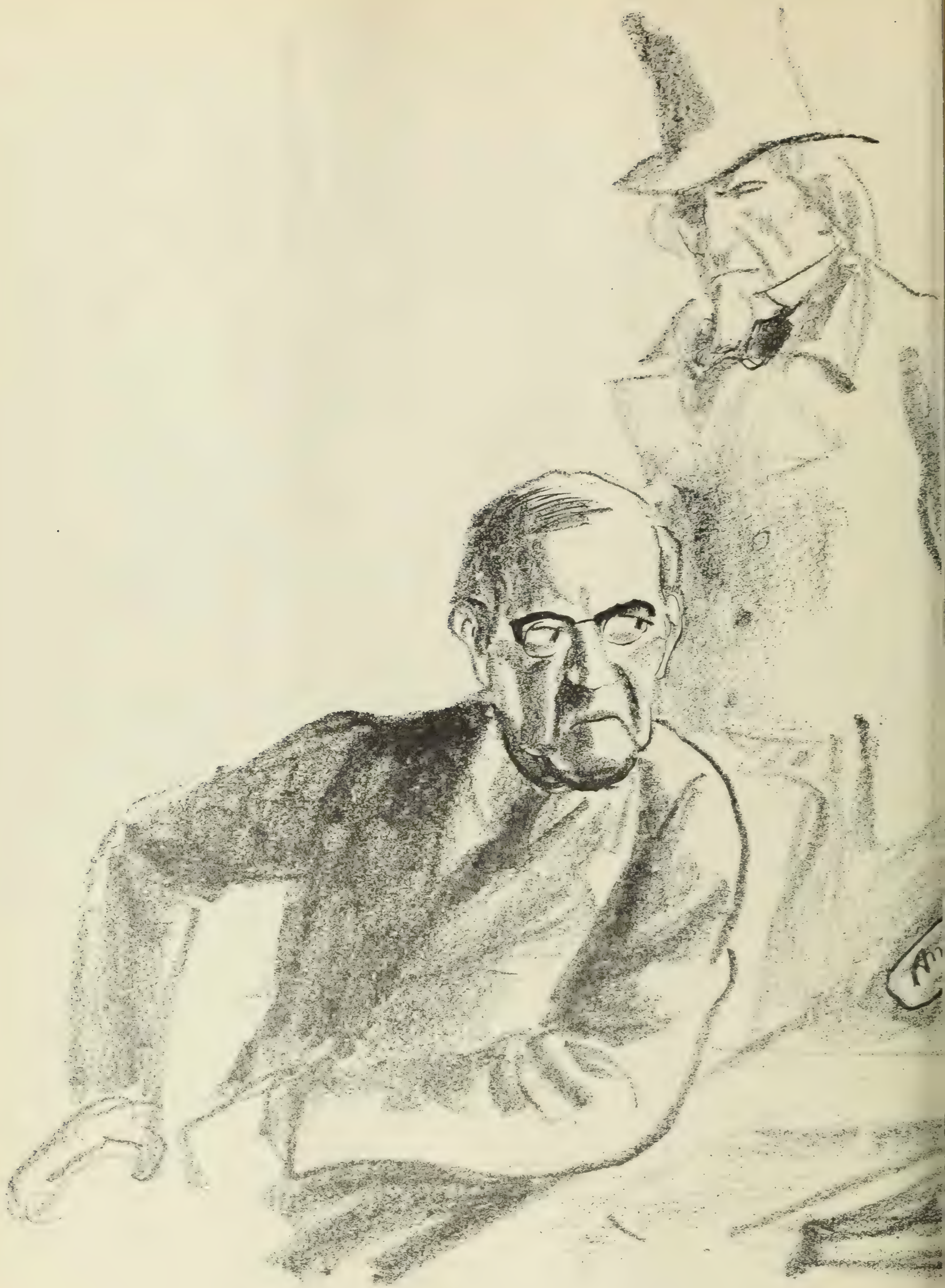
For Rome, not Fiume, is the storm centre, and Signor Salandra, not Captain d'Annunzio, is the chief trouble maker. That Signor Nitti is sincerely opposed to Captain d'Annunzio's reckless performances is not to be doubted. Neither is it to be doubted that Signor Salandra has all along not merely been privy to them but also has favored and promoted them. They are a part of his game. As the leader of the Nationalist party he is fighting the Prime Minister, and he is glad to use the Fiume and Dalmatian expeditions as a stick with which to beat him.

The appeal is, of course, to the nationalist sentiment of the people; their desire, that is, for the complete redemption of Italia Irredenta, which traditionally means not only Trieste and Fiume, which are indisputably Italian cities, but also the greater part of the Dalmatian littoral and islands, in which the Italian race and language almost as greatly prevail. That appeal is very strong, to a people as fervid and passionate as the Italians, and the object lesson of Captain d'Annunzio and his band of volunteers going to do in spite of the Government what the Government—as the Nationalists insist—should have done but failed to do, is shrewdly calculated to rouse their sympathy and their enthusiastic support.

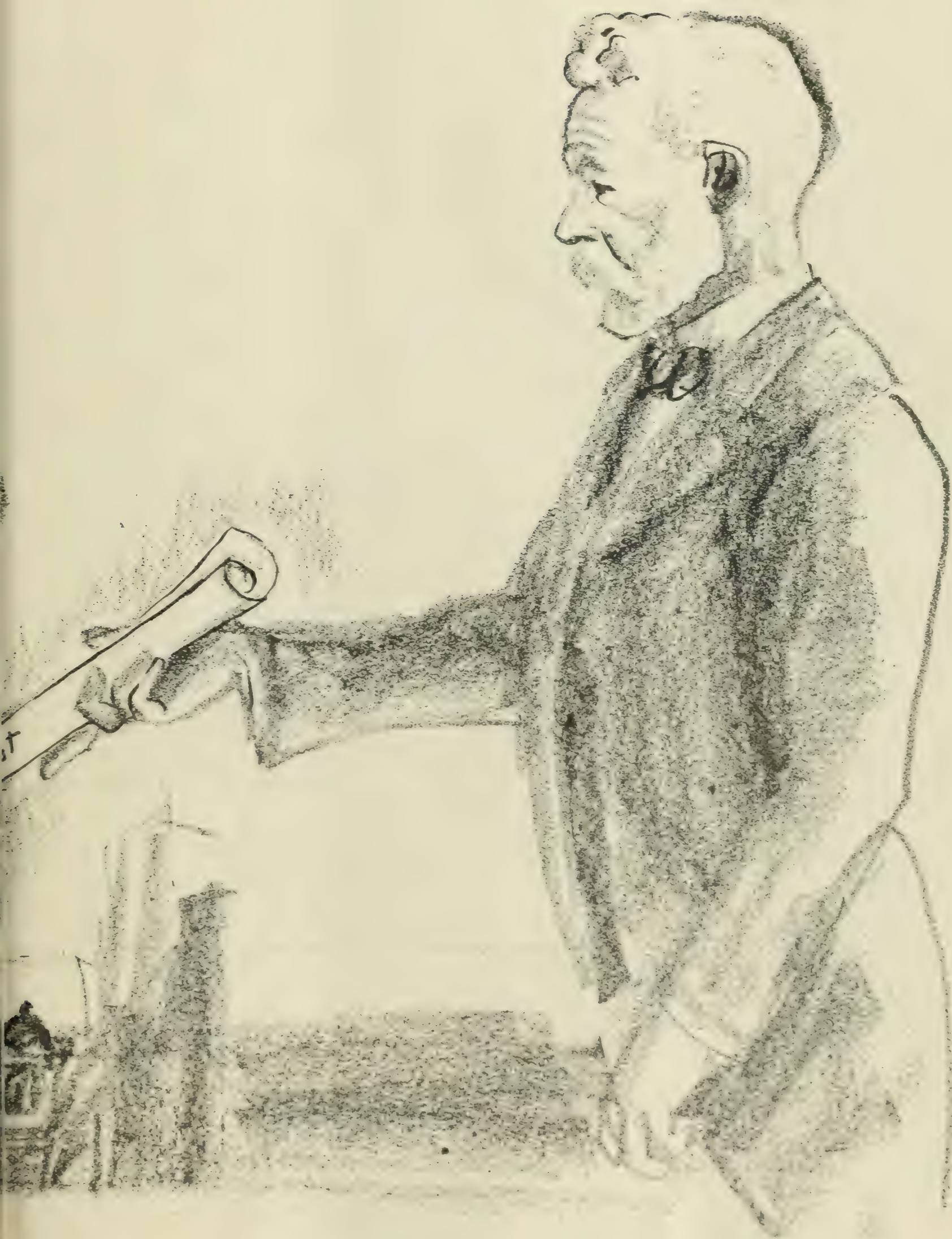
The danger is, of course, that such a movement will get beyond the control of those who started it, and will spread to an extent and produce results which they never intended nor desired. We do not suppose, for example, that Signor Salandra and his Nationalist followers desire or are trying to bring about the downfall of the Savoy dynasty. Yet their machinations for the overthrow of the Nitti Government seem to be getting perilously near to the starting of a revolution which certainly could and probably would have that result. We are quite certain that neither Italy nor Jugo-Slavia wants war; yet they are both in spite of themselves being drawn nearer and nearer to the brink of it.

It is not supposable that President Wilson desired any such complications to result from his arbitrary opposition to a rational and equitable settlement of the Fiume episode, but it is impossible to avoid burdening him very largely with responsibility for them, and to regard the whole matter as a striking object lesson against American meddling in European affairs. We were legitimately interested in aiding Italy to win the war against Austria, but the precise readjustment of boundaries after the war was a matter of indifference to us—unless, indeed, we were to adopt the former German Kaiser's dictum, and say that we do not purpose to have anything happen in the world without our being consulted. It is a thought which Americans cannot entertain without regret and humiliation, that our President's wanton meddling and stubborn dictation have led directly to so ominous an embroilment.

We advise Mr. Tumulty to resign.



"THE IRREDUC



MINIMUM!"

—Chairman Will H. Hays

The Week

WASHINGTON, December 2, 1919.

GENERAL SMUTS ought to know better. We have too high a regard for his integrity to suspect him of anything other than sincerity in his belated appeal for the ratification of the unamended Covenant—he did not mention the Treaty of Peace in general but only the League of Nations. He is a man of approved character, patriotism and benevolence. But he really ought to know better than so to misread American history, and so to misjudge American principles and purposes.

We may for the present waive the question, which might well be raised, and that without discourtesy, whether he would be as ready to advocate the sacrifice of British or of South African interests as he is those of America for the supposed good of the world at large. We have heard so much from many sources about the duty of America to the rest of the world that we have been moved to wonder if no other nations have any altruistic duties, too. Letting that pass, however, we must regard with amazement General Smuts's strange self-refutation, when he says:

America has proved true to the best ideals of free and peaceful government, and can only be true to herself by remaining true to these ideals as embodied in a League for the whole human race.

That is to say, America can be true to her principles only by renouncing them!

Comments of the European press on the President's petulant destruction of the treaty show as marked variety as those of American papers. The *London Morning Post*, one of the most authoritative and representative journals, justly observes that the League of Nations has begun its ill-omened career by endangering and possibly wrecking a great peace treaty. It attributes the determination of the Senate not to accept the Covenant without efficient reservations to the fact that there are still American citizens who have robust faith in their own nation and heartfelt pride in the sovereign freedom of the United States, and whose pride of race and nationhood revolted at the President's scheme to transfer their rights and independence and subordinate the United States to a committee on which their country must always be in the minority. This, it concludes, was a course "worthy of free men and citizens of the great republic."

In Paris *Le Temps*, while obviously regretting the failure of the Treaty, and fearing that the League of Nations cannot amount to anything without the United States, gives the significant reminder that although the Algeiras Treaty was ratified by the United States with strong reservations, this country nevertheless faithfully fulfilled its obligations under it. The logic of that observation obviously is that if the President had permitted the Treaty to be ratified with reservations, the United States would doubtless have been equally faithful in fulfilment of its obligations under it; as of course it would.

The always sane and judicious *Spectator* of London strongly dissents from the President's dictum, that the reservation to Article X cut the heart out of the whole Covenant and Treaty, insisting that the reservation by no

means kills the League of Nations. It also repeats the astonishment and disapproval which it expressed a year ago at the composition of the American Peace Delegation; suggesting that instead of himself and four non-representative men of his personal choice, the President should have appointed such men as Mr. Taft, Mr. Root, and Senator Lodge.

The *Saturday Review* is evidently much relieved at the refusal of America to enter the League of Nations, being convinced that the obligations of the Covenant would have created friction between this country and Great Britain. In that belief most thoughtful promoters of Anglo-American friendship agree.

The fact is recognized by the *New Statesman* that "the Senate apparently represents the attitude of the American people." For "apparently" read "undoubtedly." This the *New Statesman* regards as a "really serious" fact. It is; but it is as gratifying as it is serious.

"The League of Nations, it must be clearly understood," says the *London Daily Graphic*, "overrides the independence of any state joining the League." That is only one of numerous British and Continental recognitions of a fact which should be obvious to everybody capable of reading and understanding the English language, but which, with inexplicable infatuation, the President and his incense-burners have striven to deny and to conceal from the American people.

Lord Bryce remarks that a great deal of the proceedings of the Paris Peace Conference was "shrouded in impenetrable darkness," and that the procedure of that body showed that it was possible "to induce nations to acquiesce in secret diplomacy to an extent greater than anyone would have believed possible." Strange! The noble and accomplished author of *The American Commonwealth* seems to forget that the Paris Conference was based upon a code the very first item of which was "Open covenants of peace, openly arrived at."

It ought to be possible at a very early date to relieve France of all anxiety over the special treaty of alliance which was negotiated, and upon our ratification of which depends the validity of the similar treaty between France and Great Britain. There is no good reason why it should not be ratified at once. Of course it will have to be amended. It would be absurd to have its continuance depend upon the League of Nations when we are not a member of that organization. But then it would have needed amendment anyway, even if the President had not refused to let us enter the League, for it would be repugnant to the Constitution to make "the supreme law of the land" dependent upon and repealable by an alien body. We may be sure, however, that France will not object to the needed amendment. On the contrary, she will welcome it, for it will greatly increase the value of the treaty.

We trust that some authoritative voice will quickly make it clear to the Allied Powers that the President's nullifica-

tion of the Treaty so far as the United States is concerned does not indicate the slightest abandonment of or coolness toward those countries on the part of the United States, or the slightest desire to escape from our legitimate obligations either now or hereafter. The people of this country are just as warm in their sympathy with Great Britain and France as they were in the days of Ypres and the Marne. But they claim the right to express that sympathy in their own way, and to make their friendship of the highest value by remaining true to their own individuality. The statesmen of those countries doubtless understand this, but it is desirable that all the people should understand it too, since friendship and confidence among nations now depend upon popular sentiment more than upon official relations. Of course, European statesmen cannot well explain these circumstances to their people. It would not do for them to declare to the public how misrepresentative of America the American Peace Delegate was. But such explanations from authoritative American sources will serve a beneficent purpose on both sides of the Atlantic—and of the Pacific, too.

The American Committee of Siberian Co-operative Union has received from Helsingfors a letter from one of its representatives who has been spending some time in Petrograd, and who went thither in the interest of opening negotiations with the Bolsheviks. Actual contact with the Bolsheviks, however, changed his opinion. He writes:

The times of Ivan the Terrible, of the Spanish Inquisition, are but mere child's play compared with atrocities there. The value of a human life is lower than that of a mad dog. People are being shot by the Bolsheviks for trifles, without the least compunction.

A few thousand scoundrels, monsters in human form, are sitting on the necks of the unhappy, dying people. The people are so worn out, so completely terrorized, that they have lost all power of resistance and are dying from epidemics, from hunger and cold, and at the hands of the executioners of the Extraordinary Commission.

The frankest and most outspoken of this whole damnable crowd of bandits is Lenine himself. He stated recently that if formerly 150,000 estate holders could rule all Russia, the same number of Communists could do it now. This sort of frankness I can understand. Here is a man who plays the game in the open. But the rest of that gang lies and brags, and curses "the imperialist bourgeois of the world" in vile language, while they themselves are destroying the nation, confiscating the last potato from the people, in order to sell it to profiteers, and making fabulous profits out of such transactions.

The name of the writer is withheld, for the sake of the safety of his family, who are still in "Soviet Russia." But he is said to be coming presently to this country, when he will disclose much that he could not write.

One day's investigation into affairs at Ellis Island disclosed, on the best official authority, that there is no adequate examination of immigrants to exclude the diseased, insane and criminal; that for lack of guards many aliens have escaped from the island into New Jersey; that the Washington Government forbids the guards to be armed even when they are dealing with criminal anarchists; and that instead of being deported, "undesirable aliens" are released on bail or parole, indefinitely, to resume their pernicious and criminal activities. Many of the "Reds" brought

hither from Seattle were released on bond and parole under orders from Washington. Many aliens who are denied admission to this country are not sent back but are permitted to enter New York City, where they "disappear." Apparently it might be well to transfer the investigation from Ellis Island to Washington, D. C.

Perhaps the most significant feature of the case was the organization of a "Soviet" among these unwashed and unchanged scoundrels, and their issuing of an "ultimatum" from their pen at Ellis Island to the Government of the United States, which they threatened to enforce with a universal strike. They protested against being in any way segregated or separated from the gangs who might come down from the city to meet them, their obvious purpose being to receive weapons and other articles from their visitors without the knowledge of the authorities, and also to be able, some of them, to sneak off the island with the crowd. Bear in mind that this organization of "Reds" calls itself the "First Anarchist Commune Soviet of America," and its members openly declare their purpose to be the fomenting of violent revolution and the forcible overthrow of the Government of the United States. Yet the Government palters and hucksters, refuses—or at least fails—to deport the scoundrels, and releases them on parole or permits them to escape without so much as a parole, which of course not one of them would think of keeping, anyway. The whole business would be ludicrous if it were not so monumentally impudent; and it would be merely impudent if it were not so disgraceful an exhibition of the weakness of the Government.

Thanksgiving was not so gloomy after all. There was Père Clemenceau cracking his excellent little joke about the "further depreciation of Marx," when Longuet, Karl Marx's nephew and the leader of the French Socialists, was handsomely beaten at the polls. And then there was the news about the poor old Sultan suffering from the High Cost of Harems and forced to reduce his allowance of wives. Also there was the *Sun's* round-up of Gubernatorial sentiment in the West as to I. W. W. anarchists, and the assurance it carried of western thoroughness of arrangements for exterminating the vermin. Likewise, came the definite and undisputed announcement of the total collapse of William Z. Foster's Bolshevik steel strike.

And not to be overlooked were the congratulations which the Hon. Abraham Effendi, Shieck-el-Islam, Spiritual Head of all Moslemdom, has extended to us on our joyous plunge into the waters of Prohibition.

Victor Berger's new platform is incomplete. It should end with "Hoch, der Kaiser!"

Judge Pollock, of the United States District Court at St. Louis, decides that 2.75 beer is not intoxicating. Then there is hope that buttermilk, too, may escape the ban.

The Triumph of France

WE had thought of speaking of the triumph of the Tiger. Not the Tammany Tiger, which got pretty considerably scotched a few weeks ago, nor yet the Princeton Tiger, which did triumph over the Bulldog of New Haven: but the veteran Tiger of France. The French elections were indeed a triumph for Georges Clemenceau, and such a triumph as few men in comparable circumstances have enjoyed.

M. Clemenceau had fought the good fight himself. More than any other governmental chief of any nation, he was responsible for the policy of his country during the last year of the war, and was the concrete expression of its hopes and aims. At the end, he asked a judgment, not for his own continuance in office—for he had voluntarily decided against that—but for the maintenance of those sane principles and policies of government of which he had been the exponent. Mark, too, that he sought this judgment at the hands of an electorate of all in the world the most mercurial and the least bound by organized party ties. The result was one of the most impressive and significant approvals and ratifications that ever were recorded in behalf of any man or any policy.

Above that, however—since the Nation is greater than any member of it, however great he may be—it was a triumph for France. It demonstrated that she had permanently “found herself.” The former fickleness and impulsiveness were gone. The inclination to extravagant extremes had vanished. The steadiness of nerve, the sobriety of demeanor, the fixedness of purpose, which had made her the wonder and the admiration of the world during four years of such stress and sacrifice as scarcely any nation had ever known before, were not to be abandoned with the victorious return of peace. Wherefore every party of extremes, whether toward ultra-conservatism, which means reaction, or toward ultra-radicalism, which means anarchy, was repudiated at the polls and suffered heavy loss; while the great republican-democratic union, representing liberalism without license and progress without precipitance, was markedly augmented and confirmed. We quote from the early returns of the election: “Socialist Radicals gained nine seats, lost 85. Progressives gained 78, lost 5.” Those two items tell the whole story.

It was a great triumph for M. Clemenceau. It was a greater triumph for France. It may prove to be, of all, the greatest triumph for the world; even for our own particular portion of the world. For it cannot be void of significance to us and to all nations that Republicanism has thus triumphed over Socialism in France.

If the land of Lincoln must learn the art of popular government from some other, it surely cannot hesitate in making its choice between the land of Lenine and Trotzky, only just emerged from the despotism of Czarism, and still illiterate and untried, and the land of Lafayette and Clemenceau, with a century of experience in self-government and with a civic and social intelligence probably the highest in the world.

“They order this matter better in France.” It may be that France will prove to be the outpost of civilization in peace as well as in war, and that her victory at the polls in 1919 will be comparably significant with her earlier victories at the Marne and at Verdun.

More than a million dollars has been paid for cider apples in Dutchess and Ulster Counties this fall.—*Current news item.*

Much may be made with a cider press and a good oaken cask, or—some say better still—an emptied but not washed-out molasses barrel.

The “Necessary” Sacrifice

GOVERNOR HART, of Washington, is temperate and conservative when he attributes to ‘public apathy, in the face of open and flaunted menace, indirect responsibility for the cold-blooded murder of the marching American soldiers in Centralia. He might even have gone further than that. He might with entire accuracy have cited flagrant negligence of our Federal officers as a contributory cause of those murders. He says that “to the disgrace of the State of Washington in particular and the entire Nation in general,” the murder of these four American soldiers, “or a similar misfortune,” was necessary to arouse our people and our authorities to action. That such a horror was a necessity is less a disgrace to the people of Washington than it is to the country at large, and specifically to the inertness, or worse, of Federal officers entrusted with the enforcement of laws already ample enough and vigorous enough to have carried wholesome warnings to these traitors, native and alien, whose impunity encouraged them to this climacteric infamy.

Government agents for months have been accumulating evidence of anarchistic propaganda by the ton. But of what avail was evidence if the Department of Justice did not act upon it? Or, worse still, how futile was such action when it did sporadically occur, if it was defeated by withholding of punishments actually decreed? As Governor Hart points out, foreign anarchists taken in his own State and convicted and sentenced to deportation have not been deported. Month after month they have been merely detained and coddled here until their cases had passed out of the public mind. Then they were turned loose. One of these became an active anarchy promoter in Chicago. Others have gone back to their old work of treason-preaching with renewed ardor. Cases are extant of tried, convicted and sentenced anarchy agitators roaming at large through the country for two years preaching their infernal doctrines in public meetings while their appeals to higher courts were delayed and held up with apparently no effort on the part of prosecuting officers to expedite the processes by which their sentences might be at last made effective. Mrs. Rose Pastor Stokes, recently caught—and released, of course—in an anarchy meeting raid in the vicinity of New York, is a shining example of this sort.

Newspapers by the hundreds preaching anarchy and the overthrow of our Government in half a dozen different languages have been permitted to continue in their incen-

diary incitations. Who shall say that those murdered Centralia soldiers might not be alive and unharmed today had our authorities done their plain duty under the law, and had those responsible for turning loose on the community the ravening alien wild beasts, duly sentenced to deportation, either done their duty or been punished for not doing it?

But no, a sacrifice, a horrible bloody sacrifice, was "necessary." Four splendid young American soldiers marching under the Stars and Stripes in celebration of the armistice anniversary had to be shot down and killed in cold blood before the country and our authorities could be awakened to consciousness of an uproar that has been going on with accumulating violence ever since the war ended. These murders, to the shame and disgrace of the country, as Governor Hart puts it, were "necessary." To be sure, a harsh necessity to the victims and their heart-broken families, but a necessity is a necessity. Somebody had to pay the extreme price, to make the extreme sacrifice for official stupidity, for official connivance at the escape of convicted treason-mongers from sentences imposed upon them. Some precious lives had to be laid down to move our country and our officials to action.

"The enforcement of Federal deportation laws which obtain," says Governor Hart, "or the enactment by Congress of a law sufficient in the premises if the present law is inadequate, would be of great assistance in this State." Not a doubt of it. It would be of great assistance to every State in the Union.

Handling Pitch

DR. WELLINGTON KOO, head of the Chinese delegation at Paris, is quite within the facts when he says that those in the American delegation at the Paris Conference who assented to the Shantung infamy did so against their own judgment of what was right and what was wrong in the premises. Our representatives never approved of the Shantung arrangement. They do not approve of it now.

But we did not need Dr. Koo's assurances to inform us of that fact. It was well known here and has been for many months. Mr. Lansing confirmed it in his testimony before the Senate Committee. Not only did he reveal the fact that members of the delegation, himself included, united in an unavailing protest to the President on the subject, but he added, in response to queries, that Japan would have signed the treaty even though the rape of Shantung had not been included in it.

Dr. Koo said in Paris, when he learned with much satisfaction of the passage of the Senate Shantung reservation, that the final outcome in the Conference was the result of secret agreements of which America knew nothing. Which is quite true. The French and English agreements with

Japan with reference to Shantung and the Pacific islands, north and south of the equator, were in full force and binding when Mr. Balfour and the French representatives were here to discuss our active participation in the war, but they deliberately concealed the unpleasant fact. Neither Mr. Wilson nor any of our rubber-stamp representatives knew a word about these secret agreements with Japan until they were actually assembled around the Conference tables there in Paris.

A shady transaction in all its phases, and to the last it seemed sadly to bewilder Mr. Wilson's moral judgment in a very deplorable way. The Norris incident, developed during the President's transcontinental stumping tour, is still unpleasantly fresh in memory. On September 5th, in a speech at St. Louis, President Wilson said:

Great Britain and, subsequently, France, as everybody knows, in order to make it more certain that Japan would come into the war and so assist to clear the Pacific of the German fleets, had promised that any rights that Germany had in China should, in the case of the victory of the Allies, pass to Japan.

Now "everybody knows," to quote the President's formula, that Japan had been in the war for over two years and that the Pacific had been swept clean of every vessel, warship or merchantman under the German flag for over a year when these secret treaties binding France and England to assent to the Japanese seizure of Shantung were made. And when Senator Norris, on the floor of the Senate, called attention to this fact, the President by wire acknowledged the misstatement and thanked Senator Norris for calling his attention to it. All of which did not prevent Mr. Wilson from going right on repeating his assertion of something that was not so, and which he himself, over his own signature, had admitted was not so. At Los Angeles, on September 20; at Reno, Nev., on September 22; at Salt Lake City, on September 23, and at Cheyenne, on September 24, the President again repeated to large audiences the same statement which, in a telegram to Senator Norris, from Garrison, Mont., under date of September 12, he had acknowledged was not a fact.

It is a curious circumstance that there seems to be that about this Shantung iniquity which causes a moral astigmatism to fall upon everyone who in the way of assent, apology or explanation has had anything to do with it. Every hand that has touched the thing has been daubed with its befouling pitch.

Mr. Depew, in his matchless introduction of our recent royal visitor, noted the interesting fact that, since the Black Prince led troops against France in 1500 and something, or whenever it was, no Englishman of equal social rank, fought in person on the continent until Edward Albert went over to battle in her behalf. On behalf of America, therefore, as a mark of her own happy appreciation of his fine and manly attributes no less than for the reason implied by Mr. Depew, we hereby designate the captivating heir to the British throne as the White Prince.

Against Government

THESE is, we believe, pretty general agreement that policemen ought not to become members of an organization which is likely to engage in strikes and thus to require them to strike. There is general agreement that Congress will do well to enact a law forbidding the police of the District of Columbia to join any organization that could call them out on strike against the Government. The recent election in Massachusetts settled that principle, and all the people said Amen!

Yet while the House of Representatives went on record almost unanimously against permitting either the police or the firemen of the District to affiliate themselves with a potentially striking organization, it halted and hesitated to apply the same salutary principle to other employees of the Government. And it had before it the astounding object lesson not merely of agents of the American Federation of Labor visiting the Capitol to oppose such extension of that principle, but also of a thousand or more Government employees from various departments leaving their desks and flocking thither on the same errand. That is to say, these Government employees were using the Government's own time, for which they were paid with the people's money, to intrigue and work for the right to strike against the Government!

It was—or should have been—astounding that that spectacle did not move the House within an hour to enact the very provision against which these unfaithful servants of the Government were working.

For the principle is precisely the same in the case of these other employees as in that of the police and firemen. They are all employees of the Government, and for any of them to go on strike is to strike against the Government; and that is the intolerable thing. We do not know that it would be any worse for the police to desert their duty than for the clerks in one of the departments to do so. We are not sure that it would be as bad. It might be much easier to fill the places of the police at least temporarily with soldiers than to fill those of expert stenographers, bookkeepers, and others. But apart from any possible differences in degree, there would be no difference in kind. Either strike would be a strike against the Government; and a strike against the Government, specifically, is practically a strike against any Government—against Government, generically.

We might argue convincingly against the right of employees to strike against the Government on the simple ground of *do ut des*. They are not to be asked, of course, to surrender the ordinary civil rights of citizens. But they may justly be required to relinquish certain minor privileges in return for the special privileges which are granted to them. At great expense and labor the Government has created a Civil Service system, to protect them in tenure of place and to assure them other benefits which they would not enjoy in any other employment. In consideration of that, it is not unreasonable to expect them to refrain from striking against the Government.

But the higher consideration is that of loyalty to the Government, as Government. With that loyalty, striking is absolutely incompatible. It is akin to treason. The right of the individual employee to resign his place in the Government's service is indisputable, though even that should be scrupulously exercised so as to cause a minimum of embarrassment to the service. But for men to conspire together, to coax or coerce or otherwise cause their comrades all to quit work together, for the purpose of embarrassing and paralyzing the functions of Government until it shall yield to some of their demands, is about as abominable a procedure as can be imagined this side of actual rebellion or treason.

The employees of the Government will commend themselves to popular consideration by refraining voluntarily from all further attempts to affiliate themselves with trade unions, and the American Federation of Labor will also do well to stop trying to get them to join it. It would do best of all to adopt a rule excluding Government employees from its membership. The man who does not appreciate the radical and essential difference between Government employment and private or corporate employment is lacking in his understanding of the fundamental principles of government.

A "Humor" Peril

AN Associated Press dispatch from London informs us that householders of the United Kingdom are barred by a Ministry of Food edict from "enter-taining their mothers-in-law or other guests longer than four weeks."

On the pretty safe assumption that the British authorities in question are not giggling simpletons, the mother-in-law specification in the dispatch may be stricken out. Probably that was merely a yielding on the part of the correspondent to the stereotyped mother-in-law joke habit. For many generations in the past the mother-in-law, like the refractory stove-pipe, was among the classic and inevitable mechanical properties of our American professional jokesmiths.

But a change has been wrought of late years in our views as to what is legitimately mirth-provocative and what is not. We long ago became pretty well convinced of two things about what we had been calling "American humor." One was that it was not American and the other was that it was not humor. It was just silliness, and silliness has no nationality, while, of course, it is the very converse of humor. Inability on the part of foreigners "to appreciate American humor" of the mother-in-law jokester variety ceased to be a reproach. It became a distinction. A rapidly widening group here at home shared it.

And now here comes an Associated Press telegram all the way from London suggestively provocative of another outburst of that tin-pan mother-in-law jocularly once more! Already the ancient jokesmiths may be again unlimbering the awful mechanism. It is to shudder.

Letters From Our Readers

"OUTGROWING" THE DECLARATION

SIR,—In the "True American Leaflet No. 2," published by True American Publishing Company, Philadelphia, Pa., I find the following:

Hon. Charles F. Curry, member of Congress from California, said in a speech in the House of Representatives:

"Every one abhors war, but there are worse things than war. The sacrifice of personal liberty, of national independence or of national honor, would be worse than war. I do not know whether you have noticed it or not, but the Constitution of the proposed League of Nations does not provide that the people shall have anything whatever to do with the appointment of its delegates. The members of the present peace conference were appointed, and some of them self-appointed, by the executives of the several nations without ever consulting the legislative branches of their governments. Mr. Wilson, in his *New Freedom*, says: 'Some men have not yet outgrown the Declaration of Independence.' Thank God there are some men who have not outgrown the Declaration of Independence, Lincoln's Gettysburg speech, the Constitution of the United States, the Sermon on the Mount and the Ten Commandments."

If Mr. Wilson said, "Some men have not yet outgrown the Declaration of Independence", this constitutes the highest treason, in my opinion. You have already shown the people that Mr. Wilson's proposition to make the United States a State in the Super-Government of the Governments is a violation of our National Constitution and also of the oath he took upon entering office to uphold the Constitution of the United States. The *Houston Post*, Houston, Texas, in its edition of Sunday, September 14th, said that hundreds of people who heard Hon. Hiram Johnson at Kansas City, shouted "Johnson our next President!" "Impeach Wilson!" I am of the opinion that the American people are about ready to get rid of the "Wilson Incubus." If all that is said of Mr. Wilson is true, in my opinion it is clearly your duty to advocate impeaching him. I suggest that you publish Mr. Wilson's speech in which he said, "Some men have not outgrown the Declaration of Independence," and then ask your readers how many are in favor of impeaching him. You will be swamped with letters.

Houston, Texas.

FOXHALL A. PARKER.

THE MOST INTERESTING AND VALUABLE

SIR,—I enclose my check in your favor for seven dollars (\$7) in payment for one year's subscription to *The North American Review* and HARVEY'S WEEKLY.

I have found the WEEKLY the most interesting and valuable publication during the past year of all those which I have read. It has done a work for the country whose value is beyond estimate, in my judgment. Like the work of the late lamented Col. Roosevelt, the WEEKLY has done much for Americanism. We are beginning to reap the fruits thereof. The treasonable League of Nations is killed. The I. W. W., the Bolsheviki and anarchists and the alien internationalists, led by the Democratic administration, are in the course of being suppressed, and will be suppressed. I have been a Democrat, but President Wilson and his sycophants have surfeited me of democracy of their kind. But I only intended to send my subscription, and not write a letter. The murder of our boys at Centralia, in this State, on Armistice Day, by the I. W. W., should arouse the country and our Federal officials in prompt and effective action in ridding our country of all traitors to it.

Republic, Washington.

GEO. V. ALEXANDER.

THE THUMB-SCREW

SIR,—"The Adamson law, or we will stop all the railroads and starve you."

They got the Adamson law.

"The eight-hour day, or we won't do a stroke of army work to win the war."

They got the eight-hour day.

"The forty-four hour week and the closed shop in the garment trade, or you get nothing to wear."

And they got it.

Then the thumb-screw was put on, not for wages or hours, but to show the power of the operator.

Stop the steamships from loading, the ferry boats from running; stop the coal mines, the milk wagons, the laundries.

Put on another turn of the screw!

Then, at last, Society will take its thumbs out and kick the old thumb-screw to bits.

Ask the "Knights of Labor"!

New York City.

J. D. HOLMES.

AN OPINION

SIR,—I am not finding fault with your appeal to Robert Lansing, if you are one of those who had that high estimation of him before he signed his name to that infamous instrument at Paris. How it is that you happened to have so high an opinion of an utterly colorless person, however, passes my understanding—you, of all men, sir!

For thirty years Robert Lansing had been an insignificant back-room clerk, and "bag boy" for the different Secretaries of State who have had him at one time or another employed in the Department of State here. He has never given utterance to an original thought, or direction to an original plan of his own, and he never will.

Everybody knew, when Woodrow Wilson selected him for the high office of Secretary of State, why it was done (i. e., everyone who knew Lansing and who knew Wilson understood the game): Wilson did not want a man of active mentality around him to question and advise him in the State Department—he wanted a dummy; and he got one; a genuine dummy, too!

You have wasted and are wasting your time on any effort you have made up to date in getting Robert Lansing to act like a "Man" as you so pointedly ask him to act. He will continue to act as a dummy, for his official master until the curtain falls on the scene. The stage is all set, and that curtain is soon to fall.

Washington, D. C.

JOHN ADAMS.

OUR ONLY REMAINING SLAVE STATE

SIR,—In reading over the number of the WEEKLY for the 15th inst., your very timely article, "In Darkest Delaware," caught my eye and, having in mind the fact that the *New York Sun*, in articles upon the treatment of indentured children in that State had named several Pennsylvania institutions from which, it was stated, children were drawn for indenture in Delaware, I at once sent the *Sun* a letter, which they printed, and a copy of which I enclose, to the effect that one of the institutions named, to wit, The Old House of Refuge, now the Glen Mills Schools, had no record of sending children into Delaware.

I have taken steps, as indicated in the letter, to see if other institutions in Pennsylvania are so sending children, with the thought of having it stopped, if such should be the case.

Furthermore, I shall send the number of the WEEKLY in question to the Chairman of our State Board of Charities, as a further incentive to activity on his part in preventing the indenturing of children from Pennsylvania, in the only remaining slave State above the Mason and Dixon Line.

Philadelphia, Pa.

E. G. HAMERSLY.

MIRACLES WITHOUT END

SIR,—I have a friend whose family lives in Barbadoes. They have recently written her that a letter she wrote and sent early in August, was received in October. They had wondered at her long delay in writing home, and when they saw the date of the letter made some inquiries.

They were told in Barbadoes that it is understood that mail for those islands is held in New York until there are 500 bags to be sent. They say business men are very indignant, and of course find such management most unsatisfactory. Some protest had been made, they understood.

I am wondering if this may not be a new item to add to the "miraculous" management of Mr. Burleson.

It is bad enough to have our own mail held up, but it seems so disgraceful and mortifying to have people "outside the family" know of our inefficiency.

New York City.

B. F. RANDOLPH.

INDORSING A FELONY

SIR,—Wisconsin Socialists, in renominating Victor Berger for the Congress from which he has been rightly excluded, declare that they "indorse, approve and proudly sustain every act, word and writing" of his. Seeing that a court of justice has adjudged some of his utterances to have been criminal, an interesting question arises as to the possible legal culpability of those who thus indorse them. It is no light thing to "indorse and approve" a felony.

New York City.

J. G. GIBBS.

STRIKES AND THE GOVERNMENT

SIR,—If postoffice clerks, working for the Government, under civil service, may not safely belong to the A. F. L., how can railroad employees, in the service of the Government, under the Federal Railroad Administration, escape the same dilemma of "serving two masters" when they belong to the Brotherhood? Haven't postal employees as good a right to strike as railroad employees, while in the service of the Government?

I believe neither has a right to strike—nor policemen, firemen, et al, who are in the public service.

I see President Wilson subordinates Government to his "cause," but it must not be at the mercy of labor unions.

Coudersport, Pa.

M. J. COLCORD.

ACCUSATION AND FACT

SIR,—Since Mr. Wilson is so prolific in his charges of pro-Germanism against the critics of the League Covenant, you would surely render a great public service in publishing the record, in that particular, of Senator Hitchcock, Mr. Wilson's *alter ego* in the Senate.

Comparatively few have had the privilege of reading the recent speech of Senator Sherman in the Senate, in which he touched upon Mr. Hitchcock.

The country should know about Senator Hitchcock, and an article in the WEEKLY, something after the order of the one on Mr. Lansing, in last week's issue, would do incalculable good.

Pueblo, Colo.

J. L. WOODBRIDGE.

FAITH AND WORKS

SIR,—I enclose herewith \$12, for which please send to each of the accompanying addresses, first, Men's Club, Community House, Continental Village, R. F. D. No. 2, Peekskill, N. Y.; secondly, The Library, Garrison, Putnam County, N. Y., *The North American Review* for one year, and HARVEY'S WEEKLY for one year. Pray do not send these as a Christmas gift, or otherwise as coming from me.—but do send them.

If this should reach Colonel Harvey's eyes, it might interest him to know that the library at Garrison is one of the many good works supported by my friend and neighbor, Mr. William Church Osborn, who as a "dyed-in-the-wool Democrat" thinks it necessary to support all of Mr. Wilson's contentions—although, between you and me and the post, I cannot conceive that he has any more faith in him than I have.

New York City.

F. S.

IT STILL APPLIES

SIR,—The following was written some years ago, when men's minds were busy with the upbuilding of this Republic, rather than with any proposition looking to its subordination:

"A treaty to change the organization of the Government, to annihilate its sovereignty, to overturn its republican form, or to deprive it of its Constitutional powers, would be void; because it would destroy what it was designed to fulfill, the will of the people."—Story, No. 1508.

F. BROOKS.

Philadelphia, Pa.

In this long fight for American nationalism as against rainbow internationalism no one individual has done more to awaken the people to the surpassing importance of the issue, or to enlighten the people to every aspect of its significance, or to move their opinions in the right direction by sound argument and captivating wit than Colonel George Harvey, the editor of HARVEY'S WEEKLY and *The North American Review*.

To him certainly belongs the Croix de Guerre.

With splendid courage and superb mental clarity, with unfailing good humor and a keen perception of fundamentals, with a personal devotion and a personal sacrifice of which the public can know little has this remarkable master of sane thought and good English earned the highest honors of the fray.

This is but a just tribute to a writer and editor of uncommon distinction and power; and *The Sun* pays its duty to truth with gratitude and admiration.—*The Sun*.

IS FRANCE DYING?

By WILLIAM H. SCHEIFLEY

CHRISTMAS

WITH

THE A. E. F.

By KATHERINE MAYO

in the

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FOR DECEMBER

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We Mind Our Own Business

WE humble American folks have been scolded so fiercely and so frequently since Mr. Wilson undertook to assume sovereignty over us that an extra whack or two really matters little; indeed, we are quite indisposed to resent even such excoriations as Mr. Lloyd George and M. Brioux perceive no impropriety in visiting upon us because of stupid obduracy in preserving a few of the rights which we possessed before we turned in to help England and France win their war. They want the League, of course, precisely as it was fixed up originally and they continue to use the resources of the United States to very great advantage. We make not the slightest complaint against their getting all they can get through either wheedling us or jawing at us. That is their privilege and their business. We do not cavil even at the storm of misrepresentation which, through apparent concert of action, seems designed to overwhelm us.

M. Brioux is the most explicit. He states his case in these words:

Your President came to France fortified by a prestige which he owed to the courage of your soldiers and to the generosity of your nation. You know with what enthusiasm he was received, not because he was Mr. Wilson, but because he represented America. I cannot insist too much that to us he was America itself.

At the peace table he asked us to make heavy concessions. We tried to make him understand that he was wrong but he insisted. Could we refuse anything to America? We could not. America and France were partners in the same game.

You said to us: "Renounce this and we will give you that." We finished by saying "Yes."

Our concessions became things of fact. We acquitted ourselves of our obligations. But to-day do you know what you are doing? You are refusing to acquit yourself of your obligations. You are chicaning and quibbling over the execution of a treaty which we have executed in large measure already. If we acceded to your desires it was because you made it a condition of your acceptance. To-day you say: "It wasn't America who spoke then; it was Mr. Wilson, and his word, in order to have value, must be ratified by the Senate. You Frenchmen took his word seriously. It is your fault."

Are you Americans, now that we have been dupes of these promises, are you going by the refusal of your Senate to perpetuate the state of trouble in the world and punish us because of our confidence in you? Recognize this, that our error in having thought that Mr. Wilson spoke for America was excusable. It was the first time that one of your Presidents ever came to Europe. You permitted him to come and we had the right to assume that he had your word in his valise and that he was authorized to say to us: "I speak for America, and I alone."

Gentlemen, play fair!

There is one point, and only one, of importance in this appeal. Was or was not the "error" of the French Government in thinking Mr. Wilson spoke for America "excusable"? True, we did "permit him to go," as stated, but only because there was no way under our laws of preventing him. Surely, the French Ambassador, the active Captain Tardieu and the well-informed M. Lausanne knew that. No less cer-

tainly, moreover, must they have been aware that by more than a million majority the Americans had just refused Mr. Wilson's explicit request to confer upon him exclusive authority to represent them in the conduct of their international affairs.

But M. Clemenceau was not obliged to rely upon even his own highly intelligent representatives. He had the information direct from Mr. Wilson in the cablegram, recently come to light, in which he requested the Premier to prevent the publication of his repudiation in the French newspapers. Clearly, therefore, if France was deceived, it was by connivance of her own Premier, not by the American people.

Finally and conclusively, when the President brought home his scheme for a League in February, forty-one Senators signed the following declaration:

Whereas a committee of the conference has proposed a constitution for a League of Nations and the proposal is now before the Peace Conference for its consideration; now, therefore, be it

Resolved, By the Senate of the United States, in the discharge of its Constitutional duty of advice in regard to treaties, that it is the sense of the Senate that while it is their sincere desire that the nations of the world should unite to promote peace and general disarmament, the Constitution of the League of Nations in the form now proposed to the Peace Conference should not be accepted by the United States and be it

Resolved further, that it is the sense of the Senate that the negotiations on the part of the United States should immediately be directed to the utmost expedition of the urgent business of negotiating peace terms with Germany satisfactory to the United States and the nations with whom the United States is associated in the war against the German Government, and the proposal for a League of Nations to insure the permanent peace of the world should be taken up for careful and serious consideration.

What nonsense, in the light of these happenings, for M. Brioux to maintain that France had the "right to assume" that Mr. Wilson "had your [the American people's] word in his valise and that he was authorized to say to us: 'I speak for America, and I alone.'"

"It is very difficult," Mr. Lloyd George began, "to speak about America,"—and then forthwith he proceeded to overcome the difficulty. "Peace," he continued, "has been jeopardized and the League of Nations is put in peril in the land which took the most prominent and distinguished part in its promotion."

We admit the fact; we accept the rebuke; and we stand firm. The mistake was not ours; we knew what our purpose was and stated it through forty-one Senators; the error was one of judgment by Mr. Lloyd George himself who took us for a disconcertingly large but credulous

spawn of lump-fish more commonly designated in the Adirondacks as suckers. We appreciate his disappointment and are sorry for him, naturally, but when he goes on to deprecate "party strife", "party differences", "political conflicts", "cessation of coalition" and the like, we have to stop to guess how many words he is speaking, for the American and how many for the Welshman.

The apprehensive *World* is troubled by the suspicion that the British Premier's "frankness of speech" may "rasp American pride". It should worry. It is not the American people but Mr. Lloyd George who is making a display of unbecoming pettiness for his own political purposes. We would reply simply that we have no "coalition government" to get rid of; we never had; Mr. Wilson preferred to take all the glory and consequently all the responsibility—which incidentally is still his exclusive possession.

The plain facts are set forth substantially as we stated them in our own way last week by *Le Temps*, the greatest paper in France, in these words:

Why has the Versailles Treaty not been ratified by the United States? Because of the reservations which the American Senate has voted. But have these reservations been read in Paris? Do they destroy the basis of the treaty, as we have been told? Every one can read them and form his own opinion. In the meanwhile we will give our opinion.

The fourteen reservations and interpretations of the American Senate are prefaced with a preamble which has direct interest for the Allied Powers. American ratification will come into effect, the Senate declared, only if three Allied Powers, by exchange of notes, accept the reservations voted at Washington. This stipulation raises a question of form and a question of principle.

As for the form, can the Allies accept these reservations and interpretations? We cannot see what will hinder them. Yesterday the Supreme Council authorized the Yugoslav delegation to formulate reservations in agreeing to the provisions of the treaty of St. Germain. There is, then, a precedent. And if a precedent did not exist it would be a good idea to make one. Nobody with any sense would say that we ought to hesitate over this question of American ratification.

But there is a question of principle: Are the American reservations of such a nature that the Allies can consider them as binding? That is the question to look into.

We have been told that the reservations of the Senate were a disavowal of the work accomplished by the Paris Conference. It has been alleged that the United States shows a tendency no longer to be associated with Europe or with the peace. In reply to this manifest falsehood it is only necessary to state the fact, which is that, although they insist upon redrafting in two or three places the covenant of the League of Nations—which can be amended, any-

how, under Article XXVI.—the American reservations contain nothing which should lead the Allies to reject ratification under these conditions. On the contrary, they contain certain interpretations which are very wise, and which it would be to our interest to sanction.

Let French opinion, fully informed, express itself with vigor.

We thank Mr. Lloyd George and M. Brioux for their advice, but *Le Temps* has the true conception of the situation. We propose to manage our own affairs in our own way, and there is no reason on the face of the earth why our friends in Europe should object to our doing so; if they should, since plain speaking seems to be in order, they can go hang.

That's what we say.

Notes on a Message

THE fluent writer of the Presidential Message which was read to Congress last week apparently suffers from the same strange obsession concerning the foreign commerce of the United States that has hitherto appeared in several of the President's utterances. In his appeal for the substitution of free trade for a protective tariff, he refers to "the provincial standards and policies of the past, which have held American business as if in a strait-jacket." Precisely so, Mr. Wilson, when first running for the Presidency, deplored the "tariff wall" which had "dammed up and confined" our commerce; and so, later, he declared that this country had never before been accustomed to "big business" in international trade.

We should like to know what is meant by "big business" and what this deft composer of epigrammatic messages would expect as the result of the removal of the "strait-jacket"? The fact is that just before the war, under our "provincial standards and policies" and in our "strait-jacket", we had a larger foreign trade than any other nation in the world save only Great Britain, and we were within fifteen per cent of equalling hers. Of course our trade in goods of our own production was far larger than hers or any other country's. In view of such facts, we are scarcely inclined to put on sackcloth and ashes over our "provincial standards and policies."

Turning to the subject of Bolshevism, the I. W. W., and the "Reds" generally, though he mentions none by name, the writer thinks that Congress should "arm the Government with power to deal in its criminal courts with those persons who by violent methods would abrogate our time-tested institutions." The request for more power would come with better grace if the power with which the Government is already endowed had not been so scandalously unused. Scores, probably hundreds, of criminal aliens, Anarchists, incendiaries, white slavers, murderers and what not, have been rounded up, and ordered deported. Then they have been petted and coddled by Government officials as "political deportees," their deportation countermanded, and finally themselves set at liberty again, to resume their crim-

inal careers. If the Government thus fails to use the power it has, it seems like sheer impertinence for it to ask for more.

A neat touch of unintentional humor at the expense of the President appears in the message, in its advocacy of economic and industrial reforms. The writer refers to the fact that Congress has already "sought to find a way to prevent child labor," and evidently regards that as a commendable precedent for further efforts in social legislation. He seems to have forgotten that when Federal legislation against child labor was proposed, Mr. Wilson poured upon it the vials of his wrath and scorn as a "striking example" of the desire of Congress to extend its powers "beyond the utmost bounds of reason and honest inference" and as arising from "obviously absurd extravagances of interpretation." Yet in this message, the President is made to commend that "striking example" of absurdity, unreasonableness and dishonesty as worthy of all emulation!

It is impossible to avoid, moreover, drawing a contrast between the message-writer's attitude toward the eight-hour law and that of the foremost spokesman of the labor unions whose cause the message pleads. Says the message:

Congress has already shown its willingness to deal with these industrial wrongs by establishing the eight-hour day as the standard in every field of labor.

Says the American Federation of Labor, speaking through its Vice-President:

Under no circumstances should any Government agency have the right or authority to fix either wages or hours. To permit any Governmental agency to perform such acts would in effect destroy the right to freedom of contract, deprive our people of their liberties, and create a Government of bureaucracy, which is desired no more than a military autocracy.

Between the two expressions there seems to be somewhat of a discrepancy.

The dictum of the message-writer on the subject of strikes also appears to be in need of further definition. He says:

The right of individuals to strike is inviolate and ought not to be interfered with by any process of government; but there is a predominant right, and that is the right of the Government to protect all of its people and to assert its power and majesty against the challenge of any class.

Again the message-writer seems to have forgotten a very recent declaration of the President against the right of the Boston police to strike, and in favor of interference with that right by process of Government. It would surely have been better, and certainly more considerate toward the President's record on the subject, to indicate what individuals had, and what had not, "the inviolate right to strike."

Concerning the panacea for economic and industrial troubles, the message-writer is at variance with himself. First, bravely championing the President's Covenant, he declares that the establishment of its principles offers us the way to industrial peace and conciliation. "No other road lies open to us;" and not to pursue it is to invite enmities, bitterness and disaster. And then a little later he assures us that in this country "there is but one way by which great reforms can be accomplished and the relief sought by classes obtained." What is that? By way of the international and denationalizing Covenant, of which he said "No other road lies open to us"? No; but "through the orderly processes of representative Government." Here then are two roads, each of which is the only one!

The President, says the Constitution of the United States, "shall from time to time give to the Congress information

of the state of the Union, and recommend to their consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient." It omits to suggest that whenever necessary, his messages shall be accompanied with diagrams or blueprints for their more perfect explication.

Messrs. Justice Brandeis, Untermyer, and Baruch (for Mr. McAdoodle) need an editor.

The House and the Treaty

THE question of the relation of the House (of Representatives, not the Texas Colonel) to the Treaty in case the latter should be ratified has been raised; perhaps chiefly to the effect of increasing gratitude for the prudence, wisdom and patriotism of the Senate in insisting upon the Americanization of that instrument.

Note that the question is that of the relation of the House to the execution of the Treaty after ratification, and not to the ratification of it. The latter question never really existed at all, and the notion that it did was dispelled a great many years ago. It was raised, for the first and practically the only time, in connection with the first treaty ever made under the Constitution. That was Jay's Treaty, in 1796. It was obvious that some of its essential provisions could not be executed without the appropriation of public money for the purpose, and such appropriations must originate in the House. Would the House be under any legal or moral compulsion to vote them if it did not approve the treaty? A majority at first blush held that it would not. So they sent to the President for all papers relating to the negotiation of the treaty, so that the House as well as the Senate might judge of the merits of the instrument. Of course Washington rightly declined to send them. At that a great debate arose, one of the most notable in history, and it is interesting to recall that such men as Madison and Gallatin took ground against the President and insisted that he must let the House have the papers, failing which the House might withhold its assent from the treaty! In the end, the President and the Constitution were upheld by the narrowest of margins. Fisher Ames disobeyed his physician and defied death by being carried from his sick bed into the House to make, in support of Washington, the greatest speech of his life, if not the greatest ever made in the House, and so got two resolutions approving the treaty passed by tie votes decided by the casting vote of the Speaker, and a third, directing the House to give the treaty effect by a vote of 51 to 48—with a number of absentees who, if they had been present, would have defeated the motion!

It was a narrow squeak, but it sufficed. Men came to their senses, and though the same question was several times afterward raised, it was never formidably raised, and there never was any chance of its being decided the wrong way, as Madison and Gallatin had sought to do. On the contrary, in 1835 the House put itself on record in the right way. That was when the House of Representatives without demur voted to make important changes in the tariff simply because the President had promised them in a treaty; and at the same time our Government protested against the

action of the French Chamber in refusing to vote an appropriation for an indemnity which the King in a treaty had promised to pay. John Quincy Adams, though the bitterest foe that the President—Jackson—had in either House, took the lead in thus supporting him, and in establishing the perfectly sound principle that the House is both morally and legally bound to do all that is necessary for the execution of any treaty that the President and Senate may make.

Many years afterward, it is true, a resolution was adopted, declaring it to be the sense of the House that while the power to make treaties is vested solely in the President and the Senate, whenever a treaty stipulates the doing of things which must be done by the whole Congress, "it is the Constitutional right and duty of the House . . . to deliberate on the expediency or in expediency of carrying such treaty into effect, and to act thereon as in their judgment may be most conducive to the public good." But that was adopted in exceptional circumstances, and would scarcely be made an actual rule of action. The Constitution provides that a treaty, made solely by the President and the Senate, shall be "the supreme law of the land," and it is to be assumed that the House of Representatives is subject to it as much as anyone else. (The refusal of the House in 1894 to appropriate money for the Bering Sea settlement was not a case in point, since the sum then desired was not stipulated in a treaty, but was merely agreed upon by the Secretary of State. And even so, the House was ashamed of itself for that action!)

The re-raising of the question serves, however, the useful purpose of emphasizing the need of circumspection in the making of treaties, so that there shall be no ground for so much as a feeling of reluctance on the part of the House to aid in their execution. If the late Treaty of Peace had been ratified as the President wanted it to be, it would have been the duty of the House to provide for its execution; unless that body was willing to assume the onus of practically revolutionary action, to which there would certainly have been the strongest of provocation. It is a part of the everlasting credit and praise of the patriotic Senate that it made sure that the Treaty would not and should not be ratified save in such a form as would be acceptable to the American people, and would thus enable the Representatives of the people to provide for its execution without demur and without revolt.

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Views of The A. F. L.

WITH many of the views expressed by Mr. Matthew Woll, Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor, in his long letter to the Chairman of the Republican National Committee, there will be general and hearty agreement. From many there will be widespread and earnest dissent. As a whole they will be regarded with interest, and with gratitude, as one of the most complete, detailed and authoritative statements of the opinions and principles of the Federation that have ever been made. There will also be a lively sense of gratitude to Mr. Hays for the great public service which he has rendered in eliciting such a pronouncement.

One of the first and chief exceptions which will be taken to Mr. Woll's statement is to the repeated intimation and even direct charge that capitalists have been invested with powers and advantages which are denied to workingmen. The State and Nation, he says, have undertaken "to place arbitrary corporate powers and advantages in the hands of a few, and at the same time . . . to destroy or render ineffective the hope and aspiration of the great mass of our people to protect themselves against the exercise of these great corporate powers to dominate the lives and destiny of the many without restraint or limitation." Now we feel sure that on more mature consideration Mr. Woll will see that that is an exaggeration. The sole ground for it at which he so much as hints is, that the Government has not made it a condition of granting charters to corporations that they shall not object to their employees forming and joining labor unions. But how often do corporations make that objection? Not nearly so often, we think, as labor unionists object to corporations giving employment to non-union men. In the old, old controversy between closed shop and open shop, the latter, which employers generally favor, means a shop in which all men may work on equal terms, whether they belong to a union or not, while the former, which is most frequently demanded by labor unions, generally means a shop in which none but union members will be employed.

Mr. Woll appears to forget, too, the actual and very important discrimination that has been made by national statute law in favor of labor organizations, as against corporations or other organizations of capital. Years ago a law was enacted expressly exempting labor organizations from prosecution under a statute to which all other corporations and individuals were subject. We must greatly doubt his ability to cite a comparable example of legislation discriminating in favor of capital against labor.

In his vigorous, not to say violent, condemnation of any anti-strike or compulsory arbitration laws, Mr. Woll sentimentally declares that "the right to quit work after all other methods of adjustment have been exhausted is the concrete expression of individual liberty." We may grant the right of the individual to quit work without agreeing with Mr. Woll's condemnation of anti-strike legislation, because such legislation is directed not against the ordinary exercise of individual liberty, but against the concerted action or conspiracy of individuals not merely to stop work

themselves, but also to cajole, persuade or coerce others to stop too; and is directed, also, not merely against abstention from work by individuals, but still more against permitting the work to be done at all by anyone.

Moreover, if the right to quit work is an expression of individual liberty, what shall we say of the right to work? Surely it is precedent to the right to quit. If a man who is a member of a trade union has a right to quit work at any time, a man who is not a member of a union has at least an equal right to work at any time when his services are desired and in any place where he can find employment. Mr. Woll is very positive that the Government should exact from capitalistic corporations an undertaking that they will not discriminate against union labor. His argument would be more convincing if he coupled with it a demand that labor corporations or unions should be required to pledge themselves not to discriminate against non-union workingmen.

Mr. Woll denounces profit-sharing, "as thus far proposed and practised," as "a sham and a fraud;" while the suggestion of loss-sharing "borders on the absurd." At the same time he demands for labor unions or their members "a voice and control in such industrial matters and management as affect their interests as workers and which are determined largely by their contracts of employment." Doubtless both parties to a contract must have "voice and control" in the making of it; but beyond that it is a difficult thing to give any measure of control of a business to those who are in no way responsible for it. Reason certainly seems to demand that those who are responsible for the profit or loss of an enterprise shall exercise control over it.

The emphatic condemnation which Mr. Woll expresses of any fixing of wages or hours by any Governmental agency causes us to wonder if he disapproves the Adamson law of a few years back, which was demanded by so many labor unionists. If so, it would have strengthened his case greatly for him to have made that fact clear. Also, we must wonder if his hostility to judicial injunctions extends to such writs when issued against others than labor unions. We should have liked a declaration on that point. Nevertheless, the general temper of his letter is admirable, and his statement of the labor unions' case should assist to some degree in reaching a just and enduring settlement of the labor problem, such as we must credit him, no less than his interlocutor, with desiring.

"Splendid Isolation"

COMMENTING with regretful disapproval upon the President's burking of the Smuts-Cecil Covenant, the *London Times* observes that not many years ago Great Britain used to rejoice in her "splendid isolation" and to hold aloof from entangling alliances "as prudishly as the coyest observer of the Washington tradition." But circumstances were too strong for this "cloistered virtue". And it thinks that "the same pressure of circumstances will force America to tread the same path. It is her 'manifest destiny'

and unless she fulfils it she cannot accomplish her other destinies."

From this monumental *non sequitur* we dissent. The two cases, between which the *Times* rhetorically strives to draw an analogy, are essentially different. They are in opposition, so diametrically that any logical argument based upon them must lead to a conclusion exactly opposite from that of the *Times*.

It is true that Great Britain did for a time profess isolation from Continental politics. It is equally true that she merely professed it and never actually practised it, because at the very time when she most professed it she was a responsible partner in various important Continental treaties, compacts, and concerts of the Powers. Even that profession, moreover, was of brief duration, and was recognized to be contrary to her traditional policy.

Down to a time within the recollection of living men not yet grown old, Great Britain was never isolated. From early Saxon times she had been incessantly and inextricably concerned in Continental politics, diplomacy, and wars. Down to Tudor times she held important possessions on the Continent. In Stuart and Hanoverian times she participated in almost every important Continental war and Treaty. Down to the beginning of the last century her sovereigns were in their official titles proclaimed to be sovereigns of France. In the Victorian reign we seem to remember something about a Crimean War, and a Congress of Berlin.

It was thus after a thousand years of active participation in Continental affairs that, under the doctrinaire inspiration of Cobden and Gladstone, Great Britain for a time ostensibly changed her ways and professed—let us say that she also sincerely sought to practise, but could not—a "splendid isolation". In now renouncing that profession she is making no new departure. She is simply reverting to her traditional principles, policy, and practice.

The United States, on the other hand, began its career in a state not, indeed, of secluded hermitage, but at least of distinct separation from European politics, intrigues and wars. It was largely for the sake of such separation that the Colonists had come hither; it was for that sake that independence was declared and established; it was for that sake that, beginning with Washington and Hamilton, the Monroe Doctrine was gradually developed and finally proclaimed as the very cornerstone of our national foreign policy. What the *Times* so lightly calls the "Washington tradition" was the principle upon which, more than any other, this nation was founded, and is the principle to which, more than to any other, it has ever since been true. Any excursion into extraneous affairs has been temporary; as temporary as Great Britain's profession of "splendid isolation". Maintenance of the "Washington tradition" is fidelity to type.

Let us not, however, be misunderstood. The United States has never contemplated withdrawing into such a status as that from which she herself compelled Japan to emerge. America has never thought of being a hermit nation. She has not hesitated, on occasion, to participate in international affairs, as an equal member of the world-wide community of sovereign states. What she has insisted upon,

and does insist upon, is that she shall be independent; that her participation in international affairs shall be that of an independent nationality, at her own sovereign volition, and not at the dictation, either legal or moral, of any alien Power.

What "other destinies" the London *Times* may have in view for America, the accomplishment of which requires the repudiation of the "Washington tradition", we do not know. We believe that, since loyalty to that "tradition" has brought this country to its present estate, in which, as we are so fluently and frequently assured, it is looked to as the hope and the savior of the world, its best destinies are to be fulfilled by faithful adherence to the same wise, prudent and generous course. The attitude and relationship of America to the rest of the world was never more truly described than in John Hay's historic epigram, "The Monroe Doctrine and the Golden Rule." It is to be hoped that to neither of those inseparably conjoined principles will America ever be untrue.

Do It Yourself

COMMUNITIES, nations, Governments are still fumbling around for the answer to the strike of necessary workers and to the general strike, both of which threaten the lives and welfare of everyone in order to force better pay for the strikers. England went a considerable distance during the transportation strike, far enough to show that a volunteer system of transportation could be developed adequate to deliver milk and save lives and prevent famine. The city of Winnipeg had earlier gone through the same deadly peril, in more extensive form and during a more protracted period, and had completely beaten a general strike by exactly the same methods—by organizing volunteer services in every necessary line, street cleaning, garbage collecting, food delivery, and so on.

Our coal strike, begun just as winter approached, is clearly of the same group. It should have been met in the same spirit. That it was not so met by the national Government, that one inadequate remedy after another has been attempted, and that the coal shortage is becoming steadily more ominous, is now plain. Courageous words have been spoken. The will to act, or the knowledge how to act, has been lacking. Doubtless the Administration should have had a complete and adequate plan ready and awaiting the issuance of the strike order. It is fair to say now that the chief plan adopted, that of an injunction, was inadequate. The remedy was excellent in theory; but it ignored human nature; it sought to accomplish the impossible while ignoring the very possible means that were all the time at hand.

You cannot compel 400,000 men to go to work by anybody's order in a free country. There are not police and jails enough to enforce such a decree against such a body. We are not speaking of enforcing order and preventing violence. The usual police regulations must be preserved at whatever cost. It is the attempt to compel a man to

work against his will that offers insuperable practical obstacles.

But you can insist that the man who will not work shall not conspire to keep others from working; and that he must step aside and let you do his work—do enough of it as a volunteer, that is, to keep the fires of civilized existence burning. We have become dazzled by the complexity of our modern industrial organization and are a little apt to throw up our hands when any large, specially trained group quits. That is the first reaction. Afterward, human nature reasserts itself, and we begin to realize that not so many generations ago we were all getting our own fuel, planting our own fields, cooking our own food. Reserve abilities reside in everyone. Specialization is recent and superficial. The true fact of human nature is that at a pinch each of us can do almost anything. With this second reaction comes the resolve and the angry resolve not to be overborne by the threats of any group; to volunteer, to show the strikers how grossly they have overestimated the potency of their threats. Of such a spirit were born the volunteer services of Winnipeg, of England. It is the spirit of community loyalty, of national honor; of the people against a clique, of all against a few, of the sovereign will of the state against a usurping minority, that inhabits such volunteering and makes it irresistible.

We have seen one such uprising of volunteers on a small scale in this country at the time of the Boston police strike. We are seeing a similar stepping forward in the State of Kansas now, where a courageous governor, Henry J. Allen, has organized volunteer coal miners to go into the State's coal mines and save the State from disaster. There was no trouble about securing volunteers. The spirit of service was ready and awaiting the call of a clear-seeing leader.

It is too soon to predict how far such local measures can meet the coal problem. Nothing can replace a vigorous national leadership. But at least the American people are studying an object-lesson, they are learning that no workman is indispensable, let him strike when and where he will, and that the one sure and overwhelming answer to the arrogant striker against life and health is to do the job yourself.

A Psychopathic Mystery

THERE is something so utterly astounding about the statement of the Rev. Dr. Irvine, D.D., concerning his interview with Senator Lodge and the Senator's flat repudiation, to which we referred last week, that the matter would seem to warrant more extended comment than that with which we dismissed it in the WEEKLY of Dec. 6th.

Aside from the main issue of veracity involved, the controversy is distinctly a psychological, if not a psychopathic problem. Take the strangely explicit, the really solemn form in which Dr. Irvine put his original statement. He said:

"I solemnly swear as a Christian churchman and on my honor as a gentleman that he [Senator Lodge] made this statement about the President and the League of Nations."

Now, the statement that the Reverend gentleman says

Senator Lodge made was this: "Doctor, if you have anything to say against the President or the League of Nations we want to hear you. But if you have anything to say for the President or for the League of Nations, we haven't time to listen to you." To this, Senator Lodge, being interviewed, replied: "Such a statement is wholly untrue. It is a complete falsehood. I can't recall such a man as Irvine appearing before the Committee."

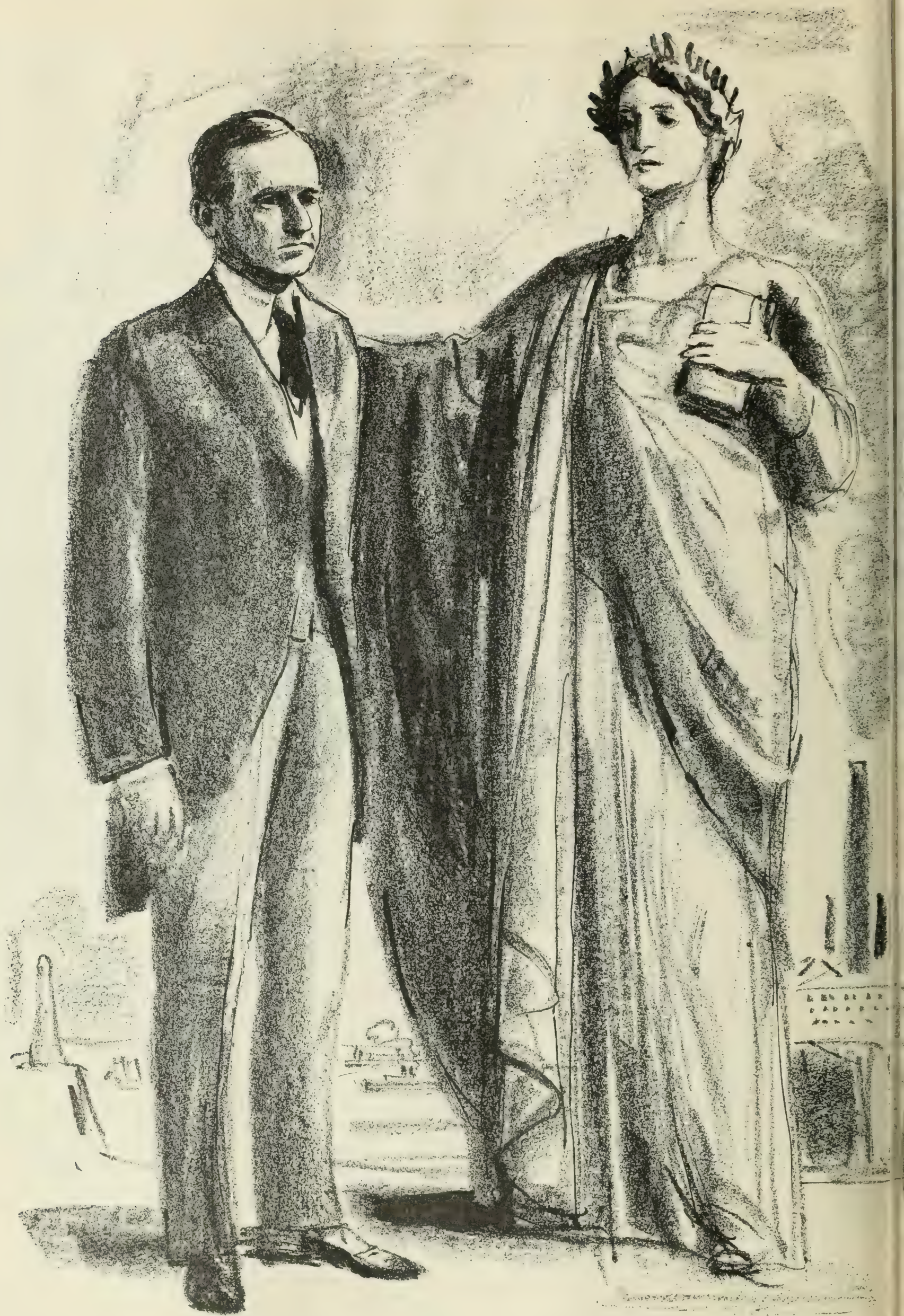
The mystery in this curious incident might well interest psychopathic experts. If Senator Lodge did say the things the Reverend Dr. Irvine says he said, then not only his family and his intimate friends, but the entire American people, before whom he so long has been a conspicuous and respected figure, may well be alarmed. It would indicate on its face and in a very painful way that from the courteous, keenly intellectual gentleman the Senator from Massachusetts has always been in the past, he has suddenly become irresponsible. That Senator Lodge in the full possession of his senses would utter the preposterous drivel attributed to him by the Rev. Dr. Irvine is of course simply inconceivable. If he did utter it, his suddenly developed and very distressing mental condition would urgently call for the immediate attention of psychopathic experts.

But he says he did not make the remark attributed to him by the clerical gentleman. He says that this Reverend theologian's statement is "a complete falsehood." In other words, he charges the Reverend Irvine with being a deliberate liar. Reduced to the short and ugly demerit total, that is what it comes to.

Now here, clearly, is a loud call for the Rev. Dr. Irvine to do something besides solemnly swear as a Christian churchman and on his honor as a gentleman. He has done that already, and has been called a liar for his pains. He has said that he had three witnesses to the truth of his statement. Not only that, but he said that Senator Lodge directly addressed the statement in question to them as well as to him. His own words in this connection were: "Then, he [Senator Lodge] turned to me and three other delegates who were in my party and dismissed us with this reply"—the reply being about unwillingness to listen to anything unless it were against the President or the League of Nations.

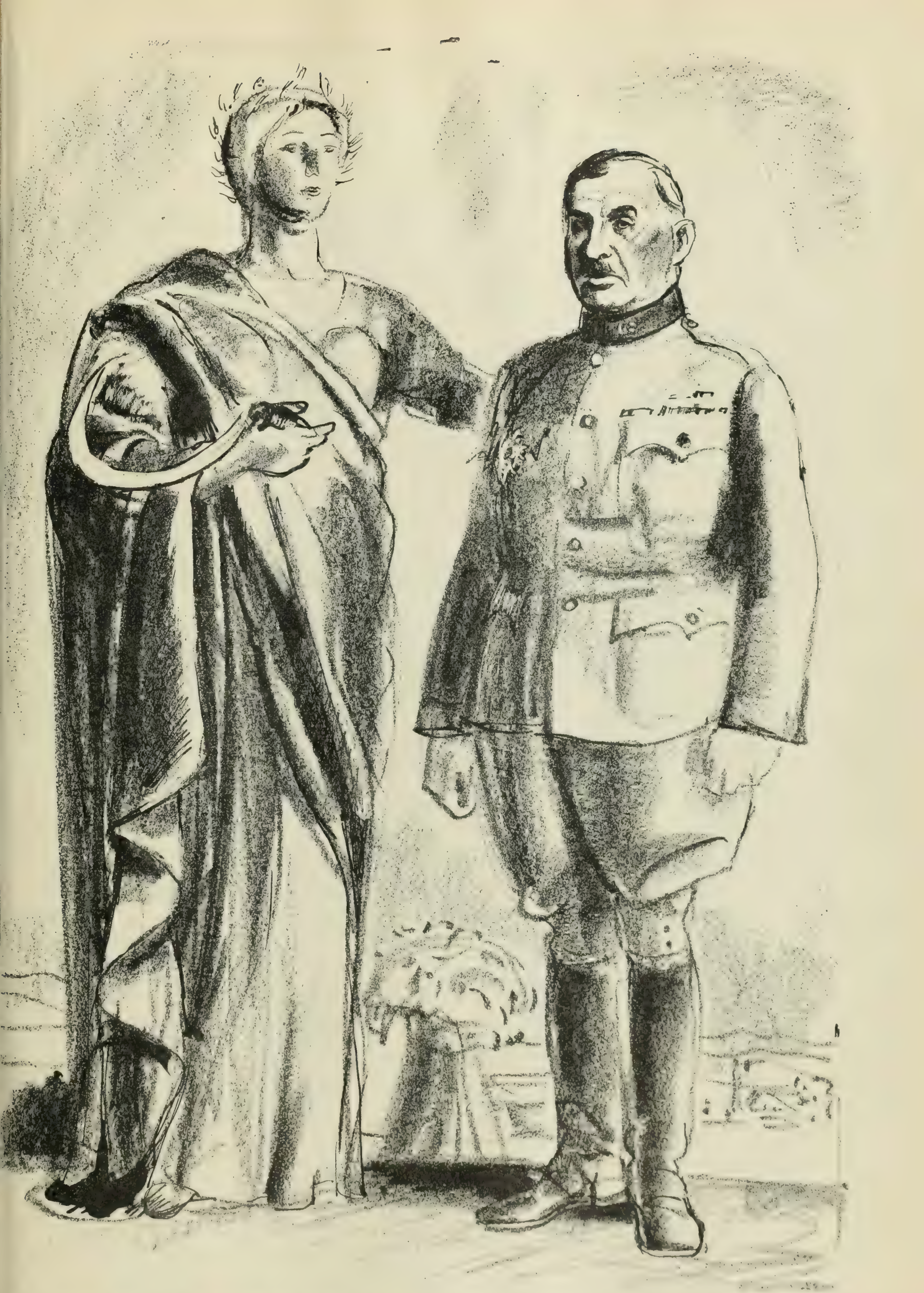
But why in the world, when the Reverend Irvine replied to Senator Lodge's denunciation of him as a falsifier, did he not bring forth these three vital witnesses? What else was there for him to do? Yet he did not do it. He did not even give the names of these three witnesses whose testimony should have overwhelmed Senator Lodge. Instead, he merely referred to Senators Borah, Knox, Johnson and Brandegee as having been present at the interview. Senator Borah to this replied: "Senator Lodge never in my presence said anything to any human being such as Dr. Irvine alleges he said to him. Senators Brandegee and Johnson authorize me to say the same for themselves." Senator Johnson was "mystified" to understand how Dr. Irvine had "given utterance to such an utterly false statement." Senator Brandegee said: "It is not true. Senator Lodge never said any such thing in my presence, and I don't believe he said it at all."

It really seems to be Dr. Irvine's move.



THE FIRST TWO

Massachusetts: "I offer Calvin Coolidge"



PRESENTATIONS

South Dakota: "I propose Leonard Wood"

The Week

WASHINGTON, December 9, 1919.

COMMENTS are numerous upon the number and urgency of legislative matters of great import now before Congress. That condition unquestionably prevails. Unquestionably, too, it is far more the President's fault than that of Congress. His own servile Congress last winter busied itself very largely in postponing matters for this Congress to deal with, and he himself promoted if not necessitated such postponement by running away from his office for half a year. The railroad question is commonly regarded as the foremost of the pending issues. The President specifically commended it to Congress a year ago, for prompt and careful consideration. But that Congress did nothing with it, and if the President had wanted the present Congress to delay action upon it, he could scarcely have done more than he did to compel that course. The same may be said of various other matters. Congress has manifested a praiseworthy purpose of dealing with them as energetically and as expeditiously as possible, compatibly with prudence and discretion. But in the hard work necessary to dispose of accumulated business it will have to pay—and in a measure the country will have to pay—for the President's neglect of duty while he was abroad.

Further increases in wages of railroad employees at the eleventh hour of government control emphasizes the pertinence of Senator Kellogg's charges that such changes have been made recklessly and extravagantly, and often without regard to justice and reason. It is shown that wages in 1919 were 42.7 per cent. higher than in 1917, and 72.7 higher than in 1915, while in some classes the increase has been from 100 to 200 per cent. Now the general average increase may be no more than commensurate with the increase in cost of living. If so, it may be justifiable. But there does seem to be much force in the protest made by Senator Kellogg against the "standardization" of wages, which gives the same pay to men employed in very different places between which there is a great difference in cost of living. It is, we know, a principle of some Socialists that there should be equal pay for equal work, quite regardless of circumstances. But if that rule is to prevail, there can be no room for the rule that wages must be raised because of the rise in cost of living. The two rules are incompatible.

The Treasury circulation statement affords food for thought for those who believe there to be a direct connection between high prices and inflated currency. We are told that on December 1 the per capita amount of money in circulation was \$55.65. In 1913, the year before the war, the amount was \$34.56. In 1860, just before the Civil War, it was \$13.85, and in 1865, at the end of that war, it was \$20.58. Thereafter it very slowly declined until it reached its post bellum minimum of \$15.32 in 1878. Since then it has with some fluctuations slowly increased; though from 1908 to 1914, inclusive, it was practically stationary, between \$34

and \$35. If we regard those as normal figures for that time, the present circulation means an inflation of 57 per cent, which is not far from the percentage of average increase in prices.

Germany's refusal to sign the protocol for putting the treaty into effect was a characteristic performance, the pretended reason—that the United States had not ratified the treaty—being impudently insincere. It is not the slightest business of Germany's whether the United States ever ratifies the treaty or not. Germany made in signing and ratifying it no reservation to the effect that her ratification would not be valid until ours was also given. On the contrary, she signed and ratified it with the explicit understanding that it would become effective as soon as any three of the Big Five ratified it. We are not particularly concerned with the course which the European Powers will pursue in the matter. But it should be clearly understood that the United States is not in the slightest degree to be held accountable for Germany's welching.

The attempt was made some time ago to scare, bulldoze, or otherwise inveigle the United States into "signing here" and swallowing the Treaty and Covenant without reading them over, on the ground that until they were ratified we could not renew trade with Germany, while the other countries that ratified them before us would get into the German markets ahead of us. If that had been true it would not have been conclusive, since loyal Americans value the independence and integrity of their country more than any foreign market. But it was not true. It was flagrantly and notoriously untrue. How untrue it was is seen in the report of the Department of Commerce, which shows that we are now exporting goods to Germany at the rate of a good deal more than a million dollars a week, and are rapidly overtaking Great Britain in the race for first place in the German market.

Judge Westenhaver, of the United States District Court at Cleveland, Ohio, deserves honorable remembrance for his rebuke of the Mayor and other officials of that city for their "lawless" action in ordering the arrest of peaceful and honest citizens who were merely seeking employment in places where workmen were wanted. Certain steel mills there were closed for want of men, their former workmen having gone on strike. The Mayor, "standing in", apparently, with the strikers, issued orders that all men coming to the city to work in those mills should be arrested and deported. This scandalous decree, which was actually enforced, or attempted to be enforced, in the case of some sixty men, the judge declared to be a "lawless and high-handed disregard for the rights of American citizens;" and the judge was right. A similar outrage upon workingmen was attempted in Jersey City recently, but was discreetly abandoned before a judge had a chance to condemn it. The right to strike may—or may not—as the President's message says, be "inviolable". The right to work is certainly—as the same message says of something else—"predominant".

More than twenty-seven years ago, a professional criminal called Alexander Berkman attempted wantonly to murder Henry C. Frick, and was saved from summarily paying the penalty by the generous intervention of his badly wounded victim. Twenty-seven years. They were spent by Berkman partly in prison, and partly, under the astounding leniency of our Government, in plying his criminal practices against individuals, against the public, and against the Government itself. They were spent by Mr. Frick in such industrial and social service to the nation as it is given to few men to perform. At their end, by one of those historical coincidences which baffle speculation as to fate and chance, at the very hour when the body of Mr. Frick was being laid to rest amid all possible manifestations of popular respect and mourning, Berkman was at last being expelled from the country whose hospitality he had so foully violated. No drama of the mimic stage ever contained so impressive a climax.

McAdoo of the Movies resents as offensive all criticism of his demand that confidential records shall be made public, and declares—what is not true—that “the Secretary of the Treasury may publish these returns with the President’s approval.” But with an agility which his colleague Charles Chaplin must envy, he dodges the question: “Why, then, did he not himself publish them at the time when of all times they ought to have been published, when he himself was Secretary of the Treasury and knew all about their scandalous character?” “The long-suffering public,” he continues, “has a right to be heard and considered;” and in the best style of Buncombe County he avows that “I shall never hesitate, so long as I have a voice, to raise it in behalf of the public whenever I think it proper to do so.” But where were the rights of the long-suffering public in May, 1918, when Mr. McAdoo discovered the blistering infamies of the income tax returns? Was it necessary to wait until now before the public had suffered long enough to justify some McAdoodling in its behalf? Oh, the difference between a mere Secretary of the Treasury and a Movie Candidate for the Presidency!

A most illuminating light is cast upon that cryptic word “concurrent” in the Prohibition Amendment, by a pronouncement of the Federal Prohibition Commissioner. He makes it known that the Federal Government purposes to take things easily, and trust to State and municipal Governments, and to churches, temperance societies and other civic bodies, to do most of the enforcing of the law; itself intervening only when it seems necessary to do so. That is to say, this National law is to be entrusted to local authorities for administration, so that its administration will not be uniform throughout the Republic, but will vary according to the taste and fancy of the locality. For “concurrent” read “cross-current”.

Upon one point in the Presidential message—not, however, original with it—there will be general and hearty agreement. That is, the desirability of adopting at once a

comprehensive, business-like, efficient budget system for our national finances. It is one of the most absurd anomalies in the world that business transactions amounting to billions of dollars a year should be directed in the rule-of-thumb, happy-go-lucky style of Si Perkins’s corner grocery at South Squedunk. There may be differences of opinion concerning some details of the scheme. On the main question there can be none. There should be a budget system created before another appropriation bill is passed.

A philosophical correspondent suggests that certain classic verses which were applied to the cosmogonic disputations of a generation ago would be equally apt to the present proposals to base reorganization of the world upon a League of Nations which has as yet no existence. At his request we gladly recall the verses, with joyous memories of the gusto and delight with which the late Henry Ward Beecher used to declaim them:

Upon a Rock, yet uncreate,
An uncreated Being sate;
Below him Rock, above him Cloud,
And the Cloud was Rock, and the Rock was Cloud.

The Rock was rowing moist and warm;
The Cloud began to take a form
As though a Something would be born,—
A Something mystic, vast, and vague,
Which issued in the Cosmic Egg.

Then the Being uncreate
Upon the Egg did incubate,
And thus became an Incubator.
And then the Egg did allegate,
And thus became an Allegator.

And the Incubator was potentate,
But the Allegator was potentator!

We leave to our correspondent the fitting of this to the League of Nations, with the reminder that, according to a great metaphysical authority, the bearing of these verses lies in the application of them.

There seems to be some uncertainty concerning the circumstances of Mr. Norman Hapgood’s return from Denmark, whither he was sent some time ago as United States Minister. Some have it that he has been recalled for being too chummy with Bolsheviks. That we do not for a moment believe. He may have cultivated the acquaintance of Bolsheviks, but this Administration would certainly never consider that a reason for recalling him. Others insist that he is returning at his own wish, in order to communicate to the State Department some facts of so great importance that he dares not entrust them to any other means of transmission. Nobody seems to have suggested that he is coming home to find out whether the Senate has confirmed, or purposes to confirm, his appointment.

There is one strike against which we would not protest and with which we would not interfere, but the right to which, with the writer of the Presidential message, we would hold inviolate. That is a hunger strike of the Reds.

Submerged and Silent

THE Kansas State Teachers' Association has voted a resolution emphatically opposing the organization of a union of teachers for affiliation with labor organizations. The Kansas teachers took the ground that the public—their public—actually has some rights which those who accept its pay are bound to respect. They refused to form a union for affiliation with labor organizations because “they owed their first allegiance to the parents of the pupils and could not be subjected to possible sympathetic strike orders.

Excellent! And, by the same token, the first allegiance of those parents is towards their teachers and their first duty towards those teachers is to see that they get decent pay. Not extravagant pay, of course. Not such pay as hod-carriers, brick-layers, stevedores, or boy mule drivers in coal mines get. These are among our privileged classes. The teachers, the clergymen, the skilled bookkeepers, the editors, the writers, the expert bank clerks and the like are of the plebian order. They are to take what they can get and be thankful for it.

But, even then, they ought to get a living wage regardless of the fact that they are not eternally howling about being “ground down” and “starved.” The times are none the less hard for these silent ones whose restraints of self-respect and personal dignity prevent them from making brawling, howling nuisances of themselves. It is the unpleasant truth that these large groups of professional and semi-professional men and women, on whom falls the responsibility for the country's education, clear thinking and moral guidance, are the worst sufferers from the war and the war's aftermath of staggering burdens of living. Their salaries and earnings have all but stood stationary, while those of the profiteers, the war contractors and the labor union exploiters have leaped skyward. But they have not complained. They cling to their old-fashioned notions of duty and allegiance, as do the Kansas teachers. As a matter of fact, this very loyalty of theirs, the uncomplaining dignity with which they accept the hardships this orgie of high prices for everything imposes on them, ought to shout louder to the public conscience than does all the bawling uproar of the labor demagogues.

It ought to, but does it? Is there any movement afloat anywhere looking to betterment in this respect? Are there any evidences in sight of a tendency to level up the wages of brains and high attainments won through years of self-denial and study to something approaching the pay standards of a coal-heaver or roustabout? If there are any such movements or tendencies they have escaped us. But, of course, economic incongruities so grotesque cannot go on forever. In some way, somehow, the gross injustices to those on whom the Republic depends for what is highest and best in the social fabric are going to be brought home to the full consciousness of the American people. And with that consciousness there is going to come the further consciousness that a perpetuation of those injustices means dissolution of the foundations on which our social structure rests.

Motor Manslaughter

MR. DYER'S bill, already commented upon in these pages, has become law, and it is now a serious crime under Federal law, punishable by fine and imprisonment, to drive a stolen automobile from one State into another, or to sell or buy a stolen car in another State than that in which it was stolen. The actual crime of stealing has, of course, to be left to the State to punish. But by an ingenious application of the power to regulate commerce between States the Federal government assumes jurisdiction over the commonest method of disposing of stolen cars, and thus greatly diminishes the lure of larceny. It is indeed time that something was done to that end, for the stealing of motor cars has increased to the stature of a leading industry. Last year, in only 18 cities of New York State alone, no fewer than 22,273 cars were stolen, representing, at the moderate estimate of \$1,000 each, the sum of \$22,273,000. True, most of them were recovered. But 4,982, or 22 per cent., were never recovered, representing at the same low estimate a loss of \$4,982,000. At that rate, in the whole country, the value of cars stolen must have run into hundreds of millions, and the value of those not recovered into scores of millions. If Mr. Dyer's bill results in any material abatement of so gigantic an evil, he will be entitled to honorary life membership in every automobile club in the land.

There is, however, a greater evil still, which still more loudly cries for abatement. That is the extensive and steadily increasing violation not of the Eighth but of the Sixth Commandment; not larceny committed objectively upon motorists, but manslaughter—including suicide—committed subjectively by them. Taking the State of New York again as a sample of the whole country, the steady increase, year by year, of automobile fatalities is startling and discreditable in the extreme—far exceeding, we must believe, the increase in population, though perhaps not in the number of machines owned and used. The number in 1914 was 483; in 1915 it was 673; in 1916 it was 820; in 1917 it was 1,066; and in 1918 it was 1,213. Thus in four years it increased by more than 151 per cent. This year the increase continues. In the first eight months of the year the mortality was 846, as against 674 in the same part of last year. At that rate the total of 1919 threatens to be about 1,520. What that means may be appreciated from the fact that it is *nearly twice the death roll from the two dreaded and fatal scourges of scarlet fever and diphtheria put together*. It means, too, that in the whole country between 10,000 and 15,000 persons are killed every year in automobile accidents; probably ninety-nine per cent. of which are avoidable.

In some places, notably in New York and other large cities, many of the victims are pedestrians. On the whole, though, these are only about ten per cent., while nearly ninety per cent. of those who are killed are occupants of automobiles; a small percentage being occupants of other vehicles. Of the nearly ninety per cent. it is probable that the very large majority are occupants of the offending or

misdriven cars, which is why we include suicide in the category of manslaughter; though many are occupants of cars which are driven legally and carefully.

It would be a disgraceful confession of administrative incompetence, of practical failure of civilization, to say that nearly all of this slaughter was not preventable. It is practically all preventable by the car drivers themselves. All that is necessary is for them to obey the law and to exercise common sense and prudence. It is in great part preventable by discreetly rigorous legislation and enforcement thereof. It has been a mistake, committed in some States, including New York, to license persons to drive cars without examining and testing them as to their ability to do so properly. It has been a mistake to deal so leniently with certain classes of offenders. It may seem a hardship to deprive a man of his license and thus to deny him the privilege of driving a car, but it is a much greater hardship for somebody else to get killed because of his improper driving. In some way, at any rate, the slaughter on the highways must be abated. The public roads must be made safe for the public.

"If"

THE *World* believes there is no room for doubt that if Mr. Hughes had been elected President, that if he had brought the war to a victorious close, that if he had gone to Europe as President Wilson went and helped to negotiate the identical treaty that President Wilson helped negotiate, line for line and word for word, practically every Republican Senator who is now against it would have been for it.—*New York World*.

If Mr. Hughes, as President, had become obsessed with the conviction that he was a Messiah come to save the world from dying of a broken heart; if he had developed an abiding faith in his own personal omniscience and a conscientious certainty that all who held other views than his own had pygmy minds and should be hanged; if he had put himself at the head of a carefully selected group of nonentities and gone to Europe representing himself as having a "mandate" from a people who had just repudiated him and all his works by a crushing vote at the polls; if, as the possessor of this "mandate" which he did not possess, he had paraded himself in triumphal progresses through all the accessible capitals of Europe; if he had spent six months in demonstrating how helpless he was in matching minds with diplomatic adepts; if he had then come back with such a preposterous document as Mr. Wilson brought back with him; and if, on the heels of that, he had railed and raged and scolded himself into an alarming state of collapse during a transcontinental tour on which he abused the United States Senate because they refused to hang that document like a millstone around their country's neck as a preliminary to a headlong plunge into the raging waters of European, Asiatic and African strife—if Mr. Hughes had done such things as these, then anything would be possible. Vice-President Marshall might run a roulette-wheel gambling game in the United States Senate Chamber. Jim Ham Lewis might develop a sense of humor. Burleson might abandon miracles and take to getting letters delivered during the lifetimes of their writers. Senator La Follette

might finish speaking a piece inside of three days. The Senate might dispose of legislation by shaking dice for it instead of voting on it. Republican Senators might even stand for such a monstrosity as Mr. Wilson brought triumphantly home with him.

If you can imagine Charles Evans Hughes, as President of the United States, doing as President Wilson has done during the past year, then the sky is the limit in imagining the fantastic and absurd. We are surprised at the sober moderation of our neighbor's little flight of fancy.

Showing America to Aliens

"SEE America first!" has long been a watchword of the lecture platform, and by means of lantern slides and moving picture films, multitudes of people have been made acquainted with the beauties, splendors and marvels of their native land, to an extent which would have been quite impossible without those aids. They have thus doubtless been inspired with a truer appreciation of the United States, and therefore with a deeper devotion to it, than ever before.

The proposal is now made to employ the same means for the Americanization of aliens. Moving pictures, "interpreting the spirit of America as it is revealed in education, commerce, governmental activities, and industry," are to be shown, especially where they will be seen by companies of immigrants, naturalized or unnaturalized. Thus they will be made acquainted with the character and the greatness of the country to which they have come, and thus will be more strongly inclined to give it their full allegiance.

It is an admirable scheme, and we are not surprised to see that the Secretary of the Interior has given it his cordial commendation. Too many foreigners coming hither, remembering with affection the old countries, and having no opportunity to see all that America contains, are inclined to regard America as inferior to the lands from which they came—in all respects save opportunities to make money. A graphic visualization of America will disabuse them of such notions, and will do much to make them Americans in mind and heart.

Mr. Lane, referring to the fact that a hundred million persons see moving picture shows every week, justly remarks: "What an audience to which to show the possibilities, the opportunities, of America! Who could measure the influence upon this country's future of the inculcation in its citizenship of a broad and deep understanding of the potentialities of our country?" His suggestion is amply warranted, and his approval of such work will be heartily seconded by every thoughtful citizen.

The publicity bureau of the Postoffice Department has discovered and exploits a farmer who testifies that he has been shipping 20,000 eggs a month by parcels post, and never has had one broken. But that is not at all extraordinary. At the rate at which much of the letter mail goes, there should be no possible chance of breaking an egg; or treading on the tail of a snail.

President or Premier?

PROFESSOR DICEY, in *The Nineteenth Century and After*, recently instituted an elaborate and highly interesting comparison between Cabinet Government as it exists in Great Britain and Presidential Government as it exists in the United States; in which he discussed at length from the British point of view three questions:

What is the essential difference between the two systems?

What are the merits and demerits of each?

Is it desirable to introduce some of the qualities of the American system into the British system?

The general topic has long been of interest to thoughtful publicists in the United States; in the last few years, of increasingly practical interest; and the three questions which Professor Dicey raises and discusses concerning it are just as pertinent to this country as to the United Kingdom, with the third transformed so as to inquire into the desirability of introducing some of the qualities of the British into the American system.

The proposal has frequently been made—if we mistake not, it has been embodied in bills, which did not pass—to give our Cabinet officers seats in Congress, or at least to have them personally attend certain sessions of Congress, in order that they may answer questions and participate in debate concerning the affairs of their respective departments. Such an arrangement might be of great convenience and advantage. But we must not make the mistake of supposing that it would be the British system. The legal and constitutional status of the Cabinet would remain unchanged.

If we were to adopt the British system, the Cabinet officers would not merely have seats and voices in Congress. They would be actual members of it and would be selected from among its membership; and would thus be selected, in substance if not in form, not by the President but by the majority of the House of Representatives. They would thus always have to be in political accord with the majority party in the House, so that a Democratic President might have a Republican Cabinet forced upon him. They would be answerable to the House for their acts and policies, and would have to resign if ever the House refused to give them its approval. It is obvious that the adoption of such a system would require a radical change in the Constitution, the desirability of which is not, as some have said, that of merely giving the Cabinet courtesy seats in Congress.

The President has unmistakably shown his preference for certain phases and qualities of the British system. He would make the Presidency akin to the British Premiership, the "real throne of administration and the frequent source of politics." He would have all important legislation originate with the Executive, and would have the majority in Congress always of the same party as the President. On one memorable occasion he practically demanded, under penalty of grave embarrassment to the Government and therefore presumptive detriment to the nation, that the people should elect a Congress of his own political faith and thus subservient to his will; which the nation with great enthusiasm and emphasis proceeded not to do.

It is of course perfectly legitimate for the President thus to desire this phase of the British system to be adopted morally, though it cannot be done by legal compulsion. In that case, however, he certainly should recognize the inevitable corollary. If he seeks to play the part of a British Premier, by exercising his authority, he should likewise accept his responsibility and suffer his potential disability. When a Premier seeks to enact a constitutional measure and the House rejects it, or when he asks a vote of confidence and the House or the country refuses it, he resigns his office. Such a course would doubtless be most repugnant to the President. But the logical and moral alternative is, to be content with the American system, and keep the Presidency in its own place and confine it to its own constitutional functions. He cannot exercise the authority of a British Prime Minister and enjoy the irresponsibility and independence of an American President at the same time.

Lady Astor, M. P.

THE election of Lady Astor to the British House of Commons is not so revolutionary a performance as it would have seemed if the United States had not already had a member of her sex in the House of Representatives. It is nevertheless a highly significant incident, suggesting speculation as to its probably numerous repetitions, and upon the curious anomalies to which it may give rise. We must understand that it was a very serious achievement. There was no thought on the part of anybody of letting her win the election without contest, out of courtesy to her sex. The campaign seems to have been contested just as earnestly and resolutely as though all candidates had been of the male sex. We must expect, therefore, to see women candidates arise in other constituencies in future elections, and to see many of them elected.

Next in interest to—if not indeed before—the fact of Lady Astor's sex, is the circumstance that she is the wife of a Peer, who has been elected to the seat which her husband formerly filled and which he was automatically compelled to vacate when the death of his father made him a Peer. It is an open secret that while he may not have objected to the peerage on other grounds, young Viscount Astor did greatly dislike being translated in spite of himself from the House of Commons, in which he was much interested, to the House of Lords, in which he felt little or no interest. So strong was this feeling that he actually sought to renounce his rank and remain a Commoner, and was mightily disappointed when he found that could not be done, and the House of Commons overwhelmingly rejected a proposal to make it legal for him to do so.

He must therefore stay in the House of Lords, while his wife is in the House of Commons. We shall hope that nobody will object to that dual representation of the Astor family in Parliament, any more than to the not uncommon cases in which a father is in one House and a son in the other. Yet there will be some curiosity to watch their voting, to see if they always take the same side on a contentious measure. If they do, will anybody be mean enough to wonder if there is collusion, or coercion?

Letters From Our Readers

FOR THOSE WHO SEEK

SIR,—Being an ardent admirer of HARVEY'S WEEKLY, and realizing what your paper is doing, I am enclosing a letter written by my husband, and hope you will publish it so that other parents may be saved the pain and shock of our experience.
Germantown, Pa.

MADGE F. KURTZ.

[ENCLOSURE.]

Philadelphia, Pa., November 13, 1919.

To the Relatives of the Boys Buried in France:

Dear Friends,—

I feel that a recent experience in visiting the grave of my son, Lieutenant Paul Borda Kurtz, attached to the 94th Aero Squadron, killed in France, May 22nd, 1918, may be of assistance to those who contemplate going "Over There." After trying for four months to obtain passports to visit his grave, I finally secured them. Had I been going over for commercial purposes, they could have been obtained more readily.

I went with the official information from the Departments at Washington that my son was buried in American Cemetery No. 108, Grave No. 58, near Menil-la-Tour, next to his friend, Major Raoul Lufberry. I had received pictures of his grave and cross from friends and from the U. S. authorities, and felt that there would be no difficulty whatever in finding the grave, as I had notified the proper authorities at Washington in January, 1919, that it was my desire that my son's body should remain there and received a reply that my wishes would be complied with.

Mrs. Kurtz and I sailed on the *Baltic*, July 12th, going to Nancy, France, from which point we expected to go to Toul and then to the Cemetery. In conversation with the Prefect of Nancy, which was confirmed by his telephoning to the Prefect of Toul, we learned that the bodies in the Cemetery where our son was buried had been moved in March, and neither of them knew to what place. Later we found that there was a large American Cemetery at Thiaucourt. That afternoon we took a motor, filled it with flowers, and drove to this Cemetery. We met the caretaker near the place, a capable young American Sergeant, and on inquiry learned that Major Lufberry was buried there, and upon search found our boy's resting place in the row with him.

This Cemetery is superbly situated on the top of a hill with a commanding view of the Argonne Valley. We were told there were about 5,000 of our boys buried there, in the ground over which they had fought. At that time there was no place for the young Sergeant to live; there was no office; there were no records; and this large number of graves was cared for by two Russians, who had been prisoners in Germany and who lived in a hut outside of the Cemetery, and were working without pay for love of our boys. No one, up to that time, August 8th, had had any instructions as to the care of the graves.

To this date, November 20th, 1919, we have received no notice that our boy's body has been moved from its former resting place, and anyone going abroad should ascertain definitely, if possible, where their dear ones lie.

At the large American Cemetery at Romagne, where about 21,000 of our boys are buried, there is a competent officer and staff in charge, a complete card-index, and there one has no difficulty in locating the particular grave sought.

Both Cemeteries are most impressive by reason of the "Sea of White Crosses." These crosses are of wood, painted, or whitewashed, with the name and rank of the boy stencilled thereon. The graves are simply bare mounds of bare dirt on which there is no grass growing as yet.

The removal of the bodies of our boys from their official burial places, without notice to their relatives, is outrageous and unpardonable.

Philadelphia, Pa.

WILLIAM B. KURTZ.

THE DECISION SUITS

SIR,—With many others, I desire to thank you for the heroic work you are doing in the interest of true and vital Americanism. You surely have a pungent way of expressing yourself; and, best of all, you have the truth on your side.

I have felt all along that the Wilson covenant of a League of Nations was premature, due far too much to one man's ambition. For a few nations of the earth, right at the end of a terrific war, to form a constitution in their own interests, without inviting all other nations to have a share in it, is rather a *cabal* of nations than a *league* of nations. It seems to me this would have been a much better way: To have settled the terms of peace first as a separate issue; surely that would have been enough to attend to at one time; then after the world was well

stabilized and in a state of comparative peace, if not complete peace, some of the leading nations might have sent an invitation to *all* the nations to send properly appointed representatives to a conference for the purpose of formulating a constitution of a league of nations. This plan would have helped to produce universal good will, and would have prevented the feeling now existing that the present proposed covenant has been framed in the interest of some of the nations and not in the interest of all. How could any set of men think the time was ripe for a league of nations when the world was in the midst of turmoil?

I believe that the incisive articles in HARVEY'S WEEKLY have had their influence on the Senate, and have helped to put real American fibre into the souls of our Senators. Their decision suits many of us to a *t*.

Springfield, Ohio.

L. S. KEYSER.

CLEVELAND AND W. W.

SIR,—HARVEY'S WEEKLY dated November 15 carries a letter of inquiry signed by H. S. Moore, of San Francisco. The question was whether Grover Cleveland ever said that Woodrow Wilson was the "most intellectually-dishonest person" whom he (G. C.) had ever known. That you do not, in reply, go into the matter is explicable; the days when Wilson was president and the rolling old Buffalo roughneck a trustee of Princeton were also the days of your own goofhood—at least, where T. Woodrow was concerned; so, the witness is excused from answering on the usual grounds.

If Cleveland ever said that of Wilson, in a locution of the kind, then it was in a public address or paper. If there be record of no such speech or writing, then he never said it: he was, in his private aspect, above (and beyond) such contemptible misuse of words in derogation of Princeton's president.

But, if Mr. Moore is really eager to know what Cleveland said and thought of Wilson in those days, and will establish a safe line of communication with the undersigned at the Auditorium Hotel here, I shall be delighted to provide the information, which Cleveland gave to me at first-hand, in my capacity as a staffman of the *Philadelphia Public Ledger* in 1904-05—and, *Deo Gratias!* in the presence of a witness still alive.

You may accept at my hands with complete certitude the assurance that, while Cleveland really knew a bare twenty-five per cent of all which his time and his posterity have credited him with knowing, the same twenty-five per cent contained an accurate and God-given estimate of T. Woodrow Wilson.

Chicago, Ill.

FREDERICK DONAGHEY.

OUR CARTOONS AGAIN.

SIR,—Having noticed a criticism in your incomparable WEEKLY from a subscriber concerning the cartoons in that publication, I should like to say that I have never considered them in the light of artistically finished productions to be cut out and framed. They serve their purpose in carrying out the intention of the artist to suggest some striking situation or the portrayal of some public individual, so that a blind man might be able to recognize its various characteristics.

A few strokes of the pen or pencil, for instance, brings out the face of Lloyd George in the act of attempting to conceal a smile, irresistibly droll; then a few more, and we have the very best caricature of Woodrow Wilson to be found in print.

It does not need a phrenologist to read those lines, the small number of which reveal with startling clearness the causes of the stupendous blundering in affairs of the nation during the past few years.

Your readers who possess mental vision can hardly fail in appreciation of the delicious humor of the WEEKLY cartoons.

New Britain, Conn.

L. B. PARSONS.

DID LOWELL HAVE "VISIONS"?

SIR,—Did James Russell Lowell have visions when, as a "candid 8" for the presidency he answered "suttin'" questions propounded by Hosea Biglow as follows:

"So, to begin at the beginnin'
An' come directly to the p'int,
I think the country's underpinnin'
Is some consid'ble out o'jint?"

Albany, N. Y.

S. R. C.

Letters From Our Readers

IOWA PROTESTS

SIR,—Down in the city of Burlington, Iowa, there is published a weekly paper known as the *Burlington Saturday Evening Post*. It is owned and run, and has been for the last thirty-six years, by a man with the good old fashioned Irish name of Murphy. Before and during the war this paper teemed with 100 per cent. American articles, and this paper was as fearlessly outspoken as your own WEEKLY, and who would ask for more?

In a recent issue the following appeared and I know you will like it:

INCOMPETENCE, OR WORSE, AT WASHINGTON

"While Americans are being forced to submit to rationing of sugar as during the war days, our War Department is busy with the details of forwarding 27 million pounds of sugar, a left over morsel of war supplies, to France, where it is being sold for less than wholesale rates. At the same time, other war food supplies to the value of nearly two billions of dollars, owned by us and now in France, have been sold to the French Government for 400 millions, or 25 per cent. of their value. The excuse offered for these amazing transactions is the claim that to place these supplies on sale here at home "might disturb the markets." On the other hand, no reason at all is assigned for the wanton destruction of some 700 million dollars worth of automobiles and motor trucks purchased by and owned by the Government and now parked in the open and rusting out at various points. These vast sums of money represented in these transactions were clubbed out of the people under the plea of war's necessity. The sale of these commodities and the waste of these vehicles represent a loss of more than 2½ billion dollars to the American people, and all clubbed out of them under the plea of a great National peril."

St. Paul, Minn.

FRED A. BILL.

A CONFIDENT AMERICAN

SIR,—If some judge should issue an injunction against HARVEY'S WEEKLY and impose eternal silence on its editor, I presume said editor would immediately jump to the conclusion that civilization was slated for an early death. Yet the chances are that things would go on about as usual. The I. W. W., and its kindred, doubtless figure that they have just grievances that ought to be aired; and the coal miners probably think they have the same right to strike as other unions. Now, why all this raving against folks who differ with you? Are you aware of how small in numbers the so-called Bolsheviki are when compared with the real population of America? What harm can they possibly do the American people who are in the main sane and wholesome? I take it that we are in no danger of being destroyed by an insignificant few who are opposed to rational living and thinking. Crimes will occur; that's inevitable. But we have a police force, I believe, in nearly every community; so why worry?

I gather that HARVEY'S WEEKLY is agin the Government; therefore why not deport the editor? Yet I am enclosing a check for a trial subscription. I am, I think, an average citizen who reads all sides and am neither influenced by HARVEY'S WEEKLY or the various sheets that openly advocate rebellion. As a matter of fact, nobody pays any attention to them. Why should they? Are we not able to look after ourselves and form our own opinions? It is my theory that we are.

Missoula, Mont.

JAS. SHINE.

CONCERNING "KING-MAKERS"

SIR,—I am sending herewith renewal of my subscription to HARVEY'S WEEKLY. This should have been sent in some time ago, but was overlooked owing to outside business engagements.

I wish to state to Colonel Harvey that I very much appreciate his articles in HARVEY'S WEEKLY on account of their thorough Americanism.

Americanism may be provincial, as President Wilson and his defenders state, but it is a thing of which no one, in my opinion, needs to be ashamed and for which no apology should ever be rendered. The strong fight you and others have made against the League of Nations, and for Senator Lodge and his colleagues, has been a great force in opening the eyes of this country to the serious import of the treaty which President Wilson proposed to ram down their throats, irrespective of whether the ramming was constitutional, beneficial or otherwise.

Personally, I feel very much as Colonel Harvey apparently does about President Wilson, but fortunately, unlike Colonel Harvey, I can say that I have never hurt my conscience by having voted and worked for him. It is a pleasure to know,

however, that men like Colonel Harvey, Colonel Watterson, and others, can forget their party in order to fight against the un-American, autocratic, and more or less destructive policies of the titular leader of their party. I never have believed that the job of king-maker was a gracious one and to judge from Colonel Harvey's recent utterances, he has precisely the same opinion.

Bay City, Mich.

C. T. CLARK.

A REMINDER

SIR,—Allow me to express my praise and commendation for the patriotic service you are rendering to America, both by your fight against the League, and by your fearless statements on the strikes and labor situation.

According to the daily papers, Mr. McAdoo has opened his campaign for Presidential votes by a statement that he knows, from inside acquaintance with the income-tax returns, that the coal operators have been making anywhere above and below 2000 per cent profit; and that he could operate the mines, pay the poor miners all of their wage demands, make no raise in the price of coal to the consumers, and still make money. He has left a beautiful opening. Won't you please soak him (in the way you only can) with a reminder of how he was going to reduce railroad rates, pay fabulous wages to the trainmen, and at the same time enrich the public coffers by his marvelous management of the roads? You can draw the right kind of a picture of the future of the coal industry under the same management. I shall be surprised if you are not already preparing such an answer for our would-be god of the working man.

Sharon, Pa.

JOHN CARLEY.

EDUCATION BY THE ARMY

SIR,—I have read with great interest your article in the last WEEKLY entitled "Our Educational Army." Permit me to augment your exposition by stating that the Army scheme fostered by Secretary of War Baker goes even further than outlined by you.

Right here in Boston we have nearly a hundred men learning the theory of the repair and use of motor-propelled vehicles as well as a round half-dozen other courses, affording the soldier an opportunity to learn a trade and go into civil life prepared and efficient. The new Educational and Recreational features of Army life instituted by Mr. Baker will be known and appreciated by the public shortly on its merits.

Fort Warren, Mass.

M. H. THOMPSON,

Coast Defense Education and Recreation Officer, Boston.

WE HAVE NOT NOTICED IT

SIR,—I am wondering whether you will carry on an investigation as to whether the heart of the world broke or not? In case it did, let us know. You have bled your readers white in fear of this.

There is a wise provision of nature whereby hearts always bleed before they break: this has been occurring, with intermissions, for some time. Please let us know.

Spokane, Wash.

GEORGE FOSTER.

"AMEN!"

SIR,—Ever since the quietus was put upon the autocrat of the White House table by the Senate, it has been my intent to give voice to the sentiments concerning you published in yesterday's *Sun*. But, like Mr. Double, "since it has been said and so well said," I will only add Amen and Amen.

Yours, with great appreciation of the man who cried aloud out of a flabbergasted silence,

New York City.

D. T. S. DENISON.

The pamphlets containing the commencement address of the editor of this paper at Syracuse entitled "America and Humanity," and ordered printed at her own expense by a patriotic American woman living in Troy, are now ready for mailing. Anyone wanting one can get it, until the supply is exhausted, by so indicating on a post-card addressed to this office.

CARTOON: "TWO MORE CANDIDATES"

HARVEY'S WEEKLY

Four Dollars a Year

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VOL. 2 WEEK ENDING DECEMBER 20, 1919 No. 51

"No Compromise or Concession"

THERE was something strikingly reminiscent of the President's defiant "Put up or shut up!" in the Senate the other day; only of course it was much more courteously phrased. Also, it worked both ways. The Covenanters set out to "rag" the majority with demands that they "do something" about the Treaty. They insisted that the thing was not dead, and that it was incumbent upon the Republicans to make some definite proposal for ultimate disposition of it. Of course, their major premise was incorrect, and their minor premise was still worse; so that their conclusion was altogether groggy.

But Senator Knox calmly took them at their word. He did something. He offered a resolution to take up the cadaver (the President's word), infuse life into it, and ratify it, with the simple proviso of amputating its vermiform appendix; and since the thing had been exhaustively discussed from every possible point of view, and since the Administration folk were in such a hurry to have the something done right away, he proposed that an immediate vote be taken upon it.

That was the way he answered their "put up" demands, with a counter challenge to "put up or shut up." They shut up. Senator Underwood, it is true, who plays Damon to Senator Hitchcock's Pythias, assented to the proposal. But Senator Hitchcock, who plays David to Senator Underwood's Jonathan, hastened to object, and of course his objection was, under the rules, sufficient to prevent the "doing some-

thing" for which his colleagues had been clamoring.

Then, still upholding the motto, "We strive to please," Senator Knox proposed to vote on the question of declaring the war at an end and peace restored, leaving the details for future consideration. That too would have been "doing something." But again, with passionate zeal for action, Senator Hitchcock objected. So it seems that, with all their professed dislike of reservations, the Administration Senators are themselves making reservations to their demands for action by the majority. They want action upon the Cadaver of Versailles; but they insist upon the reservation that it shall be the kind of action which their chief demands, and nothing else.

Meantime a most suggestive light was thrown upon the matter by reports from Europe. Messrs. Clemenceau and Lloyd George had been conferring together, and were about to notify the United States Government that they were willing to go to the utmost possible limit in accepting the Senate's reservations or amendments of the Treaty, in order to secure the adherence of the United States to the general principle of peacemaking. Clear-minded men have known all along that that was precisely what the European Powers would do. But what a spectacle for gods and men it makes of our diplomatic establishment! Practically, Messrs. Clemenceau and Lloyd George must say, with Mr. Dooley: "We see by the papers

that your Senate wants to make some reservations to the Treaty. Well, that's all right. We're willing!" How incomparably more courteous to them, as well as more decently creditable to himself, it would have been for the President to receive from the Senate the Treaty ratified with reservations, to report it in that form to the other principal signatories, and to report back to the Senate the result!

But that would not have been in keeping with his "open covenants openly arrived at." He began by telling Europe that he had a mandate from America for the Covenant; which he hadn't. Next he told America that if it didn't swallow the Covenant the world's heart would be broken; which it wasn't. And finally he tried to convince the Senate that if it crossed a *t* or dotted an *i* of the Treaty, the other Powers would refuse to accept it; which they wouldn't. There were just these differences among the three cases: He said that he had a mandate, when he knew that he hadn't; he said that the world's heart would be broken, when he didn't know that it would; and he said that the amended treaty would be rejected, without so much as trying to find out whether it would be or not.

Finally, with a gratifying demonstration of "running true to form," the President made it clear that no matter what the Senate might do or say, he purposed to persist in his slaying of the treaty. Senator Hitchcock might tell the Southern Society how ready he was to accept reservations, and Mr. Underwood might declare in the Senate his readiness to accept a final disposition of the matter on such a basis. But who are they, that they should dispose of this high affair?

Straight from the Real Throne of Administration comes the word that the Supreme Power who reduced the Covenant to a cadaver has no thought whatever of galvanizing it into life again. "*He has no compromise or concession of any kind in mind.*" The majority of the Senate must bring to life again the thing which he killed, and must ratify it letter perfect, or else the heart of the world shall be broken again.

So be it! If Mr. Wilson has in mind "no compromise or concession," be very sure that the nation has none to offer him. He wrote a letter to his lackeys in the Senate, ordering them in his name to kill the treaty; whereupon they killed it. And now he has the effrontery to say that "the Republican leaders of the Senate shall continue to bear the undivided responsibility for the fate of the treaty." So, once before, one said: "Thou canst not say I did it; never shake thy gory locks at me."

But we are quite content. It greatly simplifies

the matter. The Senate has other business to transact. It was willing to ratify the treaty, with reasonable reservations, and the other great signatory Powers were ready and eager to accept it with those reservations. But this one man, "dressed in a little brief authority," again declares in his egotistic arrogance that it shall not be. So let it rest. Dead, by the act of Woodrow Wilson! There let it stay if he continues haughtily obdurate. But we are still betting dollars to doughnuts that he won't.

McAdoodle and Baruch are still on the job.

Simmons is one of those who have been working right along for a middle ground settlement. If he had been listened to, the Democrats would have come to terms with the mild reservationists at the beginning of the snarl.—*The World*.

But they didn't. They took orders from Wilson. So the Treaty is not ratified. Even the Hon. Oscar S. Straus admits that. Incidentally we adventure the opinion that neither Senator Hitchcock nor Senator Claude Augustus, but either Senator Underwood or Senator Simmons will be the next leader of the distressed minority.

The End of the "Big Five"

AFTER a year of futile misrepresentation—or non-representation—the American Delegates have come from Paris, leaving the former "Big Five" a "Big Four," if not a "Big Three." It is well that they have done so. It would have been better if they had done so much earlier—the earlier the better. It would have been best if they had never gone at all. As it is, their homecoming concludes what has on the whole been probably the least creditable and least profitable year in more than a century and a third of American diplomacy.

This worse than lame and worse than impotent conclusion is due to a variety of causes, some of which we have already suggested. One was, nonrepresentation. These gentlemen, however eminent and estimable, were not representatives of the United States. They had no legal commission, power or right to speak for the Government or people of this country. They represented nobody but themselves and the one testy and imperious autocrat who sent them. We may concede that of the original five there were two who had, by virtue of their offices, the technical right to negotiate a treaty; provided that one of the two had a legal right to absent himself from the United States for that purpose, which is not by any means conceded. The other three had no more legal right or authority to negotiate with the representatives of foreign Governments than had any wandering American tourist on the streets of Paris. Indeed, it might almost be maintained that they violated and incurred the penalty of the law which forbids private citizens to enter into intercourse with foreign Governments.

Again, so far as these three unauthorized and the two quasi-authorized members of the American delegation assumed or pretended to represent this country, they grossly misrepresented it. Their chief misrepresented it knowingly, deliberately, intentionally. Of that there can be no

question. To what extent his colleagues or underlings were guilty of more than tacit acquiescence in his misrepresentation, need not now be discussed. There is reason to believe, indeed, that at least some of them did not at all times thus acquiesce. But the fact of consequence is that their non-acquiescence, so far as they ventured to express it, was not effective, either for restraining him from his pernicious course or for enlightening the European statesmen to the actual state of affairs. The misrepresentation prevailed.

A third circumstance, of almost indescribable infatuation, was that the efforts of these nonrepresentative and misrepresentative delegates were directed toward persuading the European Powers, or at least some of them, to adopt a policy which they did not wish to adopt, and which they were finally persuaded to adopt only on the strength of the utterly untrue representations which had been made concerning the United States. Certainly France and Italy, and probably Great Britain, would never for a moment have thought favorably of making such a treaty as they did, had it not been for President Wilson's solemn and emphatic assurances that he was—in the matter of the Covenant—acting under a mandate from the American nation. On those assurances, they naturally expected that the Covenant would immediately be approved and adopted by this country; and if the United States was going thus to make itself the common bailiff of the world, they could afford to enter into arrangements which otherwise they would have rejected with scorn.

It was one of the most dramatic of coincidences, and yet one of the most natural things in the world, that simultaneously with the departure of the discredited American delegates from Paris, M. Clemenceau, invested with the authority of such a national mandate as few men have ever enjoyed, went over to London to do the work which would have been done a year ago had it not been for the futile fiddling and misrepresentation of the American delegates—or Delegate. We all remember M. Clemenceau's frank declaration that, while he had no objection to a benevolent League of Nations, he preferred in the last analysis to trust for safety to specific alliances and a well-constructed balance of power; and we remember how the American Delegate resented that declaration and raged against it as though it were blasphemy, until the French statesman, for the sheer sake of courtesy and peace, was compelled to waive the point and accept a trial of the Covenant.

And now President Wilson himself consigns his precious Covenant to the discard; and M. Clemenceau goes to London to fulfil his design of a year ago in a triple or quadruple alliance for the enforcement of the Treaty, the maintenance of peace, and the protection of the "outpost of civilization" against the Huns.

It is well that these estimable American citizens have come home from their sojourn at the French capital. If only it could be forgotten that they ever were there!

One reason why President Wilson has not consulted Colonel House is that, up to last week at any rate, he had not been informed that the Colonel was in this country. These certainly be odd times.

Here Comes Christmas!

WE believe it was Mr. Rudyard Kipling who once praised the French as the first to discover new faiths, the last to leave the old. Certainly there is an impressive wisdom in the French mind, which can invent anarchy, or anything you will, yet, in the mass, views all new and alarming eruptions with a gentle cynicism. "*Tout tombe*" is the phrase of the hour in Paris—from Bela Kun up and down, is the idea; and there is a patience suitably salted with humor in the words worthy of any scared American's attention.

Everything falls, but the world goes on. Even the coal strike, somehow, fumblingly, blunderingly, belatedly, got itself settled in time to make Christmas not the icy occasion which diminishing coal piles once threatened to bring upon us. There is some dispute as to who deserves the blame or credit—Mr. Garfield refuses to be Santa Claus—and there is grave doubt as to what the consequences will be. But that is beside the seasonal issue. There is coal and there is Christmas, and not all the Bela Kuns and Levins and Bill Haywoods in the world can change the calendar.

Tout tombe! Not only Soviets and dictators fall, not only the months fall and a new season comes in, but the years drop off one by one as well. The wild young radicals of 1919 will be the middle-aged moderates of 1939, and the pompous conservatives of 1959. Nature has her own way of treating revolution. Counter-revolutions, factional quarrels, a wholesale blood-letting, form her first rather rough and cruel treatment. A necessary operation, however wasteful and gory. Afterward her processes are far more subtle and healing. She conducts a long and imperceptible convalescence with the years as her chief medicine and the ancient habits of mankind as her chief aides. The game is really not a fair one for the radical, the "red," the revolutionary. The cards are all stacked against him. He may stand the world on its head for an hour; but the hour ticks off before he knows it, and the world resumes its feet and its old business of being born, growing up, marrying, having children, dying, as has been its custom from the beginning. Of the World Set Free and the New Day, there is no permanent trace, alas! Progress has continued; the revolution has vanished. After all the tempest and lightnings, the earthquakes and tidal waves, the world, in W. S. Gilbert's phrase, rolls on.

Here is Christmas, in the midst of everything awful and detonating, and it is a good deal like every other Christmas. Most of us are rushing about buying presents; and the lucky people with children are having more fun than human beings are entitled to. It is a good day to take thought of in the midst of falling things. For it is primarily the day of the coming people. When all else fails, that is Nature's way of solving everything. She calls for a new pack—which is to say, a new generation; and the new generation is not a fresh beginning out of original clay, but merely ourselves over again with a clean perspective, with some of our lessons in their hearts, but much to learn all from the beginning. Every year has its Christmas. Each generation has its war. Peace on earth has yet to become more than a sign and a symbol of

the future, a star in the heavens, distant no man knows how many aeons. Everything falls. But—everything rises again. There is nothing old; and there is nothing new—except the surprise of Christmas, the eternal surprise that the old, old world offers to each oncoming host of the children of men.

We did not say quite the truth: One thing survives, and neither falls nor fails: the eternal spirit in the heart of man, that, despite wars and dissensions, draws him to his fellow mortals for cheer and comfort in a darkly mysterious universe.

New York has McAdoo and Lansing on the tongue as heirs to Wilson.—*J. Hamilton Lewis.*

A coated tongue! Dr. Ackerman prescribes castor oil.

“Only When Sought”

THE President's letter to Senator Fall, rejecting the suggestion of advice, coöperation or aid from the Senate in the Mexican embroglio, is noteworthy and will, we think, long be remembered for several of its qualities and expressions, but probably for nothing more than for its statement of the time, occasion and circumstances when, in the President's opinion, the Senate is to be associated with him in the direction of the foreign relations of the nation. In making that statement the President was at his best as master of a simple, direct and quite unmistakable English style. It would have been impossible for anybody, even for himself, to express the thought with more convincing clarity.

He was speaking of the Constitution. In the course of four sentences he had referred directly to that instrument twice, to constitutional practice once, and to constitutional authorities once. And then, expounding the constitutional relation between the President and the Senate, he said:

The advice of the Senate is provided for *only when sought by the Executive* in regard to explicit agreements with foreign Governments and the appointment of the diplomatic representatives who are to speak for the Government at foreign capitals.

“Only when sought by the Executive.” That is President Wilson's deliberate exposition and interpretation of the passage in Article II, Section 2, of the Constitution, which says:

The President shall have power, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to make treaties, provided two-thirds of the Senators present concur, and he shall nominate, and, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, shall appoint ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls.

We may be lacking in perception; but we must confess that we cannot perceive in that passage of the Constitution the slightest hint that Senatorial advice and consent are to be given “only when sought” by the President; unless the verb “to seek” be defined in a manner foreign to every English dictionary and to all English usage of which we have knowledge. “To seek” is conspicuously a word of volition. He who seeks does so at his own will. It is of course conceivable that an underling may seek—that is, search—for something at the command of a superior, but that is obviously not the meaning of the word as used by

the President. His phrase, “only when sought,” can mean nothing else than that the Senate is to give its advice only when the President, for some reason of his own, wants it to do so; the inevitable corollary being that he is equally free and empowered to do without its advice, if he so elects, and to make “explicit agreements with foreign Governments” and to appoint “diplomatic representatives who are to speak for the Government at foreign capitals,” without seeking the advice and consent of the Senate. If that is not his meaning, then Bishop South must have had him prophetically in view when he declared that speech was given to wise men to conceal their thoughts.

“Only when sought by the Executive.” Indeed, his whole attitude and course toward the Senate has been a practical application of the principle which he thus epigrammatically expresses.

Never before in American history did a President so hold himself aloof from the Senate and so refrain from seeking its advice. Never did one send so many diplomatic representatives, as he calls them, or public ministers, as the Constitution calls them, without seeking the advice or consent of the Senate to their appointment. Never did one make such serious and portentous “explicit agreements with foreign Governments” without so much as the knowledge of the Senate, and then so arrogantly demand it to give them its consent without its advice having been asked. The phrase, in its obvious and indisputable meaning, is exactly characteristic of him.

He has appointed various “public ministers,” or in his own words, “diplomatic representatives to speak for the Government at foreign capitals,” without seeking the advice or awaiting the consent of the Senate; unmistakably indicating his belief that he is free to seek such advice and consent or to dispense with them, according to his own imperious will. Such has been his practice. Such is now his very explicitly avowed policy. And in warrant of it he appeals to the Constitution of the United States!

Is the Constitution, then, to be valid “only when sought” in the condescending whims and caprices of an arrogant dictator?

But we do not think.—*The Times.*

Quite so! That's the trouble.

HARVEY'S WEEKLY

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State the Whole Truth

MR. TAFT'S League to Enforce Peace is exploiting at great expense a recent report and resolution of the Chamber of Commerce of the State of New York, urging that, for the sake of both morals and trade, the President and Senate shall make mutual concessions sufficient to secure ratification of the Treaty of Versailles. That is an entirely respectable purpose, and of course the motives of the Chamber of Commerce are not to be impeached. We beg to suggest, however, that the cause of the morals concerning which the Chamber of Commerce is so properly solicitous would have been better served if the report which forms the preamble to the resolution had stated the whole truth instead of only one carefully selected phase of it.

The report thus describes the disposition of the Treaty:

The Senate of the United States, faced with the specific provisions of a compact which demanded some departure from the well-settled practices of the Government, hesitated, debated, delayed. And finally, to the grave concern and even alarm of the country at large, not only was the Treaty rejected, but no compromise treaty was left for discussion.

We are quite ready to credit the gentlemen who drafted and adopted that report with a desire and an intention to set forth the truth. We are quite certain that the net effect of their statement is to produce a wholly untruthful impression. Exception might, indeed, be specifically taken to several of its details. It seems to us a misleading understatement to say that the Treaty demanded some departure from nothing more than "well-settled practices of the Government," when in fact it called for an overriding of the Constitution. It is also misleading to say that the Senate "hesitated, debated, delayed," without making clear the prime cause of that delay, and without recognizing that deliberation and thorough debate on so momentous a matter were a patriotic and a moral duty. Again, we cannot help regarding it as an exaggeration to speak of "the grave concern and even alarm of the country at large," when in fact there were widespread expressions of relief, satisfaction, and joy.

The chief objection to the report is, however, to it as a whole, in its omission so much as to suggest the real cause of the failure of the Treaty, and its consequent tacit implication that responsibility for it rests upon the Senate; which is, notoriously, the exact opposite of the truth. If it be true that the Senate hesitated—as it might well do—debated—as it was its duty to do—and delayed—as the President compelled it to do—it is equally true that from first to last, down to the very moment of the final vote, it earnestly strove to effect those "mutual concessions regarding reservations" which the Chamber of Commerce now exhorts it and the President to make. It is equally true that the President, having in advance of its submission to the Senate practically announced that the Treaty must be accepted without the crossing of a t or the dotting of an i, persistently and stubbornly refused to make concessions for reasonable reservations, that he violently reviled all who proposed such reservations, and that in the closing hours of the session he practically ordered his followers in the Senate to kill the Treaty rather than let it be ratified with effective reservations. It

may be added that after the Treaty had thus been killed according to his own orders, the President, who alone of all men in the world was able to do so, deliberately refused to recall it to life.

Such are the facts of history, which we think no man of integrity and judgment will venture to dispute. They put the matter in a very different light from that presented by the partial, inadequate and altogether misleading statement of the Chamber of Commerce, which the League to Enforce Peace is so eagerly and at so great an expenditure for advertising space endeavoring to exploit; and which that League, with a wanton insincerity not now for the first time manifested, declares to "express so admirably the immediate condition of the problems of peace." We cannot regard as admirable any expression which is marked at once with *suppressio veri* and *suggestio falsi*.

The Chamber of Commerce of the State of New York has so often, during an honored life of so many years, effectively served the causes of patriotism and good government and good public morals, that it is lamentable to see it, even if it be through inadvertence, lending itself to the sinister purposes of those who for the sake of a sordid game of politics would jeopardize the honor and integrity of the nation.

The Fiume Situation

THE POET has beaten the Pedagogue. That is the gist of the Fiume settlement. That is the net outcome of months of controversy and strife. President Wilson set himself arbitrarily and as he doubtless thought invincibly against Italian possession of Fiume. Captain d'Annunzio set himself resolutely for Italian possession of that place. So long as he was at Paris, and could keep up even a remnant of his self-concocted fiction of a mandate of the American nation backing him in all his vagarious policies, the President was able to hold his ground, and to bar Italy out of that Italian city, against the will of the other Powers. But he could not suppress the daring of the militant poet.

At the end of the dance comes the unmasking. It was not, indeed, until his return to this country, and some time thereafter, that the President was revealed to those upon whom he had practised camouflage. But the disclosure came. The statesmen and the people of Europe learned the hollowness of his pretences, and with that revelation came the collapse of the strange obsession which he had exercised over them. So when the authoritative statesmen of Great Britain, France and Italy got together to talk business, they ignored his former imperious dictation, and in the twinkling of an eye settled the Fiume controversy. To-day, in spite of the Autocrat of the White House, Italy holds that essential part of what she long lamented as Italia Irredenta, now become Italia Liberata.

It is on the whole, we believe, a commendable settlement in its intrinsic conditions. There was something to be said on both sides; and there are doubtless certain rights or interests of the Jugo-Slavs which are entitled to recognition and to safeguarding, such as they will of course receive. But the title of Italy to Fiume was paramount, and her possession of it is a fulfilment of justice; and incidentally of some of the

very principles for which the President has professed to be contending. Apart from that consideration, moreover, is this, which is by no means devoid of importance: that the settlement has been effected by those who were entitled to make it, and not through the meddlesome dictation of an alien Power which had no business in it and which indeed stultified itself by its attempted intrusion.

This latter is the chief consideration for Americans. We may grant that this country was and is deeply and legitimately interested in the imposition of terms of peace upon Germany. It may, though with less force, be argued that we have some voice in compelling the Teutonic Powers to surrender the territories which they long ago stole from their neighbors. But after such surrender had been made, it was simply intolerable that we should impose ourselves not merely as an arbitrator but as an arrogant dictator over those liberated lands, to determine at our will their disposition among their rightful owners. The controversy between Italy and Jugoslavia over Fiume was precisely one of those European affairs which the Monroe Doctrine pledges us not to interfere with because they are no concern of ours, and this settlement of it over the head of the President is as much a vindication of that Doctrine and of our national good faith in upholding it, as it is a personal defeat and a humiliation for him.

The Drought Continues

THE Supreme Court declines to "lift the lid." In its opinion the law providing for the enforcement of wartime conditions in time of peace is not in conflict with the Constitution of the United States. Therefore it must stand, and is to be enforced. Prohibition must continue to prevail in the short and rapidly shortening time before the date when it becomes practically irrevocable. That is the unanimous judgment of the court of last resort.

There is no occasion for surprise. The prohibition plotters did their work thoroughly. They were as shrewd in securing technical talent in the drafting of their bills as they were in still-hunting for members of legislatures. Whatever regret there may be is properly not over the decision of the court, which must command respect, but at the apathy, timidity, or what not of those who long ago permitted by default this undesired condition of affairs to be imposed upon them.

The effects of the decision will probably be far-reaching; more so than they should be, and than they would have been if men had not persisted in hoping against hope for a "lifting of the lid" by court decree. The Government will lose, it is estimated, something like half a billion dollars in revenue, which taxpayers will of course have to make up from other sources. What will become of the hundred million or so of liquor securities held by the banks is an interesting question.

There is, of course, the possibility of a belated "lifting of the lid" even yet, through a formal declaration of the ending of the war. That matter is in the President's hands. How much or how little hope there is for such relief, readers of current news may judge. The President will not pro-

claim the war ended until the Peace Treaty is ratified, and he will not accept ratification of it unless it is done without amendment, condition or reservation. Moreover, he himself has killed the treaty, and will not recall it to life.

That is to say, wartime prohibition must prevail until the Senate of the United States agrees to the abrogation of the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution, and the Monroe Doctrine.

It's a dry world, my masters!

Minister Hapgood Returns

MR. NORMAN HAPGOOD, American Minister to Denmark, is coming home, but not primarily, as it has been stated, to report on the "Russian situation." He is coming to explain, if he can do so, his own activities as a plenipotentiary of Messrs. Lenine and Trotzky, and to tell to what extent and by what authority he has misused the American Legation at Copenhagen as a trading-post for the Soviet Government. Mr. Hapgood may not know this, but the President knows it, and Secretary Lansing knows it. Let us be specific.

When, several months ago, Dr. Maurice Francis Egan resigned his post at Copenhagen, the President turned to his what-not for a likely successor, and there, in his album of forward-looking men, his eye lighted upon the features of Mr. Hapgood. Presto. Mr. Hapgood was nominated as Minister to Denmark, as most people know, but he has not been confirmed by the Senate until this day, as most people do not know.

Doubtless the President experienced genuine satisfaction in making the choice. Mr. Hapgood was, by training and characteristics, truly representative of the type of man that the President has, when unfettered by precedents, frequently chosen to represent America; and, in addition, there was the element of gratitude for years of unfailing support. In fact, Mr. Hapgood has been known to admit that he, more than any other, was responsible for President Wilson's re-election.

With properly sealed passports and credentials, Mr. Hapgood took the train from Washington, intending, as far as the State Department knew, to sail forthwith to his post. But instead of going to the pier, he took the subway and turned up in Wall Street. There he sought an interview with a group of men representing great interests, and invited them to finance the Bolsheviks. He explained that his post at Copenhagen, in such close proximity to Bolshevik headquarters, would present ideal opportunities for dealing with Messrs. Trotzky and Lenine, and that the business men might rest assured that their venture would mean much profit.

Luckily for America, if unluckily for the American Minister to Denmark, Mr. Hapgood chose the wrong group of bankers. They were Americans. Of course they were shocked at the proposal, and spurned his repeated overtures.

What further attempts, if any, he made to carry out his plans before leaving New York, we do not know, but any-

how he sailed away to Denmark, presented his credentials to the King, and was duly accredited to the court.

Some weeks ago, when these and many other facts concerning Mr. Hapgood were presented to members of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, they demanded the truth from the Administration. There was much squirming about at the State Department, and Minister Hapgood was asked to deny the allegations. Needless to say, he promptly cabled the Department a reply that was quite satisfying to the gentlemen who handle our foreign relations, mindful always of the necessity of maintaining the very slight veneer of respectability that covers some of our representatives across the seas. Senator Lodge was compelled to inform the Department that, much as he was disgusted at the prospect of being compelled to lay the facts before the world, he would do so unless Mr. Hapgood were withdrawn immediately.

It was in these circumstances that the State Department decided to call Minister Hapgood to Washington; and, thanks to the activity of the Republican Leader of the Senate, he will never return to Denmark, at least with credentials as the representative of the United States Government. Of course he may join up with Messrs. Lenine and Trotzky, and represent them openly, but that's a different matter.

Meanwhile, it would be interesting to know just how the Attorney General, and other officers of the Government sworn to round up "reds," would classify Minister Hapgood. Surely Mr. Martens, late Bolshevik ambassador at New York, who was treated so contumeliously by the Lusk Committee, will marvel at the Government which drives him from New York while appointing Mr. Hapgood to Denmark.

The Sabotage of Citizenship

THERE was an Anarchist, Ciafola by name, who preached revolution and practised sabotage; of which latter crime he was convicted and, because he was an alien, was sent to Ellis Island for deportation.

There was also a Commissioner of Immigration, Howe by name, who interested himself in the case. To his mind Ciafola had not advocated anarchy, but had simply studied it. (As a matter of fact, he had both advocated and practised it.) He admitted that Ciafola did not believe in government, and held that people had a right to change or get rid of government in any way they pleased. (For example, by violent revolution.) But he regarded the case as "so outside the experience of the criminal or civil law" that some new procedure should be devised for it. Therefore he did not deport Ciafola.

Then the Federal Commissioner of Immigration intervened, declared Ciafola to be flagrantly guilty of anarchy, and recommended immediate deportation. Such a warrant was issued, but it was not executed. For some reason, through some influence, Ciafola was released, on parole. Mr. Howe says that it was to await the determination of some similar cases in court in Boston. In time the cases were determined, and in them the orders for deportation

were confirmed. Then they went to look for Ciafola, to deport him. Of course, he was not to be found.

There was another alien criminal, of still more obnoxious type. He was charged with being a "white slaver," and with having shipped young women from Europe to Arab or Negro dens in Africa. Two convicted dynamiters and murderers had a fellow-feeling for him, and asked the notorious Anarchist, Emma Goldman, to intercede for him. She wrote to the gentleman whom she affectionately called "My Dear Fred Howe" and asked him to do something, if he could, to save the "boy" from being deported, for fear that he might be sent to the trenches in France, and get hurt. Incidentally, in the same letter she sneered at the "high muckamucks" who were trying to "Americanize America," regretted that "Dear Fred Howe", because of his position, was compelled to "participate in a lot of foolish things" like that, and hoped that his "fine spirit and good taste" would not be contaminated by the "cheap nationalism" which was everywhere "raising its sinister head."

What "Dear Fred Howe" thought of this letter may be deduced from the circumstances that the "white slaver" was not deported, and so missed the chance to die a decent death, but was permitted to go to Spain as a first-class passenger, so that the Spanish authorities would know nothing of his criminal record and would unhesitatingly admit him to that country. There he would doubtless be safe to resume his fragrant commerce, in convenient proximity to his African markets.

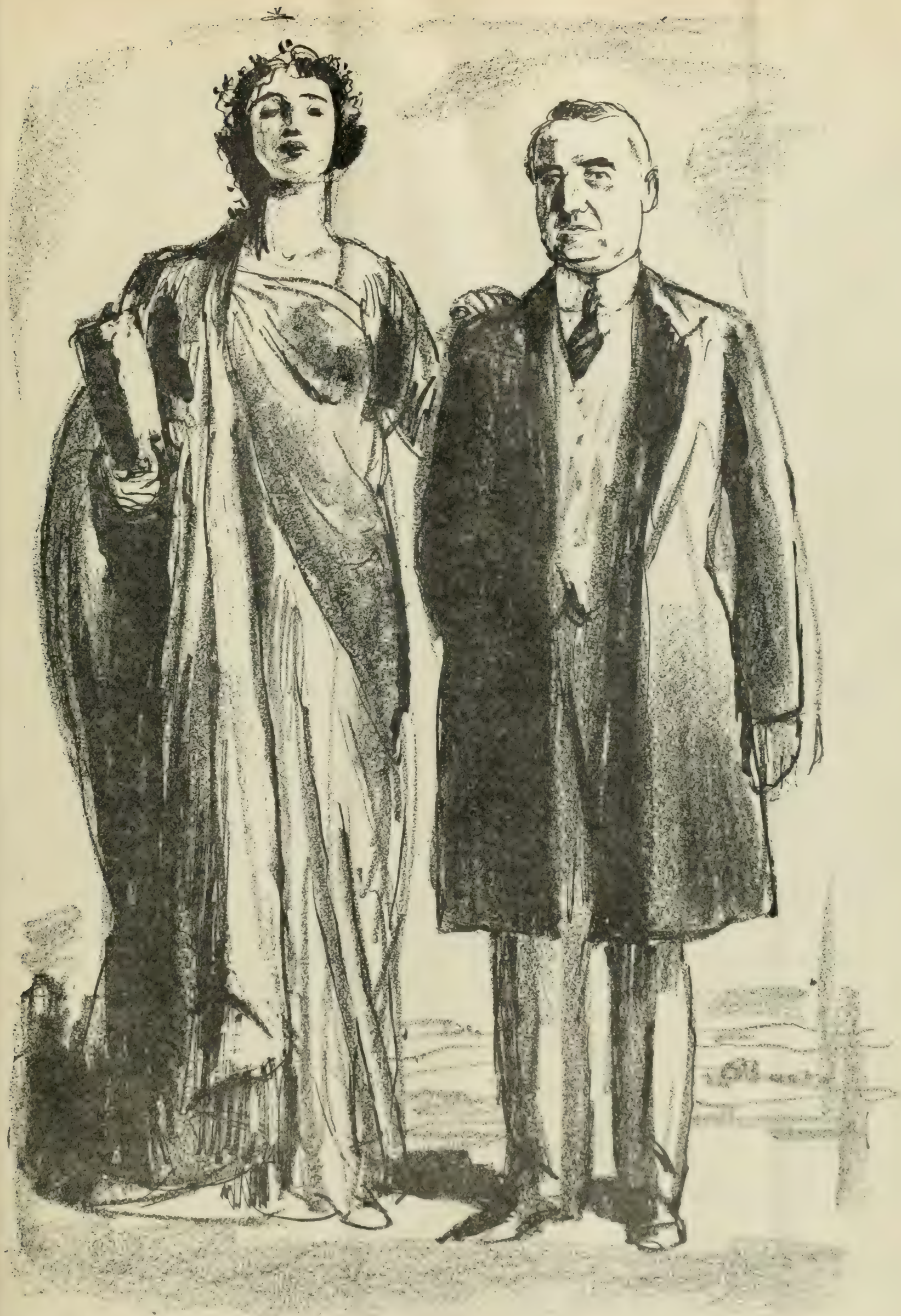
By way of filling in the chinks of the Annals of Ellis Island it may be observed that the deportation of Anarchists and other criminal aliens was stopped in 1915, because, on account of the submarines, travel across the Atlantic was dangerous. Seeing how many honest people had to brave that danger, it would have been a shame to subject an Anarchist, dynamiter or white slaver to it! Yet in 1919, when that danger was past, deportation was still more completely suspended; which seems a trifle illogical. Again, two men who were arrested in 1917 for trying to blow up munitions factories are still on Ellis Island, at the head of a "Soviet," and engaged in issuing insolent "ultimatums" to the Government of the United States. Also, there are some men who are on the Government's list as having jumped bail or broken parole and absconded to parts unknown, with whom their attorney, a member of the bar in good standing, admits himself to be in touch. Finally, there are lots of men who have thus absconded, and their attorney, who gave his parole for them, does not seem yet to have been called to account.

Mr. Uhl says that large numbers of men were ordered deported and were sent to Ellis Island for that purpose, and that Mr. Howe ordered them not to be deported. After final orders for deportation had been issued, they were released on bail, in the custody of their counsel, or, like *Koko*, on their own recognizances. In many cases Mr. Howe telegraphed orders to that effect from Washington.

Who is the friend at court of Anarchists, dynamiters, white slavers? Who is practising sabotage upon American citizenship and American government?



FROM THE
Illinois Proposes Governor Lowden



DLE WEST

Ohio Offers Senator Harding

The Week

WASHINGTON, December 16, 1919.

THE ending of the coal strike gave cause for relief and gratitude. So much must be ungrudgingly conceded. The industrial disturbances, the economic losses, the privations, sufferings and even deaths that were being caused, at an increase proceeding in geometric ratio, were so appalling that the nation could not help rejoicing at the ending of them, despite the cost. The situation was becoming so intolerable that anything seemed preferable to its continuance.

These favorable feelings were not, however, unmixed with others, of a radically different kind, which will doubtless continue to be experienced, perhaps in increasing intensity. These were obviously shared by the Fuel Administrator, and had unmistakable expression in his resignation of his office. Dr. Garfield had been so loyal and patient a supporter of the President that it is inconceivable that he would have resigned save for the most imperative reasons. He would not have done so, for example, simply because the President had ignored his advice or overruled his policy. Men who serve under President Wilson have to endure such treatment, or get out. But he was unwilling to stay in office and bear the burden of the unfavorable results of a policy of which he disapproved—in brief, to be the President's scapegoat.

There is indeed only too much reason to apprehend precisely such results from this settlement as Dr. Garfield is said to fear, namely, a material increase in the cost of coal to the consumer. There is nothing in sight that can be trusted efficiently and permanently to prevent it, and there are unmistakable indications, in addition to precedent, that it is likely to occur. The fact appears to be that the President, ignoring all warnings of impending trouble, neglected public duty and let the vital interests of the nation drift while he played politics, until an appalling and intolerable crisis was reached. Then, when something had to be done, he sought the easiest way. And the easiest way was one that simply renewed the vicious cycle of higher wages, higher cost of products, higher cost of living, and of course higher wages again. No wonder that Dr. Garfield washed his hands of the whole matter.

It will be gratifying to have the Senate promptly give its advice and consent to the ratification of the treaty providing for a limited and contingent alliance with France, for her protection against another attack by Germany. France is entitled to that consideration, and he would be an unworthy American who should begrudge giving it to her. There can be no doubt that, treaty or no treaty, America would at any time instantly respond to France's call for aid in such a time of need. Yet it is manifestly preferable that there shall be a formal convention to that effect. Of course the pending treaty must be amended. As the President negotiated it, it was unconstitutional. The "supreme law of the land" cannot be conditioned for validity or permanence upon the action of an alien body. Since the President himself has ordained that we shall not become a party to the Covenant, he

will, doubtless, readily acquiesce in the elimination from the French treaty of all reference to that hapless thing. With that done, let the treaty be promptly approved, or, better yet, let the pledge be conveyed through a joint resolution.

"Salvation is in the Soviet!" Such is the Socialist cuckoo-cry of the day. According to this facile philosophy, the strong must be supported by the weak, the wise must learn from the ignorant, the nations which are most experienced and advanced in all the arts, especially including the supreme art of government, must follow the example of those which are only just emerging from the primitive estate of barbarism. For years the critics have assured us that the literature of America, England, France and Spain is trifling and contemptible beside that of Russia. And now we shall not know political salvation unless we discard the effete republicanism of Washington and Jefferson and Hamilton and Lincoln and Roosevelt for the Soviet system of Trotzky and Lenine. Thus not only the I. W. W. and the "Red," but also the D.D.-ed and Ph.D.-ed apostles of parlor Bolshevism.

By their fruits, we are told, ye shall know them. If the Soviet is to solve the social and industrial problems of the day, what are its fruits in the land of its birth and sway?

In 1913, under the iniquities of capitalism and Czarism, it cost 705,000,000 rubles to run the railroads of Russia, and their profits were 405,000,000 rubles. Monstrous, indeed! In 1918, under the heaven-born rule of the Soviet, the expenses were 7,300,000,000 rubles, and the loss, the deficit, was 5,300,000,000. Superb!

A committee of the Legislature of the State of New York has performed a national service second to only that which the Senate of the United States performed in balking the Covenant attack upon our national integrity. It has very thoroughly unmasked the impudent Bolshevik propagandist who has been masking his pernicious activities under the fantastic style of "Ambassador." This person, who seems to be of dubious citizenship, either Russian or German, came to this country under the pretence of seeking to enlarge commercial relations between the United States and Russia, and nothing more. He was no propagandist. He had no political ends to serve, or to attain. He had plenty of money, published an expensive magazine, and got himself handsomely taken up by the Parlor Bolsheviks. Of course, his pretences were lies, all the way through. He now confesses that he was from the first a political propagandist, in cahoots with the revolutionary "Reds" who are plotting all sorts of devilry for the overthrow of the United States Government. He confesses that he has kept himself in communication with Lenine and Trotzky, by means of secret messengers, who have evaded the customs laws by sneaking into the country with smuggled goods at times and places unknown to the authorities. He defiantly refuses, on the ground of "diplomatic immunity," to disclose the identity of those unlawful messengers or the character of the contraband communications which they brought to him. That is to say, he claims that an alien can come hither from a country with which we are not on relations of friendly in-

tercourse, as the agent of a Government which we do not recognize, conduct here a conspiracy against the peace of this nation and the integrity of its Government, for the furtherance of such plots maintain surreptitious traffic with his aids and abettors abroad, and for the whole damnable business claim "diplomatic privilege and immunity." Of course he ought to be locked up, his contraband and smuggled effects searched, and then himself summarily deported as an undesirable alien. The New York Legislature has shown the creature up. Now, what is the Administration of the United States going to do about it?

Very explicit charges are made by the Military Affairs Committee of the House of Representatives against the War Department, and against the Secretary of War himself, of spending millions of dollars illegally for land at military camps, of course in the South. The Secretary of War is said to have stated that he believed that he had the legal but not the moral right to spend such moneys, wherefore, to brace up his morals, he asked the House to sanction the expenditures. This the House refused to do. Instead, it forbade them. Then the Secretary turned to the Senate Committee, with a similar request, with the result that the committee refused it, by a tie vote. Thereupon he went ahead with the purchase, because a Senator—of course, from a Southern State—told him that one member of the committee had been absent who, had he been present, would have voted in favor of his request and so would have carried it. It is a queer story, but of course it can contain or imply not the slightest reproach upon the Secretary of War, who is one of the ablest public servants the President has ever known, and who has recently been decorated, by no less an authority than himself, for his distinguished public services.

Emma Goldman, the Anarchist, is resisting deportation on the ground of alleged American citizenship, and claims citizenship on the alleged grounds of her father's naturalization and of her husband's naturalization. The Government's reply is that her father was not naturalized until she was twenty-four years old; that there is no official record of her having been married; and that the man whom she pretends to have married was never legally naturalized, the citizenship papers which he once secured having been revoked and nullified on account of fraud. If the Government's reply be substantiated, it must be regarded as conclusive.

British Trades Unionists have prudently decided to postpone, at least until after the opening of the next session of Parliament, all further demands for nationalization of the mines. Meantime the probability increases, as the square of the time of postponement, that those demands will never be seriously or successfully pressed. The Trades Unionists who think for themselves are beginning to see what nationalization would inevitably come to mean, and the more clearly they see it, the less they desire it.

To me the League of Nations lacks merely the dignity of treason, and so long as the President of the State Bar Association stands sponsor for that monstrous conspiracy against free governments, that association cannot command my allegiance.

So writes Benjamin S. Dean, an eminent lawyer of Jamestown, N. Y., to Henry W. Taft, President of the New York State Bar Association, in response to the latter's solicitation of him to become a member of that organization. Professional duty and advantage were urged by Mr. Taft as reasons why Mr. Dean should join the Association. Patriotic sentiment obviously outweighs those considerations in the mind of Mr. Dean.

It would be impossible too often to repeat or too deeply to ingrain into the minds and hearts and souls of all American citizens those words from Theodore Roosevelt's last speech which have appropriately been placed upon the certificates of membership in the Roosevelt Memorial Association:

One flag, the American flag; one language, the language of the Declaration of Independence; one loyalty, loyalty to the American people.

There could be no better pledge than that for every American citizen to take. But no man could take it and then vote for the Covenant of the League of Nations.

Mr. Balfour is quite right in his expression of confidence that the American nation is not going to abandon the high ideals of liberty and peace to which it has hitherto shown so great devotion. No; this nation has been true to those ideals for more than a century and a third, and it will not forsake them for any delusive Covenant of a League of Nations.

Whatever its result may be, the action of the Vigilance League of New York, in contesting the validity of the Eighteenth Amendment to the Constitution, is to be welcomed and commended as a public-spirited and patriotic thing, to be gratefully regarded by both friends and foes of Prohibition. There is unquestionably a widespread feeling, amounting in many cases to positive conviction, that the amendment in question was not adopted in conformity with either legal or moral right, and it would be deplorable to have the thing stand permanently under such a cloud. The validity of the amendment should therefore be passed upon by the supreme judicial authority of the nation. Those opposed to it should not be subjected to its tyranny if it is not legally valid, while those in favor of it should certainly welcome its confirmation, if it is valid, by the highest authority. The pretence made by some, that an amendment to the Constitution must of course be constitutional and is not to be called into question, is absurd. The Constitution provides the method of its own amendment, and no amendment can be valid which was not made according to that method.

There can no longer be the slightest doubt that "Richard's himself again!" The telegram of appreciation to the miners on their abandonment of the strike began with the good old "May I not?"

House Bill Cuts Newspaper Size.—*Heading of Washington Dispatch.*

And *The Congressional Record* isn't a newspaper.

Marse Henry Talks Politics

HE says he doesn't, but he does. He likewise talks sense. It is more or less a habit with him to do that if he talks at all, and he generally talks. He is too courteously amiable to refuse to do that when folks want him to, and that is what they always want.

So, when the New York *Herald* cornered him down in Jacksonville the other day, Marse Henry was his own kindly, cordial self, and answered questions that were put to him in his own direct way. Among other things, he said the Republicans would carry "several" Southern States next year. But how many are "several"? Would Kentucky and Maryland make "several"? He was not pressed on this point, which is rather a pity. There are strange things reported as going on even in Texas, and as for North Carolina and Tennessee, almost anything might happen down there and nobody would be much surprised.

But Marse Henry lets in a possible side-light on Solid South disintegration. He ciphers out that there is no Democratic Party any more. In its place there is only a Wilson Party. Mr. Wilson's health will not permit him to exercise his proprietary rights over this new Party, so he is going to give it to his son-in-law, Mr. McAdoo. Thus the Wilson Party will be in the movies, anyway. Now, how much is this Wilson Party believed in in the South? Senators Smith and Shields do not seem to be held in any less esteem in Georgia and Tennessee, respectively, for having gone over to the fold of the Blasphemers of the undotted i and uncrossed t Covenant. On the contrary, their home stock appears to have gone up several points coincidentally with their backsliding.

But Marse Henry was rather cryptic when asked if he thought that the League of Nations was responsible for the growing Republican strength in the South. "The Republicans have gained strength in the South," he said, "from general conditions and not from any special cause." A safe answer and true if important. And on another point Marse Henry relieved the strain of his interrogator's curiosity with an equally sage observation: "Now, get this down right," he said in reply to a question as to Democratic Presidential possibilities in 1920—"get this down right, for it is important; Presidential possibilities are always in the air."

True, true, how very true! And Marse Henry might have added that some of them are always up in the air. What a pity it is that Marse Henry in the same breath said: "Don't you know I am retired and don't know anything about politics?" It is a pity he said this, because it somewhat detracts from the interest of another remark he had made but a moment before, which was this:

"Mr. Wilson will not be able to lead this (the Wilson-That's-All-Party) because of ill health. But his son-in-law, McAdoo, in line succeeding, will lead it to overwhelming defeat next year. Nothing seems surer than that the Republicans will sweep the country in 1920."

And this from Marse Henry, who, if ever there was a Democrat, a staunch, loyal, fiery and fierce Democrat, was precisely that Democrat! But that was back in the days before Mr. Wilson had supplanted the Democratic Party.

Costs in War and Strikes

THE money cost of the war to the United States is computed at somewhere between twenty-five and thirty billion dollars. The cost to at least three other nations was much greater. The loss in property destroyed was comparably enormous. And then, there was the loss of human lives, reckoned on a cash basis. The dead in and because of the war were approximately ten millions, or more than twice as many as in all the wars of the nineteenth century, including Napoleon's, and of the twentieth century down to 1914. The Carnegie Endowment for International Peace calculates that on a cash basis the lives destroyed by the war meant a loss to the world of more than thirty-three and a half billion dollars; figures which we are not disposed to dispute, unless indeed to reckon them too low. An average of \$3,350 apiece is not a high valuation to set on human lives. The same authority calculates the total loss to the world at about \$337,000,000,000.

Such figures are appalling. They constitute a damning indictment of war. They mark the four years 1914-1918 as the most costly in the history of the world. Yet there are other figures which must not escape consideration, and which indeed are not altogether unworthy to be bracketed with these.

At the beginning of last month a strike began in one of the greatest and most essential industries of the nation. It was shrewdly arranged for at the time when it would cause the greatest possible suffering and loss. Before it ended it had thrown more than 5,000,000 persons out of profitable employment. Reckoning their wages at the moderate average of four dollars a day, their direct money losses were at the rate of more than six billion dollars a year. At the same time there was an extensive paralysis of business at the very season when business should be most profitable. It would be a low estimate to place the loss thus sustained at twice that of the workmen's wages. These two items, then, indicate a money loss through that strike at the rate of eighteen billion dollars a year, or as much as the entire war debt of the United States.

That is to say, the soft coal strike at its height was costing us in money as much as the war cost us. As for the less direct losses, including those of health and life, we have no doubt that they, too, were at a rate comparable with those of the war.

That is a view of affairs which is earnestly to be commended to those who are so fond of glibly talking about the inviolable and inalienable right of men to strike, while at the same time condemning as an unspeakable iniquity the right to fight. We don't believe in wars, if they can possibly be avoided. But we are not inclined to split hairs over the difference between a billion dollars spent in war and a billion dollars lost in a strike; or between a thousand lives lost in war and a thousand lives lost through a strike's deprivations.

Senator Harding makes a good speech anyway.

Mischievous Election Laws

IT matters little if at all to General Leonard Wood whether his name is printed on the official ballot in South Dakota as a candidate for the Presidency; and for an obvious reason it can practically matter nothing to President Wilson whether his name thus appears. But the circumstances of the case suggest a query as to whether it is not high time for rational citizens to get rid of some of the fool regulations which were devised a few years ago ostensibly and perhaps sincerely for the sanctification of electoral processes but in effect for their hopeless bedevilment.

To debar a man from candidacy for office, and to deny the electors the privilege of voting for him, save under an inconvenient and detrimental handicap, unless five months before his actual nomination and ten months before election he irrevocably commits himself in a rigidly prescribed form, is to affront and to deny political liberty and equality. It is the more obnoxious because while it purports to be in the interest of clean politics and a higher standard of service it in fact favors the reverse. The man of highest type, the most desirable candidate for office, may be deterred, repelled and actually prevented from entering the campaign, by such regulations, while they would have not the slightest effect upon the man of lower character and less scruples.

In other States than South Dakota, other election laws have similarly had opposite effects from those desired. In some the laws for nominations through primary elections, while intended to defeat bossism and machine methods, have actually played into their hands by making it more difficult for independent candidates to enter the field. In others, while professing to aim at the prevention of inter-party "deals," the laws have made it at least theoretically impossible for two parties to unite upon a non-partisan candidate of preeminent merit; while in still other cases it has been made possible for the managers of one party to impose a member of their own party upon the opposing party as its official candidate.

It is time for such anomalies, absurdities and injustice to be swept from the statute books. Beyond doubt the integrity of elections, and also of nominations, should be scrupulously safeguarded. But that can surely be done without impairing political liberty and equality, without discouraging and handicapping the candidacy of the best men, and without defeating the very ends at which such protective legislation aims. To argue otherwise would be to affirm the failure of representative government.

Getting Rid of Them

HE snubbed, overruled and ignored his Secretary of War, in order that he might play politics with the great question of national military preparedness. And Mr. Lindley M. Garrison, being a man of self-respect and a patriot, got out.

When his Ambassador to Italy came from Rome to Paris to give loyal and invaluable aid in the settlement of the Fiume question, he left him to cool his heels on the side-

walk while he ignored his counsel and dictated an arbitrary arrangement that satisfied nobody and that brought Italy to the verge of domestic revolution and foreign war. And Mr. Thomas Nelson Page, being a man of self-respect and independence, got out.

By his own gross neglect of official duty he permitted the country to suffer a strike of coal miners which caused incalculable distress and a money loss of hundreds of millions; and then, overruling and snubbing his own Fuel Administrator, dictated a settlement calculated in all probability to increase still further the cost of living to the American people. And Dr. Harry A. Garfield, preferring a college presidency to playing politics at the expense of the people, got out.

He snubbed and ignored his own Secretary of State while he hobnobbed with others over the Mexican problem, and when at last the Secretary, in patient and loyal performance of official duty, sanctioned a plan for appropriate co-operation between the Executive and the Senate for the settlement of that problem, he petulantly threw it into the waste-paper basket and raged against it as an unconstitutional invasion of his supreme and solitary sovereignty as Diplomatic Dictator. And Mr. Robert Lansing, accustomed to such treatment, shrugged his shoulders with "Oh, well, what's the use?" and stood pat; "while all the world wondered."

Miracles and Congratulations

ON the 9th of October last a letter was confided to the miraculous ministrations of Mr. Burleson's post office warlocks in Buffalo. In very large and very plain typewritten characters it was addressed to a person in Bedford Hills, Westchester, N. Y.

Now, before the age of Burlesonian miracles this letter would have reached its destination and been delivered well within twenty-four hours. But Mr. Burleson has changed all that. When a letter is now dropped into a Burleson post office receptacle it disappears—vanishes into thin air. It may be for a year. It may be for a day. It may be forever, and not unfrequently it is. At all events, it is gone. Lost to sight and sometimes, perchance, still held in memory dear. Which is foolish. When you drop a letter into a Burlesonian miracle-mongering plant, forget it. The letter is gone and Heaven alone knows where or when or if ever it will turn up again. It's Burlesoned—that's all.

But this Buffalo-Bedford Hills letter is an exception. It has broken cover. Nay, more, it actually has been delivered. Mailed in Buffalo, N. Y., at 11 P. M. on the 9th day of October, it broke all Burleson time and distance-annihilating speed records by reaching Bedford Hills on the 11th day of November—only thirty-three days in covering a theoretical distance of something like 400 miles. We say "theoretical distance" because the actual distance that letter covered will probably remain forever among the unsolved Burlesonian mysteries. That it took a sea voyage of something like 6,000 miles is indisputable, for on the 25th day of October it was in Liverpool. Of that much we are assured because the

envelope bears the Liverpool post-mark of that date. But beyond that we know nothing. How it got to Liverpool, where else it had roamed on its journeyings, how long it lingered in sociable contact with foreign letters in various post offices abroad—well, ask Burleson. But he won't tell, of course. It is enough that he works the miracles without stopping to explain how he does them. You pay your postage and you get your miracle. And—well, there you are!

And, "may we not" venture to offer to the recipient of the Bedford Hills letter the homage of our respectful, but astounded, congratulations? He actually got his letter, and that is a super-miracle.

Only Postponed

THE exclusion of a universal military training provision from the Army Reorganization Bill would mean, at the most, only postponement. In fact, Representative Anthony, Chairman of the House Committee, virtually admitted as much when he said that universal training was a matter to be taken up later as a separate measure. He admitted that the opponents of the plan to make men and soldiers of the rising generations of American youth was a majority so narrow that the idea had not been permanently abandoned.

He is safely within the fact there. The plan to create a reserve army of trained men ready to make a reality of Mr. Bryan's fantastic dream of "a million armed men springing up over night to defend the American flag," has taken too strong a hold upon the country to be discarded or even shunted aside for any great length of time. The painful results of the pitiful state of unpreparedness in which a war, for two years obviously inevitable, found the country, with all the staggering cost of the fumbling wastefulness which ensued, are too fresh in mind for the lesson to go unheeded, unless we are indeed sunk into a fatuous apathy that is inconceivable.

Chairman Anthony and those who agreed with him to ignore the urgent recommendations of our best qualified military men and omit universal training from the Army Reorganization Bill, rested their action largely upon the ground of present economy, when present economy in all Government disbursements is so instant and pressing a necessity. Whether, in the long run, economies that are sane and safe may be effected by now postponing that which in the end must come, is a question that is at least debatable. It may be said, undoubtedly, that we already have a trained army of several millions of men in reserve. It is also true that this reserve force will be available for a year or so to come. Our splendid army of demobilized war veterans will not speedily forget the training of the harsh school of war from which they have just graduated with such distinguished honors. But the rust will gather none the less. The time when these fine soldiers of today will be up to the necessary standard of efficiency is, of course, limited. As they drop out of the ranks of the eminently available, others must take their places. These others must be drawn from the vast reservoir of American manhood which the country is providing with every

passing year. They must have military training, these young men. Our millions of Americans trained to defend their country must be a permanent and an accumulating, and not a transient and disintegrating force. There is but one way to provide for this, and that is by universal military training.

That such enforced training will be a vast industrial asset, as well as an armed guarantee of the country's military security, is too obvious to demand any exhaustive argumentative demonstration. The mere money value to the trained men themselves and to the country as a whole which would flow from the greater productive power incident to increased physical vigor and those habits of self-control and discipline which result from the school of the soldier would be beyond all calculation. The idea of universal military training for our oncoming millions of young men is already, or is rapidly becoming, a fixed idea with the American people. The day when that idea is reduced to practice may be postponed for a certain limited time only.

Justice and Common Sense

A MONSTROUS to-do is raised in Europe by certain altruists over what they affect to regard as the "inhumanity" of the demand that Germany shall restore the many thousands of milch cows which she stole from France during the war. It is represented that the milk which those cows give is needed for German babies, and that if the cows are returned to France, the babies will languish and probably many of them will die.

Now it would be regrettable for German babies, innocent of the crimes of their parents, to suffer. But there is no inhumanity in saying that if either German or French babies are to suffer for lack of the milk of those cows, the sufferers should be the former and not the latter. For the cows belong to France. They were wantonly stolen. And neither justice nor humanity requires that thieves shall profit at the expense of those whom they have robbed; or that those who were robbed shall suffer in order that their despoilers may escape suffering.

There is also a great pother raised here as well as over there against the alleged inhumanity of maintaining a blockade against Russia, and thus perhaps dooming many to death through famine. That too is a distressing case. But what are the facts? In the first place, the scarcity of supplies is the deliberate fault of the Bolshevik Government, which has purposely prevented production. And in the second place, the continuance of the blockade is its deliberate fault. For an offer was made to raise the blockade and send in supplies if the Government would promise that they should be distributed impartially to civilians and not be monopolized by the Bolsheviks and chiefly by the army. That promise the Bolsheviks refused to make. On the contrary, they made it known that no supplies from any source should reach the non-Bolsheviks, if they could help it.

There is no incompatibility between humanity on the one hand and justice and common sense on the other.

Letters From Our Readers

THE PATRIOTS OF THE SENATE

SIR,—Down here on the West coast, amid the orange groves and ripening grape fruit (this being orange time in Florida, the temperature each day 68 and 69, with an early morning temperature of 58 and 60) I was delighted to find that I could procure a copy of HARVEY'S WEEKLY, the same as I did in New York and Washington. The WEEKLY is a little late in arriving but none the less appreciated. It is an exceedingly good thing to read; it keeps one's mind straightened out and working in the right direction, and it is an intellectual delight to peruse something in which, as one reads word by word, one finds one's own thoughts and opinions so deftly and so cleverly expressed.

I think every man, woman and child should feel proud of the Republican members of our United States Senate, with the exception of one, and of the seven Democratic Senators, who have fought the good fight and striven so nobly to preserve our American standards and uphold our Constitution, keeping it a living, acting force.

The thirteen "irreconcilables" no doubt decided that as the amendments were voted down, they would also reject the reservations, although we realize that some of them were opposed to the whole pernicious document and would have none of it.

These Senators are patriots, real patriots, we are most deeply indebted to them, we thank them, we honor them.

All through the hot, sultry days of a Washington summer, and until now, they did not falter, though wearied they often must have been, physically and mentally. But they kept on, and would not give up the fight. Fearlessly and magnificently they acted their part, in standing up for the courage of their convictions, in explaining and expounding for the good of all, this un-American League of Nations. If our boys and our future generations are pledged to go to all parts of the world, if thousands at one and the same time, must fight other people's battles, will it not have a tendency to make them un-American, and to wonder whether it is a good thing after all to be of American blood? I am glad that our Allies across the water now know the caliber of the majority of our United States Senators.

Clearwater, Florida.

J. SEWARD-KENNEDY.

STILL ANOTHER "MIRACLE."

SIR,—In your issue of November 29 you published a letter telling of the failure of the Post Office Department to safeguard a "special delivery" letter.

I can go that one better, by recounting a "miracle" of the Registered service.

Having negotiated for a piece of land and paid a portion, agreeing to settle the balance by Nov. 9, I sent on Nov. 3 a check for \$500 in a registered letter to a law firm in Rockville, Maryland, the county seat of Montgomery County, adjacent to the District of Columbia.

I then waited for the deed.

On Nov. 15, I was notified that by reason of my failure to keep the agreement, my deposit was forfeited.

I did some pretty lively telegraphing to bank, real estate owner, etc., and when the circumstances were explained, I obtained an extension of time wherein to send a duplicate check and get the matter fixed up.

I had, however, a closer shave than I appreciated and almost lost a valuable property.

The records of the Oxford P. O. show that the letter left here, duly receipted for Nov. 3. It is now two weeks since a "tracer" was started in search of it, but up to the present date, Dec. 3, nothing has been heard of the missing registered letter. The Rockville P. O. has no record of its having reached there.

The distance between the two places could be covered in five hours by auto.

Oxford, Pa.

FLORENCE C. BENNETT.

CALIFORNIA AND THE LEAGUE.

SIR,—You have doubtless heard the slander that California and Californians were almost a unit in favor of the immediate and unamended ratification of the "League of Hallucinations," as it was fittingly dubbed in an address by a noted Kentucky jurist the other day. The overwhelming and enthusiastic reception accorded Senator Johnson at the monster meetings here and in San Francisco ought to put a quietus on the above inspired and widely-spread fabrication.

Los Angeles, Cal.

ALAN P. GILMOUR.

THE IRISH QUESTION.

SIR,—In this week's edition of HARVEY'S, there is an article entitled, "Again, Who is the Liar?" which leads us to believe that you conclude from the testimony of Mr. Trumen H. Talley that the statements of Hon. Frank P. Walsh and Ex-Governor Dunne on the British-Irish muddle are deliberate falsehoods.

Everyone knows Dunne and Walsh as reputable Americans, but who is this Trumen H. Talley? The British authorities did reply, after a week's delay, and gave, as you say, "a specific catagorical denial." Messrs. Walsh and Dunne ask for a tribunal where an impartial report can be made. Now surely, Sir, if you read any of Trumen H. Talley's articles, you would not call this one-man report impartial, with "no animus, no prejudice, no leaning either towards one side or the other." Although Mr. Talley commences with: "I went to Ireland as an impartial American seeking the truth," he saw conditions in Ireland from the seat of an armored British motor car, and ended by being an open partisan of British misrule in Ireland.

Pass Christian, Miss.

JOHN BURNS.

A DEMOCRAT'S VIEWS.

SIR,—The following letter was written by a life-long Democrat to a Democratic United States Senator who *did not* "slip his collar:"

"I want to congratulate the United States Senate on having turned down the Peace Treaty with that miserable Covenant which President Wilson brought over and wished to be signed on the dotted line. This would have been, in my opinion, a most pernicious and dangerous departure for America; our people did not want it in its present shape, and Mr. Wilson was well advised in advance that they did not want it. Its defeat marks an epoch in our history in that it forever establishes the fact that our people do not want and will not have a one-man government, and are quite content to follow the Constitution as it was written, and as it has until quite recently been uniformly followed.

"All glory to the few courageous Senators who had the temerity to slip their collars and fight this iniquitous business! But is it not a shame that the Republican party should have the credit of having saved the country?"

Is further comment necessary?

Colorado, Texas.

C. H. EARNEST.

TRIMMING THE SEARCHLIGHT

SIR,—For keeping the search-light searching for hidden actions and false meanings, I thank you. You are doing a noble work for a most noble cause.

Allow my vote to go to William Borah, a fearless fighter for his convictions of right,—strong of intellect, noble of character, a champion worthy of any foe, a True American, therefore our confidence can abide with him as our "man of the hour." Let us be for America, and not for party; let us have simple words of everyday use in direct form to express our treaties, making them so plain that disputes will be impossible; let us realize that the best way to make the "world fit to live in" is to keep America for Americans, with American ideals, based on American principles.

Franklin, Louisiana.

M. F. THOMSON, Jr.

FROM AN AMERICAN MOTHER.

SIR,—I shall always deeply regret the fact that until six months ago I had never read a copy of your WEEKLY. I am now for all time a subscriber. My mother and sister both subscribe, and also my seventeen-year old brother, who cannot wait until they have finished reading their copies to see what you have to say. He carries his WEEKLY regularly to school and leaves it in the library so that the rest of the students may have the pleasure and benefit of reading it.

We admire you and your WEEKLY more than any other man or magazine in America today.

My greatest hope is that my small sons may prove as truly worthy as you have when they are grown.

How proud we shall all be of your wonderful work, years hence, when we begin really to understand what you have helped mightily to save us from, i. e., Wilson and his League!

As a simple American mother, I sincerely thank you.

Seattle, Wash.

MRS. WALTER HOWE.

Letters From Our Readers

RESTFUL WAITING

SIR,—Senator Hitchcock, who is always hopeful and sometimes accurate, reports that the President told him that he, the President, regarded the responsibility for the Treaty as having been shifted from his own to other shoulders, and that he was quite content to let it remain there.

The other shoulders are broad and will bear the burden of the remains as long as may be necessary. If, in the course of human events, they be called upon to bear them until the ides of November, 1920, they may be counted upon to do so without a murmur. Then the load may be shifted to the shoulders of the American people. These shoulders also are broad. They have borne many a far heavier burden and been none the worse for it in the long run. What ultimate disposition of the mess will be then made is a question on which we shall have more light after the November votes are counted.

Meantime, as Senator Lodge and the others now responsible have already announced, he and they are quite satisfied to accept the consequences both present and to come. The League Covenant in its present embalmed condition may be laid away to rest in the interval among the undisposed-of legislative junk, to accumulate dust while Congress goes on to the consideration of serious domestic and neighboring foreign problems now urgently pressing for solution. There is enough to do, Heaven knows; tasks that are not in the least of the stuff of which "visions" and "voices in the air" are made. They are enough to fully engage the attention of Congress and an able-bodied President, if we may be so fortunate as to have an able-bodied President during the remainder of Mr. Wilson's term.

New York.

J. S. P.

A CHAIN OF BLUNDERS

SIR,—In my judgment, your patriotic work far surpasses that of any other man in the United States. You are the only writer with whom I can agree in everything. Your statements are all the very essence of lucidity, patriotic to the core, and absolutely fearless. Besides, your comprehension of national and international questions, which enables you to detect error, sham and weakness, and your marvelous ability to put into fitting words your conclusions, place you in a class by yourself. Needless to say, therefore, that I am in hearty accord with you in the great fight you are making against that suicidal project—the League of Nations; and in writing this I do so *merely* to make a suggestion, for I believe that every man in his way should do his bit, infinitesimal though it may be.

The suggestion I wish to make is that you, in your inimitable way, show the utter lack of judgment of Mr. Wilson, by presenting the whole chain of his principal blunders and self-reversals in one continuous procession. A majority of the Democrats are supporting the league project because *he* is fathering it, and it seems to me important to demonstrate by a chain of irrefutable facts, as only you can do, what a colossal failure he is and has been as a guide. By showing him to be the false prophet that he is, no doubt many Democrats (I have always been one) would see the true light and desert his standard.

Boston.

JOHN HALL.

"AN INSPIRATION"

SIR,—Your WEEKLY coming to our desk each Tuesday morning is indeed an inspiration. It is read and reread, and we feel that we have gleaned some good each time it is gone over. It is full of material for thought and will be a benefit to any reader regardless of his political affiliations. Your courage is the thing to be most admired. You speak with a positive knowledge and in a straight-forward manner and call things by their proper names. If a copy of your WEEKLY could reach every elector of this country, America would be a better place.

Martins Ferry, Ohio.

R. D. ROBINSON.

THE PSALMS AND WILSON.

SIR,—It is evident that certain sycophants of our all-powerful President have thought his position warranted by two verses from the 105th Psalm explaining his gift of power from Uncle Sam. Hark!

21. He made him lord of his house, and ruler of all his substance:

22. To bind his princes at his pleasure; and teach his senators wisdom.

Cleveland, Ohio.

GILBERT D. E. MORGAN.

PROPHETIC.

SIR,—May I not call your attention to the following prophetic paragraph which appears near the bottom of page 233 of Mr. Wilson's *Congressional Government*?

His [the Executive's] only power of compelling compliance on the part of the Senate lies in his initiative in negotiation, which affords him a chance to *get the country into such scrapes*, so pledged in the view of the world to certain courses of action, that the Senate hesitates to bring about the appearance of dishonor which would follow its refusal to ratify the rash promises or to support the indiscreet threats of the Secretary of State.

This policy, enunciated in 1884, seems to have met with practical application in 1919.

Washington, D. C.

H. L. B.

RELEASE THE CARS

SIR,—Medium-priced automobiles are so scarce that deliveries cannot be made for months. These machines are used largely for commercial work and by people of moderate means. Congress and the newspapers report thousands of such automobiles as held by the Government unprotected from the weather. They could easily be sold for more than they cost.

Will you not turn your searchlight on this situation, as you did on the airplane scandal, and try to have these cars released to a public that urgently needs them, not to mention the money that would be saved in doing it?

New Orleans, La.

THOMAS SLOO.

THE LEAGUE IN LA CROSSE.

SIR,—Your weekly sledgehammer blows in the interest of American institutions, as against internationalism, are having a tremendous effect throughout the Northwest, and, from opinions prevalent wherever one travels, it is evident that at last eighty per cent of our people regard the supporters of the League of Nations, without reservations, to be as great an attempt to overthrow our institutions as the so-called "Reds" or I. W. W.'s.

La Crosse, Wisconsin.

I. A. WEBB.

A "TREASURE HOUSE."

SIR,—Since the death of our beloved Theodore Roosevelt, I have found no American who voices more accurately my patriotic and political sentiments than yourself. Your brilliant editorials in the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW first attracted my attention, and later, in HARVEY'S WEEKLY, I found a virtual treasure-house of virile Americanism. Allow me to congratulate you upon the fine work you are doing. Your logic is clear, unerring, and unanswerable, and your humor is simply irresistible.

Detroit, Mich.

EDGAR H. AILES.

ANTI-LEAGUE.

SIR,—Permit me to extend to you my thanks and appreciation for the extremely valuable work you are doing in combating those interests which, to my way of thinking, are acting in such unpatriotic manner in trying to force this country to accept the so-called "League of Nations."

Chicago, Ill.

ROBERT L. GREEN.

"NEAR PATRIOTS."

SIR,—Judging Henry Holt and Edsel Ford by "points," 100% of Americans being taken as the basis, with a handicap allowed to Edsel on account of his youth, will you kindly give your readers the final score of these two near-patriots?

Walla Walla, Wash.

H. B. NOLAND.

[We have no opinion of them.—EDITOR.]

THE COUNTRY IS SOUND

SIR,—The sountry is sound, and no one instrumentality is more to be thanked by a grateful people than HARVEY'S WEEKLY.

ATLANTA, Ga.

STILES HOPKINS.

GOD REIGNS!

SIR,—God reigns, and HARVEY'S WEEKLY still lives!

Albany, N Y.

CHARLES R. SKINNER.

CARTOON: "IS THIS TO BE THE ANSWER?"

HARVEY'S WEEKLY

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The President's State of Mind

THE country rejoiced mightily when Senators Fall and Hitchcock reported that the President's mind was "clear as a bell." So many disquieting rumors had been circulated that the reassurance was needed, and there was a general chuckle over Mr. Wilson's characteristic jibe at "the diagnosis of Dr. Moses;" it seemed like a flash from old times.

Even the strange development that all information respecting Mexican affairs had been withheld from him and that he had not even seen Secretary Lansing or Colonel House was passed over lightly and even hopefully, in view of the fact that he had regained sufficient mental and physical vigor to give that trying situation his personal attention, which Mr. Lansing now feels warranted in imposing upon him.

Unhappily the simultaneous announcement that Viscount Grey was about to return to England because, after waiting several months, he was still unable to present his credentials tended to temper the satisfaction. The Constitution explicitly provides that the Executive "shall receive Ambassadors and public ministers," presumably within a reasonable time, and the President's continuing hesitation to perform this important function with respect to Great Britain's eminent representative could not fail to be noted abroad.

Conformably to its fine diplomatic traditions, the British Government regarded the unfortunate situation uncomplainingly and solicitously for a long and tedious period, but the time came

when even so patient a statesman as Lord Grey could no longer ignore the apparent slight and the utter futility of his mission.

Officially and even socially, except with a quietness approaching furtiveness, he could do or say nothing, so why not go home? Indeed, his longer remaining unrecognized might give rise to the question as to whether the President's "inability" or "disability" to perform his allotted task might not be adduced as a reason under the Constitution for his deposition,—a possible circumstance which would be most distressing to both the Ambassador and his Government. It is easy to believe that, simply as a matter of friendliness and courtesy, the Ambassador felt impelled to withdraw from his equivocal position.

Excuse for the dereliction based upon illness, to say nothing of the officially designated "inability," did not emanate from the Administration, whatever that may now be, for the obvious reason that others, comprising royalties, Cabinet officers, Senators and McAdoodles, were being constantly consulted; but finally there came one of those weird "White House statements" to the effect that the President could not receive Viscount Grey because if he should he would have to extend like courtesies to the new Ambassadors from Japan and Italy and "a lot of South American ministers,"—a pretext about as inept as could be imagined in view of the sensitiveness of those duly designated representatives.

We are now informed, however, that pres-

ently the President will be permitted by his Rear Admiral to grant an audience to the British Ambassador unless in the meantime His Excellency shall have sailed thankfully home. So that may be all right.

Senator Underwood, whose alarm clock began to whiz unexpectedly last week, holds views as irreconcilable as those of Patriots and Covenanters. While insisting in his propitiatory and sensible speech on Saturday that the President "is amply able to attend to the business of the Nation," he added quickly that "the President lies on a sick bed,"—assertions which seemed to be slightly contradictory until upon being subjected to the magnifying glass of interpretation the point developed that it was the bed that was sick.

Nevertheless, the Senator promptly concluded in the succeeding paragraph that "this country is in a bad way with its Executive disabled by sickness" and unwilling to yield to the "imperial will" of Senator Lodge,—thus demonstrating beyond question the wisdom of accepting the sound Knox proposals (1) to announce a condition of peace which has already existed more than a year and (2) to let the people pass on the League.

Meanwhile, according to all accounts, bewildered Senator Hitchcock continues to grope in the fog of Executive inscrutability, hoping desperately to find the right moment to hook himself to the tail of the Wilson kite.

"The President's attitude," he said dejectedly to the *Sun*, "is a good deal of a mystery."

"The President's exact position on reservations is something of a puzzle to me," he said to the *Times*. "I submitted to him the set of five reservations which I offered in the Senate. I gave them to President Wilson long before I showed them to other Democrats in the Senate. He has never indicated to me whether he approves or disapproves them."

All of which only goes to show—what discerning observers have noted for a long time—that Mr. Hitchcock has not been in Mr. Wilson's confidence at any stage of the game. He has simply—we use the volatile word in both meanings—been throwing out his chest without knowing even what Mr. Wilson thought he was thinking while in reality he was mistaking, as in the railway situation, a relatively vacant for a duly advertised "open" mind.

For ourselves, we frankly do not believe that the President himself knows what he would accept or would decline. That is why he passed the buck back to the Senate with the stern declaration that he has "no compromise or concession of any kind *in mind*," at present, of course,—a foolishness at which even the *World* balked.

The whole business is now in the hands of the Democrats who are convinced of Senator Underwood's sagacity. They need not be many. Sixty-four votes are required to pass the following resolution introduced by Senator Knox:

Resolved, That the Senate of the United States unreservedly advises and consents to the ratification of the treaty of Versailles in so far only as it provides for the creation of a status of peace between the United States and Germany.

Of the essential votes Senator Lodge, Senator Brandegee and Senator Reed can deliver more than 50. At the outside Senator Underwood need furnish no more than 15. He can do so easily against all the "objections" that Senator Hitchcock can possibly devise unless interfered with by the Executive. The sole question is whether President Wilson, despite his solemn pledge not to intervene, will reverse the famous dictum of President Grant and say to the American people:

"Let us *not* have peace!"

For Class or People?

IT IS a far cry from the Landing of the Mayflower to the coal strike of 1919; in years, but not in issues. In their essential relationship to the cause of government of the people, by the people, for the people, they are directly though antagonistically conjoined. The demand of the strikers of 1919 was an attempt at negation of the Compact of the Pilgrims of 1620. That was the gist of the impressive appeal to American patriotism which ex-Senator Beveridge made in his address at Plymouth, on the two hundred and ninety-ninth anniversary of the Landing of the Pilgrims.

The Mayflower Compact, which was the germ of American self-government, was made and signed because certain "discontented and mutinous strangers" among the company had declared that "when they came ashore they would use their own liberty, for none had power to command them." It was to protect the infant colony against the anarchic plots of those who had no sympathy with it and no faith in it, that the Compact was made; and enforced. To-day the Constitution succeeds the Compact, and the issue arises of its enforcement against the "discontented and mutinous," whether strangers or natives, who seek to "use their own liberty" in defiance and denial of the welfare and the will of the whole people.

Mr. Beveridge sounded a sure note, clearly and bravely, when he arraigned ruthless labor organizations, with their crafty and shameless lobby, as the most menacing foe of free popular government to-day, and arraigned, too, a cringing and trimming Administration for its subservience to them. The foremost issue in America to-day—the Covenant being dead and damned—is "whether labor unions shall run the American Government, or whether the American people shall run the American Government." That issue was raised three

years ago, when the President and his subservient Congress cringed under the lash of brute force and in a sordid game of politics enacted the Adamson bill, a measure which, whatever its merits or demerits, was forced upon the nation by methods as violently lawless as highway robbery at the muzzle of a gun.

It is proverbial that if a man once pays blackmail, he will have to pay it whenever it is demanded. Having yielded to lawless coercion in the "crisis" of 1916, the Government had to yield again when another "crisis" was by similar artifice brought about in 1919. True, on this latter occasion the Executive at first spoke truly and rightly, denouncing the threatened coal strike as criminally lawless; which only made deeper the damnation of what followed. For after the court had done its duty and ordered obedience to the law of the Republic, and the "discontented and mutinous" had openly flouted the authority of the court, instead of vindicating and enforcing that authority with all the power at its command, the Executive entered into "consultations" and compromise with those whom it had denounced as criminals, and dickered with them as to the terms on which they would be willing to respect the court and obey the law!

To this process of progressive economic and political brigandage, Mr. Beveridge well said, there must be an end. Doubtless there will be attempts, again and again, to play the same disloyal game. A "crisis" will be forced, at some psychological moment; in the midst of a Presidential campaign, as in 1916, when everything must be sacrificed or conceded—by time-saving trimmers—for votes, or on the verge of winter, as in 1919. The result of such procedure, if not checked, would be that the nation as a whole would be ruled by class organizations unknown to the Constitution and the laws and acting in defiance of the Constitution and the laws. We should have among us not merely, as was threatened at Plymouth, those whom there would be no power to command, but those who had by political brigandage seized upon lawless power to command the whole nation at their will.

It is impossible to dismiss these warnings of Mr. Beveridge's as idle and empty alarms. Their pertinence and the reality of the menace is emphasized to us in the news of every day. It is no insignificant thing that a man professing to speak for a class of millions, emboldened by former success in defying or evading the operation of law, defiantly tells the representatives of the whole nation that if they enact a law for the benefit of the whole nation the class which he represents will not obey it. Nor can the speaker at Plymouth be charged with enmity toward or discrimination against organized labor. He conceded the need and the beneficence of such organization, and he scathed and branded evil wealth as severely as lawless labor, as having "worked its will through agents disguised as lawmakers and smuggled into the councils of the nation."

The burden of his prophecy was against either wealth or labor, whenever it strove to control the Government and to violate the principle of just and equal government by free men under general laws, the principle alike of the Mayflower Compact of 1620 and of the Constitution of 1789 and 1919. It was necessary for the Pilgrims to set their faces

as a flint against the "discontented and mutinous strangers" who sought to balk their enterprise. It was necessary for Washington to resist an alien propaganda that would have defeated American independence. It was necessary for Jefferson and Madison and Clay in their time to overcome another alien effort to extinguish the American spirit. Only yesterday we ourselves came tardily to learn the need of crushing the German schemes which aimed to corrupt our Americanism. To-day the aspect changes but the enemy is the same. Class government is as hostile to the American spirit and the American ideal as any alien propaganda. Its advances, now insidious, now open, at times pleading, at times threatening, but always malicious and pernicious, must be met and must be beaten, unless government of the people, by the people, for the people, is to perish from the earth. The result of the meeting and of the conflict cannot be in doubt, if only the American people are fully awakened to its significance; as they will be awakened when voices as clear and as convincing as that of Mr. Beveridge shall reach their ears.

The Plight of the Railroads

IT is now generally conceded that the railroads will not be returned to their owners at the beginning of the new year. They cannot be, indeed, unless they are to be thrown into bankruptcy and the country is to be plunged into the worst financial disaster in its history. No permanent law for their rehabilitation and management has been enacted, or is near enactment, and no temporary *modus vivendi* has been adopted. The only thing to do, then, is to continue the present grossly unsatisfactory system indefinitely, until some suitable action can be taken.

The present state of affairs is, however, highly unsatisfactory, because of its uncertainty. It is intimated that the Administration will not dump the roads back upon their owners on January 1, but there is no assurance concerning the length of time thereafter during which it will retain them. The possibility of incontinent return is therefore left hanging above them, like the sword of Damocles; a condition not conducive to peace of mind or even to the best possible exercise of judgment. That it will expedite satisfactory legislation by Congress is more to be hoped than to be expected.

Meantime the mischievous if not malicious clamor for extended if not perpetual Government control is renewed, coupled with attacks upon the most promising of the measures of railroad legislation now under consideration. The American Federation of Labor and various affiliated organizations are urging that the roads be left in the hands of the Government for at least two years longer, so as to give the system a thorough "peace-time test." A more astounding counsel of madness it would be difficult to imagine; unless indeed its ulterior purpose be to compel permanent Government control and outright ownership, or something worse. The experiment of Government management has thus far cost the taxpayers of the nation nearly two billion dollars, has enormously increased the cost of railroad traffic to the

public and at the same time decreased its efficiency to a point of almost inconceivable demoralization, and has placed almost every road on the brink of potential bankruptcy. And yet it is proposed to continue such a system for two years more!

We have suggested that the ulterior purpose may be something worse than mere Government ownership. It may mean not so much ownership by the Government as ownership of the Government. For it is to be noted that every one of these advocates of extension of Government control is equally voluble and emphatic in deprecating and denouncing any interference with the right of organized strikes by railroad employees. What is the inevitable logic of the two demands thus placed together? The Government is to control and operate the roads; therefore it is to be the employer of all the employees. The men, organized into unions, are to retain unimpaired the right to strike at any time; therefore they are to have the right to strike against the Government.

The demand is, in effect, that the whole transportation system of the nation, the most important industry of the nation, is at all times to be subject to disturbance and paralysis, that the chief of all the public services is to be liable to indefinite suspension, and that the Government of the United States is to be subject to dictation and coercion from a small class of its citizens, at the will of some professional agitators seeking some end opposed to the policy of the Government itself. There used to be some talk—we have heard mighty little of it in recent years—about the railroads controlling or owning the Government. This present proposition of Mr. Gompers and his associates provides in the baldest manner for the ownership and control of the Government, body, soul and boots, by the unions of railroad employees. Perhaps we should not be greatly surprised at their making the demand, after the manner in which the Administration has catered and cringed to them. But in the last analysis the Government of this country is not any temporary Administration, but the whole people; and ownership of the whole people by any class thereof is something which we do not expect to see in the Twentieth Century.

A Cabinet of Changes

THE long-expected announcement of Franklin K. Lane's impending resignation from the Cabinet is made at last, and it may unhesitatingly be said that its fulfillment will cause more regret to the Nation, and probably less to the President, than any other of the numerous Cabinet changes in this Administration, with the exception of that of Mr. Garrison, with which this will be in some respects about at par. Mr. Lane as Secretary of the Interior has been one of the most intelligent, industrious, judicious and efficient Cabinet Ministers that we have had for many years, and has rendered invaluable services to the nation. That he has not for a long time enjoyed the confidence and favor of the President has been an open secret, and is a circumstance which must redound greatly to his credit. The origin of the President's coldness toward him was doubtless in Mr. Wilson's characteristic dislike to be associated with any one whom he cannot completely dominate and over-

shadow. But the feeling came to an irremediable climax when Mr. Lane committed the doubly unpardonable sin first of adopting a policy at variance with the President's—or with that of the President's favorites—and second of having the logic of events prove that he was right and the President, or his favorites, wrong.

That occurred, of course, in the coal controversy, at the beginning of the war. Mr. Lane as Secretary of the Interior, made an agreement with the operators, to run their mines at full capacity, at a stipulated price, which he and pretty much everybody else regarded as fair. But Mr. Baker, Secretary of War, and one of the ablest public officials the President has ever known, butted in with a public denunciation of the price as exorbitant, and refused, as Chief Cook of the war-waging combination, to approve the agreement. Of course, the President backed up one of the ablest public officials he has ever known, Mr. Lane's agreement was abrogated, and there was a general shutting down of mines. The result was such a coal famine as the country had never known, with heatless days and lightless nights and an appalling increase in the death-rate; and incidentally the public had to pay higher prices for the little coal it got than it would have had to pay under Mr. Lane's arrangement.

William J. Bryan got out because his and the President's brands of pacifism would not mix well. Lindley M. Garrison got out because he believed in preparedness, and the President just then for political reasons pretended not to. James G. McReynolds got out to go upon the Supreme Bench. Thomas Watt Gregory got out for business reasons. William G. McAdoo got out because there was more money in the Movies and a better chance to run for the succession to the Real Throne of Administration. Carter Glass got out to become a Senator. William C. Redfield got out, presumably, because he was tired of being made the goat. And now Mr. Lane is about to go. Just four of the original Cabinet remain: William B. Wilson, who may quit the Labor Department any day, or may stick it out to the end; David F. Houston, who, having put his hand to the plow will not look back; Sir Josephus Daniels, who, having learned to let others run the department for him, is not half as bad a First Lord of the Admiralty as he might be; and Albert Sidney Burleson, formerly Politicalmaster-General, who stands unique and alone as the world's worst manhandler and bedeviller of the mails. Well, there is still time for several more changes.

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Prohibition With Justice

PROHIBITION may or may not be a good thing. That is a matter of opinion, on which good men differ.

But however good it may be, it cannot be superior to justice. That is a proposition concerning which there is no room for difference of opinion. If we are to have prohibition, it must be legally adopted and enforced in accordance with principles of justice and equity.

There is a disposition on the part of some, including certain of those Anti-Saloon League managers who have lately exerted so extraordinary an influence in legislative affairs, and who are now loudly proclaiming their purpose of taking the lead in enforcing the law whose enactment they have secured, to regard the liquor trade as essentially illegal and those engaged in it as law-breakers. Therefore, they argue, suppression of the traffic is to be practised just as we practice suppression of gambling or burglary or any other crime, and the wine-grower or liquor dealer who suffers loss from the confiscation of his property and the destruction of his business is no more entitled to indemnity than the gambler is for the destruction of his "lay-out" or the burglar for the confiscation of his house-breaking tools.

Such an attitude toward the business and those engaged in it is absolutely illogical, unjust, and immoral. The liquor industry has been just as legal as any occupation in which any member of the Anti-Saloon League is engaged. The Government, National, State and municipal, has so recognized it. It has not only recognized it, but it has encouraged it, at public expense. The National Government has taken large sums of money from the public treasury, money in part provided by prohibitionist taxpayers, and has appropriated and expended it for the promotion of wine making in the United States. It has thus stamped that industry with official sanction and commendation. It has thus encouraged and induced men to engage in that industry, and to invest immense sums of money in it. It has, moreover, itself profited from the business to the extent of billions of dollars, paid to it in taxes and license fees.

To say that now the Government is to treat the business and all engaged in it as outlaws, whose property is to be destroyed without compensation, would be to flout the most elementary and fundamental principles of justice and morality. The Government cannot refuse consideration to those from whom it has so enormously profited. It cannot condemn, as illegal from the beginning, a business which it itself fostered, commended and promoted. If we concede, for the sake of argument, that it has the right and the power to abolish the business, that right and power must rest upon precisely the same basis that they would in the case of such abolition of any other business—of canning tomatoes, or making kid gloves. We suppose that if it were proved, or if a sufficient number of legislators could be persuaded, that canned tomatoes were the source of all our social ills, or that kid gloves were dragging the nation down to hell, we might presently have constitutional amendments forever prohibiting those pernicious enterprises. But since they had hitherto been not only countenanced but cordially approved

and encouraged from time out of mind, it would be conceded that the innocent participants in them should be in some way enabled to close up their establishments without loss.

It will manifestly be impossible, no matter how sincerely the Government may try, fully to indemnify all for the losses which they innocently suffer through the enforcement of the prohibition amendment. But that is no reason why it should not make indemnification as fairly as it can; and it is a strong reason for affording prospective sufferers every possible opportunity to get out of the abolished business with the utmost minimum of loss.

Only Postponed

THE protest which the Central Pennsylvania coal operators, controlling 700 mines, have lodged against the so-called "settlement" of the coal strike, which was accepted by the leaders of the United Mine Workers at Indianapolis, goes to the heart of the matter. They say:

Resolved, that in accepting this method of settling the wage controversy, the operators of Central Pennsylvania earnestly protest against the form of the Commission and its powers. They demand that a representative Commission, similar to that which settled the anthracite strike in 1902, be appointed and empowered to investigate by public hearings the facts which the American people have a right to know, and the principles upon which depend the future peace and prosperity of this country and the safety of democratic institutions.

To neglect this duty is to surrender this industry and other basic industries to an overbearing group that has welded coal labor into a weapon for use against American freedom and the principle of majority rule upon which this Republic was founded.

As a matter of fact, the so-called "settlement" is no settlement at all. It is a temporizing postponement. Undoubtedly a great sigh of relief went up from the country when the announcement was made that the strike was ended; that the Labor Barons of the mining industry had graciously consented that the American people need not freeze to death; that cities might escape being plunged into darkness; that transportation and thousands of industries might go on; that hundreds of thousands of men and women might escape being thrown out of employment in the dead of winter. Naturally there was great relief at these liberal concessions.

But, in the elation over the fact that 110,000,000 people had thus been relieved from this sentence of destruction, it should not be forgotten, as the Pennsylvania operators point out, that the escape may be only temporary. We are still under the cloud of the Labor Barons' displeasure. Their sentence of wide-spread havoc upon us has been indulgently suspended; that is all. Nothing is settled. No definite adjustment of anything is contemplated under the powers granted to the Commission to be appointed by the President. The investigations of that Commission are to be confined solely to questions of wages, living costs, and prices. It may "find" this, that, or the other to be the case regarding either of these matters, and the leaders of the Mine Workers may, or may not, approve these findings. If they do not approve them, the strike is open to immediate renewal, so that, at the end of the sixty days specified, we may find ourselves precisely where we were when the original strike began, plus a few weeks' respite from industrial paralysis and wholesale deaths from freezing and starvation.

There is no plan under consideration to tie up the coal

miners by an enforceable contract. And what contract would be enforceable against them? What contract is there which they would not repudiate if they saw fit? The original strike was in direct violation of a wage contract approved by the Government and to continue until April 1, 1920, or until the declaration of peace, if such declaration came prior to that date. It was a strike in flat defiance of law.

If the Mine Workers repudiated their contract then, what reason is there to suppose they would not do the same again, even if the Commission's powers went so far as to make a contract possible which, as a matter of fact, they do not? As the Pennsylvania operators recite, "the vital principles at stake are not mentioned (in the Commission agreement), nor is any protection offered the public against the recurrence of the same catastrophe in the near future."

"The method proposed by Dr. Garfield," the operators continue, "was interfered with by Government officials who knew little of the situation. The problem was taken out of his hands. The operators and the public, as a result, have been delivered into the hands of the United Mine Workers of America."

Precisely. Just as the railroads and the public were delivered into the hands of the railroad brotherhoods when President Wilson steadied the hand which held the pistol at the head of Congress until it passed the Adamson bill. Another Presidential election was pending then, just as there is one pending now. Son-in-law McAdoo is early in the arena. "Millions of railroad men, and all voters," was his slogan then. "Millions of miners, and all voters," again inspire him for the fray.

Meantime, what the country sorely needs is a real show-down. So far as the coal strike "settlement" and the Commission's powers are concerned, that show-down is nowhere in sight. It is only postponed.

Congress and Foreign Affairs

THE emotions with which the President regarded the decision of the Supreme Court on the war-time prohibition question must have been of the kind proverbially spoken of as more easily imagined than described. Indeed, we should under no circumstances attempt to describe them, for fear of the pains and penalties of *lèse majesté*. Think of it! A tribunal several of whose members were appointed by President Wilson himself, unanimously declaring, through the medium of one of the President's own appointees, that "a treaty is only a proposal until approved by the Senate." It would be contempt of court to speak of pygmy-minded justices, or of contemptible quitters on the bench. Yet in what other phrases could the Executive mind appropriately express itself in contemplation of such an opinion?

This *obiter dictum* of the court is, however, merely one of the latest and most weighty of a number of authorities contradicting the President's exaggerated estimate of his personal or official importance in the direction of our foreign relations. To the proposition that as a general rule the initiative in diplomatic affairs should as a matter of convenience and order be taken by the President, assent will of course be given. But

the cocksure generalization, that "the initiative in directing the relation of our Government with foreign Governments is assigned by the Constitution to the Executive only," is, with all due respect to its propounder, arrant nonsense, which is saved from being condemned as perniciously false only by its palpable absurdity.

The Constitution contains not the slightest hint of any such assignment of initiative as the President ascribes to it. The only assignment of power in foreign affairs, initial or otherwise, is found in the prescriptions that he shall have power, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to make treaties and to appoint ambassadors, ministers and consuls, and that he shall receive ambassadors and ministers. That is all. On the other hand, the Congress is explicitly invested with the power and the initiative to do a number of things most essentially and momentously "directing the relations of our Government with foreign Governments." It has the power to make tariff laws, to regulate commerce with foreign nations, to make naturalization laws, to define and punish offences against the law of nations, and to declare war. And in these highly important functions affecting our foreign relations the House of Representatives as well as the Senate is concerned.

Nor is the President more fortunate in his appeal to authorities than in his personal *ipse dixit*. The authority of precedent is against him. As early as the beginning of 1791, so great a Constitutional authority as James Madison entered into a discussion with another so great authority as Edmund Pendleton concerning the power of abrogating treaties. To Madison's mind there were three possible courses. One was, that treaties should be abrogated as they were made, by the President and Senate. The second was, that as treaties are, under the Constitution, part of the supreme law of the land, they must be repealed as are any other laws, by act of both Houses of Congress approved by the President. The third was that while some treaties might be abrogated by the President and Senate, a treaty of peace could be annulled only with the coöperation of both Houses of Congress, since its abrogation would be tantamount to a declaration of war, which must be an act of the whole Congress.

It is interesting to recall that while Madison did not at that time express any positive opinion concerning these three courses, the third of them was in fact adopted by the Government on the very first occasion when it was necessary to abrogate a treaty. That was in 1798, while Congress was still dominated by the actual makers of the Constitution. At that time Congress took the initiative in abrogating the existing treaties between the United States and France. It did this by enacting a law, in form precisely like all other acts of Congress, forming Chapter LXVII of the U. S. Statutes. As any other enactment of Congress, it was, after passage by both Houses, submitted to the President for his approval, and he—John Adams—approved it. He thus acquiesced in setting that memorable precedent of the right and power of Congress on occasion to take the initiative in regulating the foreign relations of this country.

One other example may profitably be recalled, of much

later date. Eight years ago it was necessary to abrogate a treaty of long-standing with Russia. The initiative was ostensibly taken by the House of Representatives, which by a practically unanimous vote adopted a resolution to that effect; which was, of course, to be acted upon by the Senate and then sent to the President, just as had been done a hundred and thirteen years before. There was no protest against that. The President did not rage against it as a grave and ominous departure from Constitutional usage. But he did state that he himself had already prepared to take action to the same effect, in conjunction with the Senate, which was his colleague in the treaty-making and therefore, he assumed, in the treaty-abrogating, power. Thus he indicated his preference for the first of the three courses suggested by Madison. In this the House acquiesced out of courtesy to the President—Mr. Taft. So the President prepared the needed notice of abrogation, and the Senate gave its advice and consent to its promulgation. But then the Senate insisted upon sending it to the House, for its approval also; which the House of course gave, with only a single dissenting vote.

Thus, it is interesting to observe, the record shows adoption in turn of all three of Madison's suggestions. The third of them was adopted in 1798, when both Houses of Congress passed the abrogation measure because it might be tantamount to a declaration of war. The first was adopted by Mr. Taft in 1911, when he proposed to abrogate by act of the treaty-making power alone. And the second was adopted by the Senate, with the President's acquiescence, in 1911, when that body sent the abrogation act to the House of Representatives for its vote, not because it was tantamount to a declaration of war but because it was a repeal of a part of the supreme law of the land. But in not one of these cases, nor in any other, can we perceive the slightest support for President Wilson's dictatorial arrogation of the sole and exclusive initiative.

Hardly Accurate

Throughout its wearisome debate the Senate jealously asserted its right to advise and consent, and yet it has advised and consented to nothing.—*The New York World*.

W RONG again. The Senate "advised" that the Treaty carry with it certain reservations based on the proposition that the Government of these United States still lives, and shall continue to live, at Washington, and not be transferred to a foreign super-Government with headquarters in Switzerland; together with sundry other wholesome provisions aimed to conserve that national independence on which the American people have always entertained very positive opinions.

So far as Senate "consent" is concerned, that was refused by the Senate on the explicit order of the President himself, by him formally conveyed to his partisan followers in that body. The Senate had already "advised," and if the President had seen fit to submit the Treaty with notification of his acceptance of that advice, there is little doubt that the "consent" would have been forthcoming.

In the words of Justice Brandeis, which we have quoted elsewhere, "by the Constitution a treaty is only a proposal until approved by the Senate." The proposal was submitted; the conditions on which it would be approved were attached to the smothering mass of garments in which the Treaty was wrapped up, and the pestiferous infant deposited on the President's doorstep.

But now the President himself, it seems, has shut the door on his offspring.

Meantime, the world seems to be taking its chances of dying of a broken heart with almost a jocular fortitude. Even Mr. Hitchcock does not appear to be manifesting any very alarming cardiac symptoms.

Too Expensive

Mr. La Follette's speech will be published entire after it shall have been concluded.—*Congressional Record, Dec. 11.*

A ND he talked for five days straight! Let us see about what the American tax-payer had to pay for this little flight of oratory, which was delivered to empty Senatorial seats, and which no human being, save perchance Mr. La Follette himself, will ever read.

It costs \$60.00 a page to get out the *Congressional Record*. Any average, able-bodied orator will fill a *Record* page in about ten minutes' talk. That is six pages an hour. There are no statistics to determine just how many hours per day Mr. La Follette talked, but even he probably would not be able to put in more than a four-hour day at it. Say he talked four hours a day for five days. That would come to a 20-hour continuous flow at the rate of \$360.00 per hour, the whole totting up to the sizeable little figure of \$7,200.00.

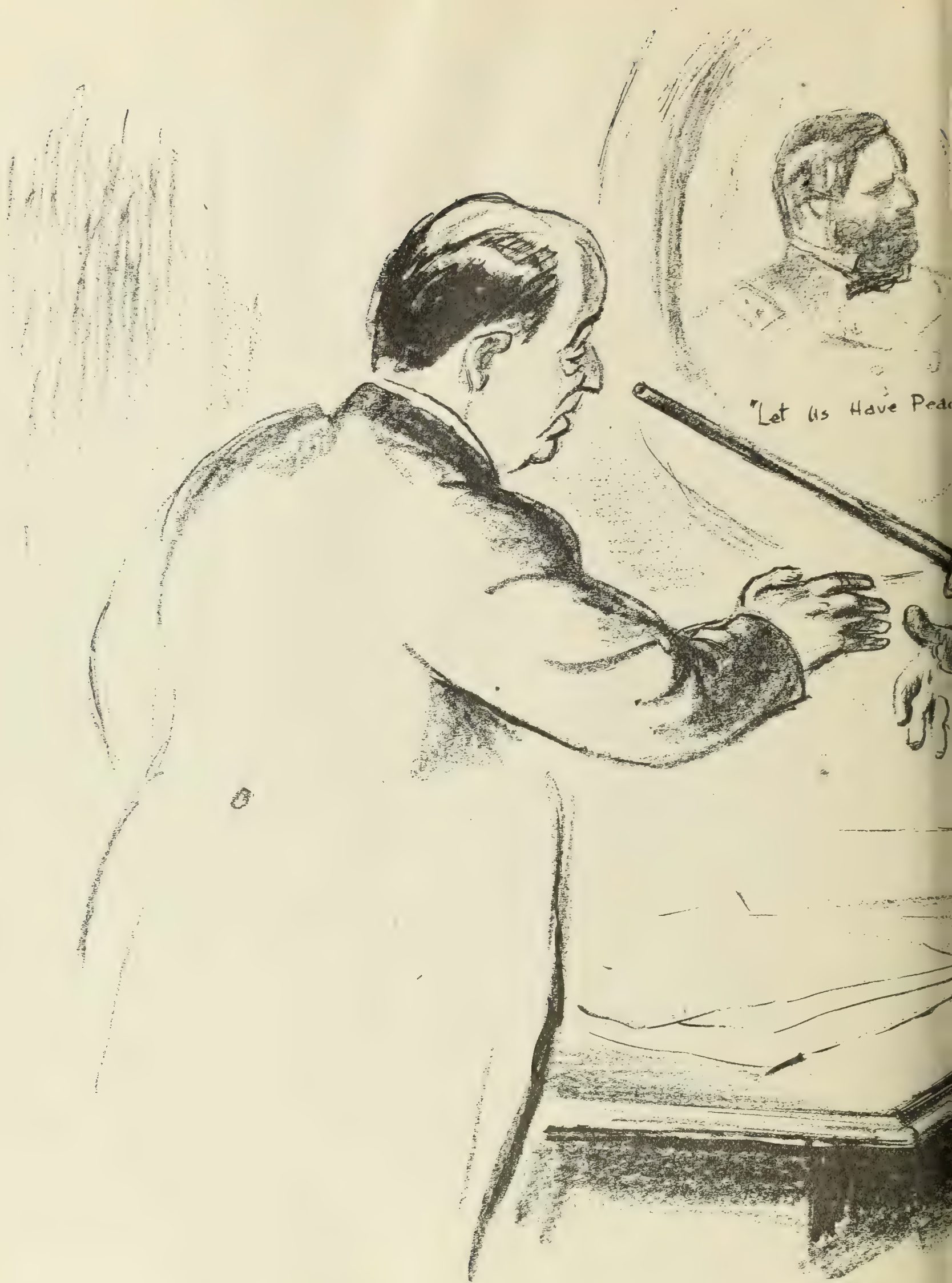
This, of course, is saying nothing of the dead loss of valuable time in delaying enactment of the vitally important railroad bill about which the Wisconsin Senator was speaking his mercilessly interminable piece.

Mr. La Follette has long been celebrated, or notorious, for these linguistic deluges. Probably he prides himself on his long-distance record. It is with him almost exclusively a physical matter. He does not dig deep for his thought treasures. Of course Mr. La Follette is by no means the only member of Congress who fills up the costly pages of the *Record*, but he seems to be about the only one who is without even rudimentary scruples of conscience on the subject.

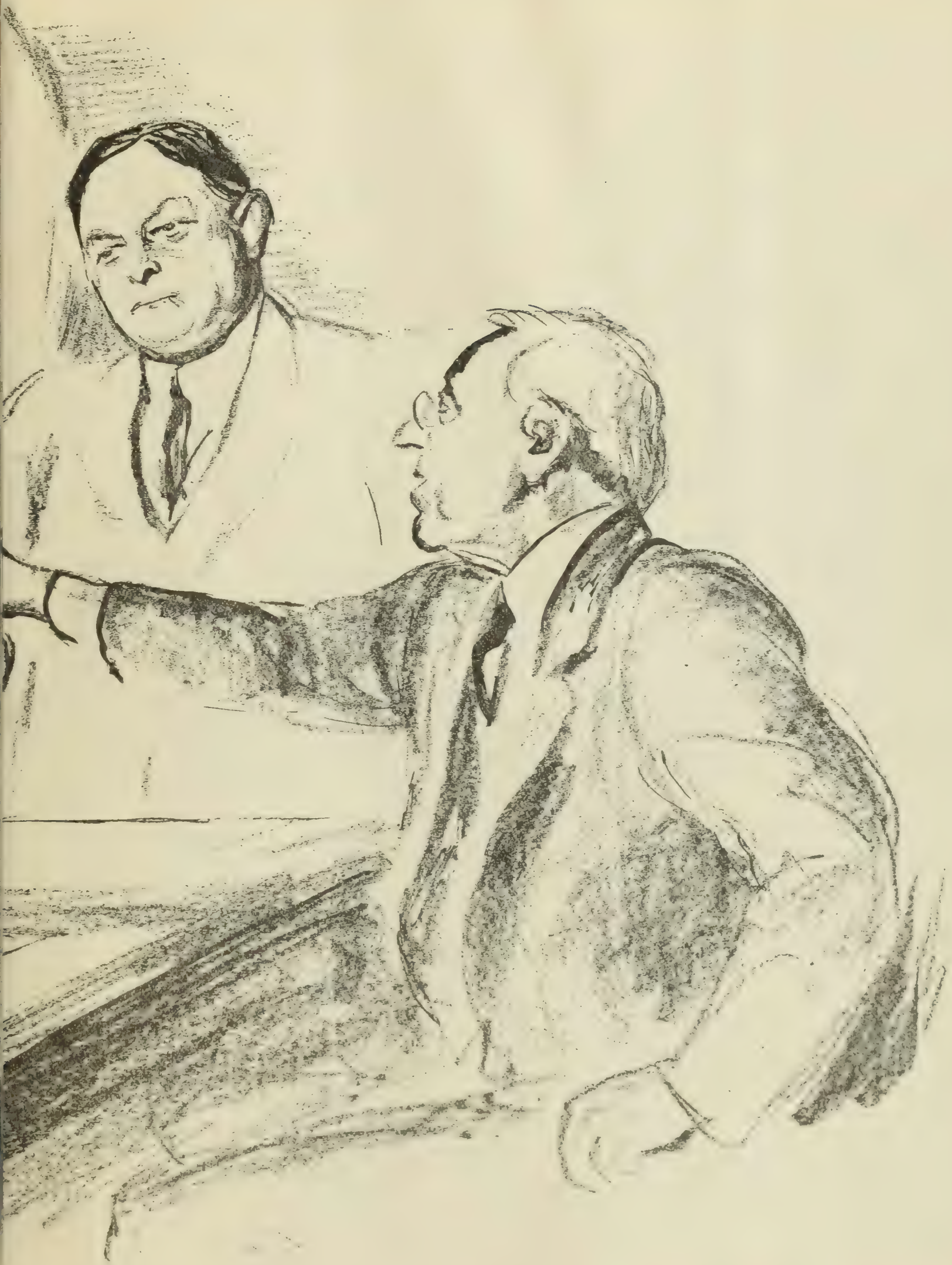
If Senators or Representatives wish to "extend their remarks," or to talk everybody deaf, dumb and blind for nearly a week at a stretch, they ought to do it at their own expense, and not load the unconscionable stenographic and printing bills on the suffering public. Probably this reform never can or will be effected. But it ought to be.

An atmosphere of unreality pervades the Senate situation.—*The New York Times*.

Naturally, when a majority of the minority are not real Senators but merely rubber stamps of the White House.



"LET US NOT
IS THIS TO B



AVE PEACE”

ANSWER?

The Week

WASHINGTON, December 22, 1919.

THE cry of "Peace by Christmas!" aroused a certain mocking memory of the vainglorious babbling of Edsel, the Slacker's father, in the midst of the war, of "getting the boys out of the trenches before Christmas." There was, however, a radical and irreconcilable contrast between them. The palaver of the "Peace ship" expressed not only the impossible but the supremely undesirable. To have made peace at that time in that way would have been to betray humanity to its foes. Whatever its intent, or its imagined intent, the practical purport of the thing was infernal. The present demand for peace, on the other hand, is for that which is both possible and supremely desirable. It is a demand for that which we should have had long ago, and would have had but for the exaltation of doctrinaire egotism above rational and practical human nature.

We may say more than that. The demand for peace is a demand for something that we should and would have had long ago, had the signatories of the Treaty of Versailles had the courage of their professions and had they fulfilled the specific promise of their compact. There is not a word in that instrument about its going into force being dependent upon ratification by the American Government. It was to become effective as soon as there had been deposited the ratifications of any three of the five great Powers. But that provision was not fulfilled. That it was not, meant one of two things. Either the Powers in making it acted thoughtlessly or insincerely, or else they deliberately repudiated their own pledge. Either explanation of their course is lamentable beyond expression.

The belated inclination of Democratic Senators to revolt against the arbitrary despotism of the President is to be commended on the principle of "never too late to mend," though their present spirit is one of the bitterest possible reproaches upon their past conduct. Theologians may maintain the theoretical efficiency of deathbed repentance for salvation, but the thing will never in practice command admiration. There was a time, long ago, when if Senators had acted according to their own sincere convictions, instead of cringing under the White House whip, the matter of peace-making would have been settled promptly, honorably and profitably. That is now impossible. No matter what settlement may now be made, the delay has occurred and cannot be recalled. The dishonor has been incurred and cannot be purged away. The loss has been suffered, and cannot be recouped. Nevertheless, we are willing to concede that deathbed, or eleventh hour, repentance is better than none at all.

His latest outburst of petulance was by no means the first in which the President proclaimed "no compromises and no concessions" in treaty-making. Nearly a year ago he assumed the same tone toward his European colleagues at Paris. They wanted him to modify some of the terms and conditions which he prescribed for them, but he would not. "No compromises and no concessions" was his ar-

rogant answer to their pleading. Of course, he backed himself up with the pretence of an American mandate, in a double way. He gave them to understand that he had been commanded thus and so by this nation, and that he durst not disobey his instructions; and also that if they did not yield to his demands, they could not hope for the indispensable aid of America in the *post bellum* readjustments of their affairs. Because of the very efficient censorship which he had established before going over there, they were unable to ascertain the true condition of affairs, and so accepted his representations as correct; and therefore yielded. His first refusals of compromises or concessions here were based on the pretence, than which he apparently assumed we would know no better, that the European Powers would not accept any modifications or reservations. Of course, no well informed or thoughtful American ever believed that at any time, and at last it was made indisputably plain that the European Powers were quite ready to acquiesce in whatever necessary reservations we might make. So he had at the end to fall back upon "no compromises and no concessions" for no reason whatever but his own stubborn will.

Speaking of the recent bye-election in a North Carolina Congressional district, in which a follower of the President squeezed through by a greatly reduced majority, the ever-faithful *Evening Post* of New York made these two observations in the self-same issue:

If the Democrat, Hoey, has 2,000 majority, as reported, he has only 500 less than Congressman Webb got in 1916. (Page 12, Col. 1.)

Two years ago Webb, Democrat, received a majority at 4,152 over the Republican candidate. (Page 1, Col. 6.)

That is to say: $2,000 + 500 = 4,152$.

The resignation of Mr. Paderewski as Prime Minister of Poland, after having been the chief organizer of the restored Polish realm and nation, and the promised retirement of Captain d'Annunzio from Fiume, after having won that place for Italy, are impressive reminders of the capacity of men of thought to be also men of action. A few years ago, when American audiences were listening with rapture to the halo-haired virtuoso as he wrought miracles upon the keyboard, the thought of his being the statesman leader of a great nation would have seemed fantastic; while readers of the voluptuous imaginings of the Italian poet would have laughed to derision the prophecy that he would one day be the hero of one of the most daring military campaigns in history, and as a soldier would stand—and conquer—practically against the world. Still, in old times poets and musicians were often also warriors and statesmen and sovereigns, and there is no reason to wonder at like manifestations in our own day.

The suit of the State of Rhode Island, against the Prohibition Amendment, is decidedly novel and unusual, if not unique, but it must obviously be regarded much more seriously than it apparently is by some Anti-Saloonatics who affect derision at what they describe as an attempt to challenge the constitutionality of the Constitution. It is per-

fectly legitimate to call into question the constitutionality not of the Constitution but of something which somebody is trying to append to the Constitution as an amendment. The notion that any amendment which may be adopted is necessarily valid is quite absurd. The Constitution cannot be made self-contradictory, and any amendment conflicting with a previously existing provision cannot be valid unless the earlier provision is specifically repealed. The Prohibition Amendment does not repeal or annul any sections of the Constitution with which it may conflict; wherefore the Constitution as it was before must stand unimpaired, and if the amendment conflicts with it, the amendment must fail and be declared invalid. The Supreme Court is, of course, the tribunal which must decide the question of such conflict, and the State of Rhode Island is quite right in bringing it before it.

One of the suggestions for legislation which have been made as a result of the recent investigations at Ellis Island is deserving of very careful consideration, although it applies to native citizens and not to immigrants. It is to the effect that every young American shall be required to take a formal oath of allegiance upon attaining the age of twenty-one. At present nothing of the kind is required, but every person born in the United States automatically becomes a citizen and voter without any formality whatever. Of course, there will be a lot of objections to the proposed oath. We remember that during the war some school teachers resented it as a reflection upon their patriotism and honor to require them to affirm their loyalty; though we believe that those who did so were largely of the pro-German persuasion. But we cannot imagine any loyal and right-minded American as objecting to profess his loyalty on any occasion. Boys and girls in school are in the habit, in many schools daily, of saluting the Flag and in doing so of pledging their allegiance to it and to the government and nation which it represents. There is no reason why any of them should demur at repeating that pledge once more, as a part of the celebration of his or her coming of age.

The Rev. Lieutenant B. W. Maynard was more successful in winning the transcontinental aviation race than he was in afterward expressing his opinion on the question of drink; or at any rate in having his opinion used as propaganda by the Anti-Saloon folk. He says that they garbled or juggled what he said, so as to make it a lie. They say they didn't. It may be embarrassing to have to choose between them; but—Lieutenant Maynard is regarded by all who know him as a scrupulously truthful man.

A welcome Christmas gift to a long-suffering nation was the judgment of the Federal Court at Kansas City in the case of a gang of twenty-seven potential traitors. These "I Won't Work" scoundrels had been conspiring to break the laws of the country and to defeat their operation, to deprive the people of food and fuel, to cause the defeat of our army and navy in the war, to promote the success of

Germany and the German conquest of America, and the overthrow and destruction of the United States as an independent Republic. Every one of them richly deserved to be stood between a blank wall and a firing squad, and probably would have been thus treated in any country but this. As it was, seeing that the law did not provide for such disposition of them, the court had to be content with sending them to prison for from three to nine years apiece and, in the case of the head devil of the gang, until the costs of the prosecution are paid. It was a good day's work; entirely appropriate to the season which promises "peace on earth to men of good will." There can be no better way of assuring peace to men of good will than by putting men of evil will where "the wicked cease from troubling." Now, if only there could be a few more such days' work, including some such summary disposition of the infernal fools who will presently be weeping and howling for the release of these "political prisoners"!

The fine old Christmas pantomime of "The Coon and Colonel Crockett" was duly performed with distinction and eclat before a vastly diverted company of spectators. The Big Five packing corporations impersonated the Coon with the grace, agility and humor for which that natural comedian of the woods is noted; while as the stern and resolute Colonel Crockett the Attorney General performed an appropriate quiver of the sinister eyelid, and conspicuously displayed a placard "Loaded" on the barrel of his trusty rifle. The assembled spectators greatly admired the coming down of the Coon, and at the hour of this writing were still awaiting with fond expectancy the consequent and corresponding descent of the High Cost of Living.

Mr. Lloyd George was very courteous and considerate in disavowing any disrespect to America in the intention of the Allies to make peace with Turkey at the earliest possible moment without waiting for this country, but his well-meant apologies were in fact superfluous. There is not the slightest reason in the world why the Allies should wait, or should have waited, a single minute for America in peace-making with the Turk. This country has never been at war with the Ottoman Empire. Perhaps it ought to have been, but it wasn't, and we really don't see why it should now be looked to to make peace with a Power with which it has always been at peace.

Time was, for ever so long, when the English pound was regarded as the most stable standard of monetary value in the world. Lately it gave place to the American dollar. And now we are told that the Argentine peso stands at the head of the list. Our own impression is that any of the three is good enough for legal tender anywhere, at any time.

What a splendid Christmas ship—for the United States—was the vessel that left the port of New York December 21, laden with Reds for Russia!

This country cannot undertake to set the whole world on its feet.—*Mr. Lloyd George, in the British Parliament.*

Neither can the United States.

Some Lessons of the Soviets

IN the great Moscow mining district under capitalism in 1917 there were raised 50,000,000 poods of coal; and in 1918, under the efficiency of the Soviet, only 22,000,000 poods.

In 1914-15 twenty-five Russian mills, under the blighting influence of bourgeois capitalism, produced 10,000,000 poods of sugar; while in 1918-19, under the benign stimulus of the Soviet, their product was 2,000,000 poods. How quickly would our scarcity be transformed into a surplus if only we were wise enough to adopt the Soviet!

Note general industries. Before the Soviet came, in Petrograd there were 400,000 workingmen, of whom 250,000 were in the various metal trades. After seven months of the Soviet there were, all told, 120,000, of whom 64,000 were metal workers. And today the grand total of workmen in all trades is scarcely 75,000. Thus mightily does the Soviet promote the industrial arts.

Perhaps it is well. If the former numbers were kept at work under the Soviet, goodness only knows what would not happen. The printing trades of Petrograd in the last half of 1918 showed a deficit of 13,500,000 rubles. The numbers of workmen were reduced, yet still in the first half of 1919 the deficit was 39,710,000 rubles. The numbers were still further reduced, but despite that fact it is estimated that the deficit for the last half of this year will be more than 47,600,000 rubles. Great are the profits of the Soviet!

How can these things be? Perhaps some light will be thrown upon the business management of Sovietland by the fact, officially reported, that a group of industries in 1918 produced goods valued at 143,000,000 rubles, and to effect that production paid in wages 648,000,000 rubles. How American manufacturers must envy a system under which four and a half dollars are paid in wages to produce one dollar's worth of goods!

Obviously, this must lead to one of two things: Reaction or ruin. It came mighty close to the latter, and then swung sharply to the former, until under Bolshevism more tyrannical and arbitrary methods were employed than the bourgeois capitalists of Czarism ever dared contemplate. Coercion, lockouts, deprivation of food ration cards, enforced labor, are the resorts of the Soviet to stimulate production. "Whereas," says Nicholas Lenine, "up to now the workingman has been complete master of the factories, today the Revolution demands the unqualified submission of the workingman to the directors of all undertakings."

Such is the benign freedom of the Soviet, in which the workingman is emancipated from wage-slavery and from the oppression of the capitalist and is made the controller of his own industry. Last June the six-hour day was abolished by arbitrary decree, and there was substituted a 48-hour week in industry, and a 66-hour week in agriculture. True, wage slavery was abolished, and in its place was put the piece system, so hated of our labor unions. But even piece workers were compelled by law to work 48 hours a week, and were penalized if they were late at their places, or if they slighted their work.

Under our benighted non-Soviet system, men would strike

against such treatment. But in Sovietland if they try striking they are met with a lockout ordered by the Government, and with deprivation of their food ration cards, and are thus starved into submission.

Such are the practical object lessons which the Soviet presents to the world. We commend them to the consideration, not of the feather-brained parlor Bolsheviks, but to the hard-headed working-men of America whom the former are trying to blandish and seduce. Before talking about adopting the Soviet system here, it is well to understand what the Soviet system means.

Our Defaulting Government

MORE than two years ago a citizen of New York City entrusted a package to the mails, for transmission to another citizen up in New Hampshire. The full rate of postage was prepaid upon it, and at the suggestion if not solicitation of the Government an additional fee was paid to insure the package against loss; the Government thus entering into a contract to transmit the package safely, or to pay a certain amount as indemnity if it failed to do so.

It did fail to do so. Like other packages and letters innumerable, that particular package, to which because of the insurance the Government was supposed to pay special attention, was never delivered to the person to whom it was addressed. Some weeks later the sender filed a claim for the promised indemnification. But the Government did not respond. Probably it thought that it was unreasonably soon to collect the insurance. The package might yet be delivered. It had been on the road only a few weeks, and it had three or four hundred miles to go. Why be in such a rush about it?

The sender was impatient. As weeks lengthened into months she wrote again and again, asking that the package be delivered, or returned to her, or that the insurance be paid. As months lengthened into years, she recalled the parable of the importunate widow and the judge "which feared not God, neither regarded man"; and she kept on with her requests for a settlement. At last she got results. Two years, one month and nine days after the mailing of the package she received a letter from the Government, admitting that the package had never been delivered, that it had been insured, that the Government was liable for the sum for which it was insured; in brief, that her claim was valid and was approved for payment.

And there was a draft enclosed in full settlement of the claim? Not at all. The Government informed her that the claim could not then be paid, because there was not a sufficient sum of money available for the purpose; but application had been made to Congress for an additional appropriation, and as soon as that was secured and made available, a warrant would be mailed to her.

By its own admission, then, the Government has engaged in the business of insuring people's property against loss, accepting special fees for so doing, without making provision for payment for losses when they occur; so that when claims, proved valid, are presented to it for payment, it defaults.

We all know what would be thought, and said, and done, if any private insurance corporation dealt thus with its claimants. Is such practice any more decent when it is performed by the Government itself?

This particular claim, by the way, on which after two years the Government practically confessed judgment and then defaulted, was for the sum of eleven dollars and seventy-five cents. "Further correspondence on the subject," says the Government, "is unnecessary." So is further comment.

Liberty and the Press

IF human life were a mathematical puzzle to be solved by equations and theorems, the first boy in the class to hold up his hand with the right answer would undoubtedly be Mr. Walter Lippmann of the "intelligentsia." His latest solution of our problems is appearing in the *Atlantic Monthly* under the alluring title, "Liberty and the News." Read it and you will learn exactly what the real problem of liberty is; and while Mr. Lippmann is too wary an intellect to pin himself down with specific remedies, he does erect some supposedly significant signposts pointing where society must dig if it would come at the root of illiberality and some day hew it through.

For a start, Mr. Lippmann largely brushes aside the traditional struggle for liberty and free speech by showing to his own satisfaction that these gains mean little more than that society always permits a free discussion of that which it regards as immaterial. The real problem of freedom is far graver and more complex, he holds; it is not to insure free discussion but free discussion based on facts; on truth, not misinformation. Thus Mr. Lippmann gets to his main thesis, which is that the chief trouble with opinion in a democracy is that it is formed not on impartial facts gathered at leisure and expertly by trained observers, but on twisted and mistaken facts, the children of partisanship, haste, and ignorance.

Mr. Lippmann's tentative remedies make his point-of-view clearer. He suggests that every item in a newspaper be signed—to fix personal responsibility. He argues that we should educate reporters, perhaps require a certificate like a barber's or a doctor's—but no, Mr. Lippmann doubts this remedy almost as he proposes it. Rather does he put his trust in the privately endowed bureaus of investigation; and in the organs of groups—if they could only get together and publish one great neutral observer and purveyor of facts! There is something pathetic in the way Mr. Lippmann grasps at remedies only to see them vanish under his touch.

Amid such pretty intellectual exercise—Mr. Lippmann can probably chin his intellect oftener than any other American—it seems a shame to suggest that the effort is wholly waste motion. But we cannot see any other possible conclusion. Mr. Lippmann's real quarrel is not at all with the newspapers or with reporters, but with all human life, which simply refuses to be an exact science. We wonder if Mr. Lippmann ever tried to report the simplest bar-room murder that a police-blotter can record. We wonder if he ever sat

in a court-room and heard sincere and honest witnesses describe anything—and disagree about everything. We wonder if he ever sat in a witness chair himself. "What is the truth about Russia?" What is the truth about last week's laundry list, if you lose it? Did you remember to lock the garage door or did you not? Was the boss angry at you or at his wife's hat bill? When Mr. Lippmann can solve these simple problems of everyday fact, it will be time to promote him to more cosmic adventures.

Truth to tell, there is as yet no known way of recording the stream of human events with anything remotely resembling scientific accuracy. The most we can do is what the best press associations and best newspapers do: send experienced, hard-headed observers to select and record significant facts. There is always room for better reporting, just as there is room for better everything else in this slowly progressing world. But not the best reporting that is humanly possible would eliminate the evils that Mr. Lippmann inveighs against. The trouble is that the observer does not have one fact at a time set neatly before him to consider and dissect. He has a stream of them, a tornado of them, and he must attend to some and miss others, he must stress some and suppress others—and consciously or unconsciously, personal bias, point-of-view, philosophy, emotion, necessarily begin at once to operate.

Luckily, human beings have been worrying along for a good many thousand years by just such rule-of-thumb methods. The truth has a way of surviving, of coming out as a sort of rough product of all the partisanship and bias and heat. The judgment of the centuries is astonishingly accurate; and contemporary judgment or guessing, or whatever you care to call the best process by which human events can be measured, serves well enough. It will doubtless improve a little every century or so. But there is no such short cut to the answer as Mr. Lippmann's reasoning suggests.

Least of all does it lie in any theoretically neutral organ compounded of all the little discontented groups in the universe. Such a sheet might produce plenty of heat, not to say battle, murder and sudden death for its joint editors. It would scarcely produce enough light to fight by.

The coming visit of Admiral Lord Jellicoe to this country will in one respect be of greater interest than that of any other of our distinguished guests, in that it will be a reminder of the value of preparedness. He represents the one and only militant factor on the Allied side that was fully ready to meet the shock the very moment the shock came. It took even gallant and expeditious France five weeks to rally an army that could work the miracle of the Marne, and it took Great Britain a year to create a force able to avenge the sacrifice of the "contemptible little army" which was all she had at the beginning. But at the very drop of the hat the British navy was ready for action and was adequate to the task before it, so that the mastery of the seas was never for a moment in doubt. How great a service was thus rendered to civilization can never be over-estimated; and it is that service of which Admiral Lord Jellicoe is the living reminder.

Ireland and England

SIR,—Allow me to recall your attention to some remarks in your recent article, "Ireland's Nationality." You say: "Ireland has one representative to 45,000 inhabitants, while England has only one to 75,000. Thus in Parliamentary matters Ireland is the most favored member of the United Kingdom." This remark is liable to create a misapprehension.

The largest representation of Irish nationalists in the House of Commons since the Union in 1800, has been 73. This gives the English in legislative matters, over the Irish, a majority of nearly 600. Hence, since 1800 the Irish have never succeeded in having a law passed proposed by them to affect the interests of Ireland. For all practical purposes of legislation since that period the Irish might just as well have not been represented in the House of Commons at all.

You say: "There is not a tax in Ireland that is not also levied in England, while there are some in England and Scotland that are not levied in Ireland, and some that are common to both are lighter in Ireland than in Great Britain." This statement creates an erroneous impression. The taxes levied in England and Scotland are expended in and for the benefit of England and Scotland, whereas a large part of the revenues of Ireland are taken out of Ireland and expended in England solely for the benefit of England. Thus in 1918 the revenues derived by England from Ireland amounted to \$134,325,000, and the expenditures for all purposes in Ireland amounted to \$65,010,000, leaving England a net profit of \$69,315,000.

You say: "There are also various heavy expenses which are local charges in Great Britain and state charges in Ireland." If you mean by "State charges" charges paid by England, you are mistaken, as all governmental charges in Ireland, of every nature, are paid out of the proceeds of taxes levied only in Ireland and paid by the Irish people. You say further: "Thus primary education and police are paid for by local taxation in England and Scotland, but by the general Government in Ireland; so that such services are paid for in part by England and Scotland." This statement is quite erroneous. Education—primary and otherwise—and the police, are paid for by the Irish themselves by taxes levied on their incomes and their property.

You say: "England has provided from the pockets of English taxpayers enormous sums to finance Irish peasant proprietorship * * *." This is a most singular statement to come from a pen always so bright and usually so well informed as yours. When an estate in Ireland is sold to the farmers or the peasants, as you call them, to pay for each farm, bonds equal in amount to the purchase price less the initial payment required to be paid by the purchaser, are issued by the English Government; the purchaser pays the interest and the principal of these bonds, the interest annually, and the principal in equal annual instalments extending over a period usually of about 23 years; England is merely the guarantor of the purchase price and has a first lien on the land as security for its guaranty, so that not a dollar of the purchase price is "provided from the pockets of English taxpayers."

New York City.

J. DELAHUNTY.

First, as to representation in Parliament. We were speaking of the representation of Ireland as a whole, not of any one party or section. We assume that our correspondent will concede the right of Irish Unionists to representation as well as Nationalists. In the late Parliament England, with 34,045,290 population, had 465 members, or one to 73,200; Wales, with 2,025,202, had 30 members, or one to 67,500; Scotland, with 4,670,904, had 72 members, or one to 66,000; and Ireland, with 4,390,219, had 103 members, or one to 42,600.

Second, as to revenues and expenditures. In 1914 England paid in revenue of all kinds, taxes and returns from postal and other services, £162,491,000, and received in expenditures for her benefit only £66,659,500 or 40.7 per cent. Scotland paid in revenue £21,309,500, and received only £10,105,000 or 47.4 per cent. Ireland paid in revenue only £11,134,500, and received in expenditures for her benefit £12,357,000 or 110.8 per cent. We quote figures for 1914, because that was the last fiscal year before the war, under normal conditions. Our correspondent's figures for 1918

are, of course, those for the extraordinary war revenue, and are not pertinent to the general subject. Since he quotes them, however, it may be observed that for the fiscal year 1917-18 England paid £544,334,500 and received £72,607,500, or 13.2 per cent; Scotland paid £77,470,000 and received £10,416,500, or 12.9 per cent; and Ireland paid £26,865,000 and received £13,002,000, or 48.5 per cent.

Third, as to charges for the Irish police and school services. According to "The Statesman's Year-Book," a standard authority, "Irish police and education are mainly provided for from Imperial funds;" while "The New International Encyclopedia," one of the foremost American authorities, says of Ireland: "About 94 per cent of the annual expenditure for schools is borne by the State." That generally means, no doubt, that the Irish school expenses are paid from the general Irish revenues; but when, as in 1914, more is spent for Irish services than Ireland pays into the revenues, the difference must come out of British pockets.

Fourth, as to the Land Purchase Acts. We did not, of course, suggest that England had given land purchase funds outright. She merely advanced funds to finance the greatest scheme of land purchase by tenants that the world has ever seen. Under the Ashbourne act of 1885, £10,000,000 was thus advanced; under the act of 1903 about £152,000,000 was made available; and down to this time approximately £97,500,000 has been actually advanced to transform Irish tenants into freeholders.

Right, for Once!

MR. BURLESON'S remarks about Government employees and labor unions would doubtless have been better received by those to whom they relate if he had not made himself so obnoxious to them by his arbitrary and penurious policy. The bitter complaints of postal employees that they are overworked and underpaid are only too well founded and the responsibility for such conditions must be chiefly placed upon the Postmaster General. It is no doubt gratifying for him to be able to point to a fiscal surplus for the year, something uncommon though by no means unprecedented in postoffice annals. It would be immeasurably more gratifying to have instead of a surplus an efficient service and a contented and loyal army of employees. The Postoffice Department is not designed to be a money-making enterprise, but an agency for carrying and delivering the mails with promptness and security. The overburdened taxpayers of the nation would be willing to forego the small net earnings of the department which Mr. Burleson reports, if only the service were restored to something like its former efficiency; and they would be glad to know that the men who handle their letters were paid as well as and worked no harder than those who sweep the streets and gather the garbage.

Mr. Burleson's egregious faults as an administrator do not, however, destroy the force of truth, even when he states it, and he must be accounted as expressing a vital and pertinent truth when he declares it to be improper for Government employees to give allegiance to any organization which may on any occasion stand between them and the Government.

Letters From Our Readers

MR. HOLT INTERPRETS

SIR,—My attention has been called to a grave injustice which you have done in your current issue, and which I presume you will be willing to remedy.

You cannot do justice to my expressions upon which you animadvert, without quoting the entire passage of which your principal quotation is a part. It is unfortunately long for that purpose, but under the circumstances it is only fair that readers should be left to interpret it for themselves.

It is as follows:

"Was it the Power called God, working through laws that go wider and deeper than our imaginations can, or was it chance, that makes the proposed Peace League the culmination of the most remarkable series of events in human evolution—that made us a nation through an alliance—made us a leagued nation—that demonstrated the stability possible to great leagues, by the shock of our Civil War—that saved democracy and civilization by another alliance, in the world-war—that by that war made the world yearn as never before for lasting peace—that by that same war drove out of civilization autocracy, the age-old destroyer of peace—that through one of the strangest combinations in all politics had made Roosevelt's insatiate ambition elect Wilson—that had given that strange man, despite the faults of his qualities, just the powers needed to lead the nations to the brink of the only experiment yet devised to give them the peace they yearn for—that for the first time brought together nations with enough power, if the experiment's other conditions are workable, to make that League succeed—that had set a cosmopolitan group of the best intellects in the world to devising the experiment, intellects working with an unprecedented degree of the disinterestedness essential to the experiment's success—that left us a universally respected ex-president, of the opposing party, broadminded enough to back up the mighty scheme—and that while the trial of the experiment was under discussion removed to higher spheres, we trust, the one man most likely and most able to obstruct it?"

"The question of trying this experiment is the most important question ever before the human race. It has been shaped up by the most tremendous events in human history, and some of the strangest. Are they mere fortuitous and disconnected freaks of chance, and is the experiment to be regarded merely as meat for party politics, or have the events, throughout, the orderly concatenation of cause and effect which gives to the experiment the sanction of Divine Law?"

If you are correct, Senator Medill McCormick on the strength of those passages said: "I shrink from naming that one proponent of the Covenant who thanked God that Roosevelt is no longer here to join in the debate on the League." If that expression was based on those passages, it was worse than unjustifiable.

I submit that there is nothing in those passages or in my record to justify the interpretation which you have placed upon them. I treated Roosevelt's death as one in a series of great events tending toward a great result, which impressed me as profoundly as anything I ever knew. My feeling throughout was one of absolute and even awed sincerity. In stating my "trust" in his translation to higher spheres, which you interpret as "sardonic" and "doubtful," I simply wished to express faith rather than certainty on a topic where absolute certainty does not yet seem vouchsafed to mortals. Nothing could have been farther from my thoughts, or, I think, less justified by my words, than any implication "through biting sarcasm" of "the belief that after death that spirit which so many humans held to be noble, was condemned by Almighty God as malign." I have never thought of Colonel Roosevelt since his death otherwise than in "higher spheres," in the full exercise of his splendid powers, and more free than here from the danger of the mistakes which besets us all in this mortal life.

New York.

HENRY HOLT.

[Mr. Holt is entitled, of course, to put his own interpretation upon "removed to higher spheres, *we trust*;" we too claim the right to retain ours, already expressed; and the reader has the privilege of making his own.—EDITOR.]

THE FRUITS OF MEDDLING

SIR,—Daily papers so widely apart as the New York *Tribune* and the New York *Times*, came out last week in emphatic criticism of the American policy of refusing to accept the settlement of the Adriatic question proposed by the Italian Government. The *Tribune* spoke of our policy as that of "Washington", and the *Times* spoke of it as that of the American "Gov-

ernment". I prefer the practice of your paper, of calling the Administration by its proper name—Woodrow Wilson.

President Wilson has persistently refused settlements offered by the Italian Government, as well as others suggested by Lloyd George, and André Tardieu on behalf of Clemenceau, and Colonel House—whom the President repudiated in Paris last March because of his advocacy of various compromises, several of which Wilson himself subsequently accepted. The Adriatic problem could have been settled many months ago except for the direct and persistent interference of President Wilson.

The supporters of President Wilson at the Crillon Hotel in Paris informed the European Statesmen that their chief really held a mandate from the American people, and that he would be able to sway public opinion when he returned to this country. But the readers of your paper, at any rate, know that the President holds no mandate, nor authority under the Constitution, to bring the Allied countries to the verge of war and to bring one of them to the verge of revolution by his arbitrary refusal to sanction a settlement of frontiers that is not, mind you, a frontier between Austria and those countries, but between those two allied countries alone.

Men of the ablest understanding in both parties in this country are saying today that the next four years in the United States (as well as in Europe) will be a term requiring the wisest and soundest political leadership. A period of indefiniteness regarding Bolshevism and other forms of socialism will bode ill, not only for this country, which is now the bulwark of civilization, but for Italy, France and England as well. For that reason, I should like, as you seem also to want, to see Leonard Wood as the next President.

New York.

FREDERICK MOORE.

JAMES I AND HIS DOUBLE

SIR,—There are striking similarities between James the First of England and Woodrow Wilson.

A greater scholar than James never sat on the British throne. The White House has never known a more erudite occupant than Wilson. Future historians will say, "Both were writers of books. Both were mighty theorists. Both were woefully deficient when it came to practical matters."

James had a mania for mixing in world affairs to the neglect of home duties of imperative importance. Wilson seems to be another James in this regard. A lack of a sense of humor characterized the King. Ditto of the President. The British ruler was far from possessing the spirit of conciliation. The same is true of the American chief magistrate. It was a point of policy with James not to respond to the popular will. Wilson duplicates. For one example out of many, witness his failure to remove incompetents from the cabinet in defiance of the people's desire. Then remember Buckingham in recalling Burleson. James determined to rule without a Parliament. Wilson has persistently and consistently endeavored to reduce Congress to a nullity, and make himself all in all in our Government. Both in the former King and in the present President an enormous egotism comes to colossal and dangerous fruition.

The chief characteristic of James was his belief in the Divine right of kings. We see the spectacle of the President's contending for Wilsonian infallibility. I cannot escape from the conviction that he considers himself the inerrant mouth-piece of God.

Curious and many are the resemblances between James and Woodrow. I have not exhausted the list of likenesses. They almost make one believe in reincarnation.

Rock Island, Ill.

E. WAYNE STAHL.

DON'T THEY KNOW?

SIR,—Is it true that the Labor Party, just organized in Chicago, has been organized in the interest of Mr. McAdoo for the Presidency? I have been told that the Democratic National Convention is to nominate Mr. McAdoo and that this Labor Party is to indorse Mr. Wilson's son-in-law; that the telegram of Mr. McAdoo taking the side of the coal miners is but an incident of Mr. McAdoo's campaign. Further, that Mr. Frederick C. Howe, formerly Immigration Commissioner at New York City, is the real engineer of the Labor Party for Mr. McAdoo, Mr. Glenn Plumb being Mr. Howe's boss. What do you know about that?

What is the matter with these Democrats, or alleged Democrats, close to the Administration? Do they not know what happened on last Election Day? Do they not know that not a single Democrat of the old Jackson-Tilden-Cleveland type voted for a single Democratic candidate for office—and why? These Democrats voted as they did because they will not have

the great Democratic Party thrust into the lap of the Socialists, I W. W.'s and Syndicalists, and the quicker these alleged Democrats close to the Administration remember this, the better it will be. The same thing is to happen on Election Day, 1920, only a little more so. The Republicans must not take any flattering unction to their souls for the result on last Election Day. The result was brought about purely and simply by the Democrats of whom I speak—real Democrats who will not have their great party flung over to anarchy and ruin.

New York.

S. J. T.

AN AMERICAN'S PLAIN SPEAKING IN JAPAN

SIR,—We find HARVEY'S WEEKLY everywhere out here, and it is handed from hand to hand. The enclosed speech has made rather a splash here—perhaps it is better than the usual hot air, which is not in my line.

Tokio.

C. H. SHERRILL.

[ENCLOSURE]

EXCERPT FROM A SPEECH AT THE AMERICA-JAPAN SOCIETY

BANQUET BY CHARLES H. SHERRILL NOVEMBER 19, 1919.

The "Gentlemen's Agreement" was a wise diplomatic device, which recognized that Japanese immigration to the United States sets up a competition between our labor and the Japanese laborer, who accepts less money and longer hours than our men. It also recognized that this economic undercutting of the American laborer was arousing friction, and you wisely undertook to check it. In your millions of frugal industrious laborers lies your greatest power to conquer the markets of the world. But every rose has a thorn!—and your ability to live cheaper and work longer than Occidentals is the thorn felt by American labor when your rose is transplanted to California.

Believe me, gentlemen, the problem surrounding Japanese immigration into America is an economic and not a racial one. Here is a proof. When I was in California some years ago so bitter was the feeling there against the cheaper living Chinese labor, that it was not safe for Chinamen to walk alone at night in certain quarters of San Francisco. They then called it racial animosity and not economic friction, but, since Chinese immigration has been suspended, and therefore the economic friction removed, Chinamen have become popular in California.

You meet this Chinese immigration question just as we did, for you do not allow cheaper living Chinese or Korean labor to enter Japan to compete with your people. There is no province of Japan where there are 110,000 Chinese to 25,000 Japanese, as today there are 110,000 Japanese to 25,000 Americans in Hawaii, and you are quite right thus to protect your labor from undercutting. There is no province of Japan where foreign labor is increasing by birth or otherwise in far greater proportion than the Japanese, and yet that is true of Japanese foreign labor in California.

Your protection of Japanese labor against Chinese or Korean competition leads me to my promised suggestion. My investigations convince me that beyond doubt the Japanese Government has loyally lived up to both the spirit and the letter of the "Gentlemen's Agreement", but that agreement ought to be supplemented by a "Ladies' Agreement," because the loyal adherence of your Government to the "Gentlemen's Agreement" is being offset by the numerous "picture brides" going from Japan to Japanese laborers in America. Their coming imperils our relations more than you realize, and for reasons difficult for you to understand.

All you see in this "picture bride" system is a proper desire of your men abroad to get wives from home. You are accustomed to marriages being arranged by parents or friends, and therefore cannot grasp how the "picture bride" system surprises and jars upon our people. It isn't a question of right or wrong, but an affront to a long prevailing custom of our country, where we are as greatly attached to free matrimonial choice by both contracting parties themselves, as you are to your reverence for ancestors. Neither of us really understands how strongly the other feels in these regards. Furthermore, perhaps you do not realize that since these "picture brides" are imported by Japanese laborers, they assist their husbands, thus becoming laborers themselves, and thus offsetting the loyalty of your Government to the "Gentlemen's Agreement". And besides, they bear many more children than do the wives of their American neighbors, thus constantly reminding them of the increasing proportion of Japanese to Americans in Hawaii, which brings us right back to the economic competition again.

"Ladies' Agreement" limiting the number of laborer's wives going to America would restore the situation to the wise basis reached by the "Gentlemen's Agreement". The lack of a "Ladies' Agreement" permits economic friction to increase, with a certain result that none of us cares to contemplate.

THE WING OF DEATH

How an American Woman
came to grip with realities
on the battlefield of France

by Elizabeth Shepley Sergeant

IN

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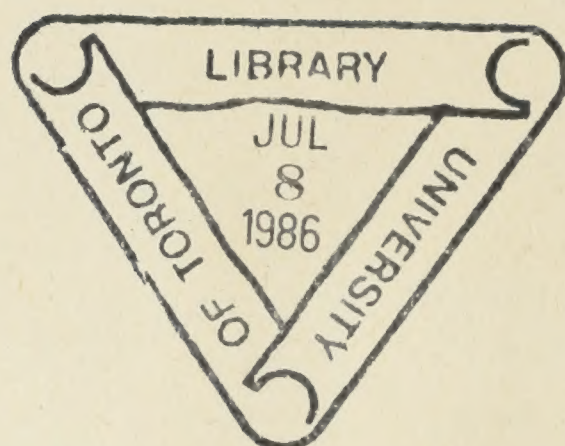
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